

## Résumés 2010 Abstracts

**Abboud, Samer – [abboud @ susqu.edu](mailto:abboud@susqu.edu) and Muller, Benjamin – [bmuller @ uwo.ca](mailto:bmuller@uwo.ca)**

*(In)Secure Finance: Global Governance and Sovereign Wealth Funds*

Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWF) are government owned institutions that purchase and manage the foreign assets of states. Existing primarily in oil producing countries, they are public sector institutions that engage in market based activity. A wide range of security and financial concerns arise out of massive foreign investments made by SWF, a notable example being the Dubai Ports World case. This, together with the lack of transparent institutions, the assumption that SWF will be used to pursue foreign policy objectives, and the fact that SWF are widespread among the oil producing Gulf States whose relationship with the United States is not always a friendly one, are all powerful contributing factors to the current widespread calls for better governance standards. Moreover, the case of SWF and security are very much intertwined, and thus, provides a compelling example of contemporary global governance of security and finance. In this paper, we consider narratives of SWF transparency and how the logics of security and financial regulation become inextricably linked in these debates. Drawing on critical security studies, notions of what Didier Bigo refers to as the 'management of unease', and the now burgeoning literature on 'governing through risk', this paper focuses on notions of (in)security and (in)visibility. These are essential to the articulation of SWF as risky and threatening financial (and foreign policy) instruments, and this assertion underscores the close relationship between the logics of security and finance in the governance of SWF, and a generally blurring of the line between security politics and financial regulation in contemporary global governance.

**Abedi, Amir – [amir.abedi @ wwu.edu](mailto:amir.abedi@wwu.edu) and Siaroff, Alan – [alan.siaroff @ uleth.ca](mailto:alan.siaroff@uleth.ca)**

*Pivotal Parties in Germany Since 1961*

This paper focuses on the role that 'pivotal' parties have been playing in German government formation, both nationally and across the Länder. Traditionally the main pivotal party was the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Since the early 1980s, however, the Green party has increasingly established itself an alternative to the FDP in this regard.

In the 1960s and 1970s, when there were only three parties in the Bundestag, the Free Democrats provided the hinge or the 'pivot' around which the two-dimensional German party system revolved, and it affected decisively the nature of the federal government and chancellor.

The FDP's crucial position in the (West) German party system was, among other things, due to the lack of alternative coalition partners for the Christian Democrats (on the right) and for the Social Democrats (on the left). This changed once the Greens established themselves as a viable coalition partner (so far at the national level only for the SPD, though).

The FDP's bargaining position was weakened as a result.

In this paper we will assess the hinge role of the FDP in the 1961 to 1981 time period and then the hinge role of each of the FDP and the Greens in the period since 1982. This will be done both federally and at the state-level. A five-point scale of "opportunity structure" (influence) will be used. Overall, we will demonstrate how and where the Greens have replaced or at least equaled the FDP as the key hinge party in German politics.

**Abele, Frances – [frances\\_abele @ carleton.ca](mailto:frances_abele@carleton.ca)**

*What Was It About the Berger Inquiry?*

The 1974–77 Berger Inquiry into the Construction of a Pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley has inspired many. While it was in progress, the inquiry galvanized Canadian and northern public attention. Those who were involved in the inquiry remember it as an extraordinary moment. Since its conclusion, the Berger Inquiry has attracted Habermasian promoters of democratic discourse, those who found something like a Freirean moment of conscientization in the inquiry's process, and many others concerned with improving democratic participation in public policy discussions. Indeed, it is widely accepted that the Inquiry set precedents for public hearings (for example intervenor funding and simultaneous translation) that have been built into environmental assessment hearings ever since. In this paper, I reflect on the political moment in which the inquiry was set, to learn what it was about the organization of the inquiry and about the times, that gave it its special character. I shall try to determine, in this way, which of those commentators who have been inspired by the inquiry have a solid base for the hopes that they build upon it.

**Abele, Frances – [Frances\\_Abele @ carleton.ca](mailto:Frances_Abele@carleton.ca) and Simmons, Deborah – [dsimmons @ senes.ca](mailto:dsimmons@senes.ca)**

*Policies That Respond to Communities: Lessons from Northern Canada*

Our paper will present some early conclusions—more like (hard) working hypotheses—about the impact of current federal and territorial policies and practices on community led processes of development in northern Canada. Our observations are based on research in Dene and Inuit communities over the last thirty years, and research in the array of public institutions that affect life in these communities. We attempt to characterize some of the community-led processes that contribute to authentic community well-being, as these communities confront international capital and international interest in northern resources, and to contribute to our understanding of the contemporary role of the state in such settings.

**Abu-Laban, Yasmeen – [yasmeen @ ualberta.ca](mailto:yasmeen@ualberta.ca) and Bakan, Abigail – [bakana @ queensu.ca](mailto:bakana@queensu.ca)**

*Contentious Original Claims: Israel/Palestine, Racialization and the Political Implications of Indigenous Identity*

Although there is much scholarly work on the Israel–Palestine conflict in political science, there is less on the Palestinians and their history. However, extant multidisciplinary work on Palestinian identity draws comparisons with colonial subjects

and European settler–colonization, and this perspective finds echoes in the contemporary political context. In particular, the specific naming of Palestinian claims as “indigenous” has found resonance in the global solidarity movement, among indigenous peoples in other regions including North and South America, and in the United Nations. The positioning of Palestinian claims in this framework brings to the fore historic land claims, the significance of historic memory, and ethical and legal claims regarding human rights.

The framing of Palestinian indigeneity is complicated, however, by a recent counter–framing grounded in a particular Zionist political narrative. In this view, the Jewish diaspora is framed as an exiled community, with a claim to indigenous rights in historic Palestine based on a selected interpretation of biblical text and historic tradition. In this Zionist narrative, the current political regime associated with the state of Israel is not a settler–colonial state, but a symbol of historic reclamation necessary to the preservation of an indigenous Jewish people. This perspective is also contested by views within Jewish cultural studies.

In this paper, we attend to this complex terrain of contested original claims regarding Israel/Palestine from the perspective of critical race theory and international political economy. We therefore situate various claims and ideological constructions of indigeneity in relation to state structures of power associated with racialization, colonialism and imperialism. This work builds on our published work addressing Israel/Palestine.

**Akuffo, Edward Ansah – eakuffo @ ualberta.ca**

*Cooperating for Peace and Security or Competing for Legitimacy? Explaining the Emerging Relationship between the AU Peace and Security Council and the UN Security Council on Darfur*

The twenty–first century has witnessed several institutional transformations both at the regional and sub–regional levels to address the peace and security challenges facing Africa. Africa is changing and at the center of this transformation process is the creation of the African Union and its security organ, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) which has the mandate to maintain peace, security and stability in Africa. Since its inception in 2002, the PSC has been the central arbiter for both violent and non–violent conflicts in Africa. In 2004, the PSC authorised its first peacekeeping mission, the African Union Mission in Darfur, Sudan (AMIS), to monitor the N’djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Sudan and the main rebel movements the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and the Justice and Equity Movement (JEM). But an important dimension of the PSC functions is that it has opened the door for inter–regional security cooperation between the UN Security Council and the African institution. This paper investigates this important development in continental politics of the AU with regards to the promotion of peace and security in Darfur, Sudan. Drawing on the new regionalisms literature and the constructivist approach to international relations, this paper addresses two interrelated questions. Firstly, what are the factors that drive the UN Security Council and the PSC cooperation on Darfur? Secondly, what are the challenges for this cooperation in the promotion of peace, security, and stability in Darfur and other parts of Africa?

**Akuffo, Edward Ansah – eakuffo @ ualberta.ca and Keating, Tom – tom.keating @ ualberta.ca**

*Towards a Society of Regions? The Case of Cooperation Among the UN, EU, NATO and the AU for Peace and Security in Africa*

Contemporary global politics has witnessed the reform and strengthening of various intergovernmental organisations at the regional and global levels. In almost all regions in the world regional organisations have gained salience in the daily affairs of global politics in areas including security, economy, and the environment. The increased prominence of regional and global institutions in addressing key security, economic, and environmental problems has led some globalisation scholars to argue for the demise or weakening of the state. The characterisation of the state as ‘weak’ is reflected in the abundant literature on the proliferation of and cooperation among regional and global institutions. What is ‘missing’ in many of these accounts is the emerging trend of ‘interregional relations’—the relationships that are developing among international organisations themselves. As a result, this paper is focused on analysis of the security cooperation that is developing between the African Union on the one hand and the UN, EU and NATO on the other hand. The central questions that drive this paper are: What is the character of the evolving security relationship among the AU, UN, NATO and the EU? What accounts for this relationship? And, how have member states adapted to these changes? Additionally, what are the theoretical implications of the emerging interregional relations for the study of international relations? Drawing on the English School, this paper investigates this important phenomenon and argue that there is an emerging “interregional society of states” in which states will continue to shape the form and the functions of this society.

**Alcantara, Christopher – calacantara @ wlu.ca and Nelles, Jen – jen.nelles @ utoronto.ca**

*Building Local Bridges: An Analysis of Agreements Between First Nations and Local Authorities in British Columbia*

While much has been written on the relationships that have emerged between Aboriginal peoples and the federal, territorial, and provincial governments of Canada, there has been little, if any, examination of the numerous and diverse set of intergovernmental relationships that have emerged between Aboriginal governments and municipal governments in Canada. This lacuna is surprising because policy outcomes at the local level are heavily affected by the ability of neighbouring First Nations and municipal governments to cooperate. This paper analyzes 26 publicly available First Nation–municipal intergovernmental agreements in British Columbia. From these agreements, we categorize the types of cooperative intergovernmental relations that are emerging between these two levels of governments. We also analyze the extent to which these new emerging relationships fit with the growing literature on decolonization and Aboriginal–settler society relations in Canada.

**Ali, Noaman – noaman.ali @ utoronto.ca**

### *Interrogating the concept of the developmental state in southern Africa: What's power got to do with it?*

The recent set of debates on the developmental state in South Africa has given the idea of state-led development in southern Africa an official credibility long denied it by neoliberal orthodoxy's insistence on the dangers of state intervention in the economy. A term originally used to refer to a set of interventionist policies undertaken by East Asian economies that achieved high economic growth and industrialization between the 1960s and 1990s, the "developmental state" has since been generalized as a model for other developing economies and as an explanation for the historical economic successes of the advanced industrialized economies. Emphasizing an interventionist role for the state in contradistinction to failed neoliberal policies, the model has been promoted by scholars in Mozambique, a country that consistently ranks as one of the world's poorest. This paper questions the way the model of the developmental state has been constructed and the potential of its application to Mozambique. Through a comparative examination of the historical development of advanced industrialized economies and the newly industrialized East Asian economies, I argue that the historical roles of imperialism and class interests in the development of industrialized economies are often elided, reducing the "developmental state" to a correct approach or set of policies—a reduction that echoes the simplified promotion of neoliberal orthodoxy. Instead, I argue for a more holistic political economy approach that takes the power relations of imperialism and class interests seriously in order to assess prospects and strategies for development in Mozambique.

### **Allen, Nathan – nallen @ interchange.ubc.ca**

#### *Local Opportunities and Local Party Organization in Indonesia: Explaining Party System Size Across Districts in a Non-Ethnic Party System*

What are the determinants of party system fragmentation? Current theory suggests that fragmentation of a party system is caused, in part, by the polity's level of ethnic heterogeneity. Where electoral institutions are permissive, parties divide along ethnic lines and each ethnic community votes for an ethnic party. Party system fragmentation is high when an ethnically divided polity votes for ethnic parties.

Studies rarely explore the mechanisms involved in the theory at the district level. I test the established theory using the difficult case of Indonesia. For institutional and normative reasons, Indonesia does not have ethnic parties. With no ethnic parties competing, no relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and party system fragmentation should exist. The electoral results, however, show a consistent relationship between the variables. I provide evidence for an alternative causal mechanism that accounts for this finding. District fragmentation is high when there are low incentives for elites to aggregate across sub-national political units. Sub-national ethnic heterogeneity shapes public goods provision, increasing the importance of particularistic goods provision. This economic context provides elites with increased incentives to join minor parties in a bid to capture local office. Because national and sub-national elections are held simultaneously, sub-national minor party breakthroughs fragment the national level party vote. The argument is consistent with previous research which finds a link between sub-national powers, elite incentives for aggregation, and party system fragmentation. It advances our theoretical knowledge by going beyond consideration of simple sub-national authority to examine variation in the local opportunities available to political elites.

### **Altamirano-Jimenez, Isabel – isabel @ ualberta.ca**

#### *Indigenous Nationalism and Women's Rights: An Un-Compatible Marriage?*

Developments in feminist theory and practice since the late 1980s have enabled scholars to recognize how race, nationality, class, ethnicity, and sexuality inform axes of gender difference among women as a social group. Despite these contributions, Indigenous women and feminism remain under-analysed. Although often assumed fall within definitions of women of colour and post colonial feminism, Indigenous feminism remains a site of racial, gender, and cultural identity struggle strongly connected to decolonization. The aim of this paper is to examine the relationship among Indigenous women, feminism, and nationalism by focusing on the political processes involved in constructing nationalism. This paper argues that Indigenous feminism is in tension with Indigenous nationalist discourses mimicking rigid definitions of indigeneity.

Systematic gender differences in experiences of poverty, property rights and access to resources are inextricably linked to a governance modality that operates to symbolically empower, yet to disqualify Indigenous women. Imagining new inclusive governance models and practices requires the re-inscription of the marginalized and their ways of thinking as well as their identity in politics.

### **Altamirano-Jimenez, Isabel – isabel @ ualberta.ca**

#### *Territoriality, Gender and Property Rights*

Law often solicits spatial representations of Indigenous peoples, representations that presuppose a delimited space where resources have been used in a "cultural" yet limited fashion that often simplifies gendered land uses. This paper aims to bring to light some of the implications of this strategy, which emphasizes the use of maps to claim territorial rights and self-government. Drawing upon different instances, this paper argues that although an alternative, this strategy is embedded in modern politics of territory and property rights in which Indigenous "cultures" and economies are reviewed as a part of the package of rights that are granted to secure Indigenous identities and political legitimacy. This type of spatial configuration places Indigenous women's struggles to gain matrimonial property rights and access to resources in an awkward spot vis à vis discourses of domination and subjection. The fact that property and resources have become a key site for the enactment of these contradictions and struggles in the contemporary period invites analysis of how neo-liberal globalization functions in and through territorial strategies.

**Amanda, Bittner – abittner @ mun.ca**

*Who Cares? Canadian Attitudes About Women in Politics*

In November of 2008, 69 women were elected to the Canadian House of Commons, representing 22.4% of the 308 sitting Members of Parliament. Despite this record high number of women elected to the House of Commons, the number of men elected to parliament still far exceeds that of women. Furthermore, the ratio of men to women in the House continues to vastly over-represent the ratio of men to women in the Canadian population. Scholars have pointed to a number of factors that influence the presence (or lack thereof) of women in politics (Bashevkin 1985; Burns et al. 1997; Elder 2004; Erickson 1993; Gidengil & Everitt 2000; Hooghe & Stolle 2004; MacIvor 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2006; and Schlozman et al. 1994). Very few studies, however, focus on the attitudes of voters themselves in explaining women's representation in parliament (see, however, Bennett & Bennett 1999 and Jennings 2006). This paper aims to fill the gap. Longitudinal analysis of voters' attitudes in Canada during elections over the past decade (1997–2008) suggests that neither men or women are particularly concerned about the number of women in parliament, nor do they believe that policies or regulations should be introduced to increase the number of women candidates put forward by Canadian political parties. We argue that the relatively low number of women elected to the House of Commons is closely linked to the lack of concern about the issue on the part of the Canadian public. Simply put, people don't care, so women aren't there.

**Anderson, Cameron – cander54 @ uwo.ca**

*Voting Behaviour in Canada Roundtable*

This proposed roundtable brings together authors from a just released edited volume entitled "Voting Behaviour in Canada" (published by UBC Press with an expected release date of May 2010). Chapters in the volume explore voting considerations that fall into one of three distinct types: long-standing attachments (gender, immigration, religion, and partisanship), short-term influences (the role of political leaders and economic issues and conditions), and proximate factors (campaign issues and poll results). Collectively, the edited volume offers valuable insight into the nature of cross-time influences of these factors on vote choice in Canada. Various chapter authors (at present: Cameron Anderson, Amanda Bittner, Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Scott Matthews) will present short synopses of their contributions which articulate the central findings of their chapter and how their work in the case of Canada contributes to the comparative literature on voting and elections. The roundtable discussion will be moderated and summarized by the editors of the volume.

**Anderson, Cameron – cander54 @ uwo.ca and Roy, Jason – jason.roy @ umontreal.ca**

*Local Conditions with National Consequences: How the Local Economic Environment Influences National Economic Perceptions*

Underlying the phenomena of economic voting are voters' perceptions of economic conditions. Where do these evaluations come from? What is an 'accurate' account of economic conditions? A number of studies have attempted to explain variation in perceptions of the economy that voters hold. Many point to partisanship as a key variable influencing these impressions. Others highlight individual-level differences in personal disposition, knowledge levels and perception of group interests. However, to date, there has been limited work that considers how local economic conditions may affect national economic perceptions. This paper aims to address this gap, combining data from the 2000 and 2004 Canadian Election Studies with neighbourhood level (census subdivision or census tract, where available) economic indicators drawn from Canadian Census data (1996 and 2001). The result is a rich dataset that allows us to examine the impact of local economic context (e.g. unemployment rates, income, housing tenure) on economic perceptions. Our argument contends that voters use local economic conditions as a reference point when evaluating economic performance. In turn, it is this local level variation that helps shape perceptions of the national economy.

**Anderson, Cameron – cander54 @ uwo.ca and Stephenson, Laura – lstephe8 @ uwo.ca**

*Partisanship in Canada: Origins Considered*

The concept of partisanship is contentious in the Canadian context. On the one hand partisanship has been characterized as a stable, enduring psychological attachment underlying vote choice in Canada (e.g. Gidengil et al. 2006; Johnston et al. 1992). By contrast, others contend that partisanship in Canada is a weaker and more flexible attachment with less explanatory capacity for understanding voting (e.g. Meisel 1975; Clarke et al. 2009). Although much empirical evidence has been brought to bear on this debate, very little work within either of these approaches has considered the individual-level origins of partisanship. This is the central theoretical concern of this paper.

We consider two competing conceptualizations of partisanship: a strong attachment gained through socialization, akin to the type of partisanship considered in the classic Michigan model of voting behaviour (Campbell et al. 1960), and the "running tally" model which holds that information about political parties held by individuals serves to inform their partisan attachment (Fiorina 1981). Research in the US case has found that the Michigan conceptualization applies well (Bartels 2002) but it is unclear whether the same applies in the Canadian case. If Canadian partisanship is more flexible, the "running tally" model may be more appropriate. Using Canadian Election Study data from various years, we investigate the extent to which each theory can account for the origins of partisanship in Canada.

**Anderson, Christopher – canderson @ wlu.ca**

*The Limits of Non-Discrimination: Early Twenty-First Century Canadian Border Control Policies*

There is an extensive literature that probes the extent to which core commitments within liberalism (especially those relating to due process and equality) constrain the range of border control policy options available to decision-makers in liberal-democratic states. In a series of recent and important contributions, Christian Joppke has stressed how a "norm of

non-discrimination” now defines immigrant selection by such states. By placing so much emphasis on non-discrimination, however, Joppke and others pay inadequate attention to different ways in which discrimination nonetheless continues to occur. As a result, they produce too partial an understanding of the nature of liberal-democratic control. In response, this paper reviews citizenship, immigration and refugee policies in Canada since 2000 to explore the conceptual and practical limits of the “norm of non-discrimination.” In doing so, it provides a needed corrective, and therefore greater precision, to an important insight into the meaning of liberal-democratic control at the outset of the twenty-first century. The paper also forges long-overdue connections between the comparative literature and the Canadian case, which is marginalized when it is not ignored in the study of control. More generally, the analysis constitutes the next step in a series of interrelated investigations undertaken by the author concerning the meaning of Canadian citizenship and national identity from the perspective of Canada as a country of immigration.

**Andrée, Peter – pandree @ connect.carleton.ca**

*New Alliances and Old Cleavages: Food Sovereignty and the Changing Face of Progressive Food Politics in Canada*  
The global food crisis of 2007-08 brought the existing agri-food system into question as an effective means of ensuring global “food security”, and while international organizations are calling for increased agricultural production and better means of storing and distributing food, many social movement organizations (SMOs) are demanding a much deeper examination of how power is distributed within the food system. In Canada “food sovereignty” – a discourse that has its origins in peasant struggles in the global South against the neo-liberal orientation of the WTO’s Agreement on Agriculture – is increasingly being forwarded by food system activists in an effort to reframe domestic debates over food policy. In particular, over the last year, the “People’s Food Policy Project” has been funnelling grassroots energy into a shared analysis of the problems of Canada’s food system. Drawing on a Gramscian theoretical framework that recognizes the centrality of material, discursive and institutional alliance-building to any political project, this paper examines civil society, industry and government responses to the calls for the “people’s” sovereignty over food. Does this new framing offer possibilities for establishing a shared agenda with actors that have not historically been allies of the food “security” movement in Canada? On the other hand, does the more overtly political language of “sovereignty” simply deepen existing cleavages between progressive SMOs and the powerful political-economic forces that currently operate at the heart of the industrial food system? The goal of this paper is to identify what this shift in SMO strategy – and the responses elicited – tells us about the rapid changes currently taking place in food politics in Canada.

**Andrew, Caroline – Caroline.Andrew @ uottawa.ca**

*Rescaling Immigration Policy: Municipal Pick-up or Push-back?*

The presentation will examine emerging activity in immigration policies, programs and activities at the municipal level in Canada in the light of the rescaling literature. Is this local economic policy, local social policy or local spatial policy? Is this recent activity a new form of municipal boosterism of the 19th Century or is it pressure from local immigrant communities and agencies? Are municipal actors leads or are they being pushed into this by provincial policies? What does the rescaling literature tell us about research strategies to better understand this emerging activity?

**Angolano, Joseph – j.l.angolano @lse.ac.uk**

*Politics as a Craft: Developing Political Skills To Make Deliberation Work*

Several deliberative democrats argue that deliberation improves the quality of political participation by providing citizens with arenas and forums to express their views and learn about the views of others. By doing so, deliberation improves the quality of political participation. However, another challenge to both citizen empowerment and the quality of participation is a lack of political skill among citizens. Political skills include skills in debate, communication, deliberation, and inner reflection (see Goodin’s Reflective Democracy) about the issues. To overcome this challenge, citizens’ skills have to be developed in an open and democratic way in order for both deliberation and adversarial democracy to function better. This paper will argue that the quality of political participation can improve if the public education system embarks on reforms that conceive political participation as a craft. It is a craft because it is learned experientially, where an individual learns political skill through trial and error, and evaluated in light of their successes or failures, and altered in light of those successes and failures. Conceiving political participation as a craft will ensure that education reforms will develop students’ political skills in an open and democratic way, and avoid the ineffective top-down approach which is prevalent in civics classes today. This paper will summarize potential education reforms that can develop the political skills of the citizenry and thus improve the quality of political participation.

**Arat-Koc, Sedef – saratkocpolitics.ryerson.ca**

*Annexing The Third World Nation-State? Attacks On Third World Sovereignty And The New Racism In International Politics*

Never fully accepted by Western states, and never fully enjoyed in its European sense by Third World states, the ideal of Third World sovereignty is under a heightened frontal attack by powerful nations in the post-Cold War era. Drawing on recent debates on Haiti, Bolivia and Venezuela, this paper focuses on the racist logic behind the different forms of attack on Third World sovereignty in international politics. One form of attack comes from new articulations of “human rights” positioned in opposition to (Third World) sovereignty. Expressed through the notion of “humanitarian intervention” and the recent doctrine of the “Responsibility to Protect”, international humanitarian discourse treats Third World peoples as wards of Western states. Another form of attack is in the form of undermining of political regimes that act independently of U.S. political and economic hegemony. These include not just those declared “rogue states” in the “war on terror” but also countries in the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas. Whether the dominant discourses emphasize the need to “protect”

segments of Third World populations under a new humanitarian order, or express resentment of Third World peoples acting independently of the hegemony of powerful states, what connects the new discourses on the Third World in international politics is the introduction of an unequal notion of humanity for Third World peoples, through denial of politics, citizen rights and rights to self-determination.

**Arcott, Jane – janea @ athabasca.ca**

*Revisiting Women's Presence in Representation across Canada*

A benchmark concerning the electoral representation of women at the federal, provincial and territorial level was established in *In the Presence of Women* (1997). This roundtable returns to that benchmark discussion of women's descriptive and substantive representation 13 years later to measure the progress, or lack of it, that has occurred, with a view to identifying enduring and new factors shaping women's representation. A previous roundtable on the topic held in 1992 resulted in the first book-length publication looking at women's electoral representation at the sub-national level. Revisiting the subject is timely in the lead-up to the 100th anniversary of the enfranchisement of some but not all women across Canada.

**Arcott, Jane – janea @ athabasca.ca**

*'More Explosive Than Any Terrorist's Time Bomb.'* *The RCSW, Then and Now*

The Report of the RCSW has been a landmark public document, 'the public face of liberal feminism,' a foundational document in the inception of Women's Studies and the progenitor for the emergence of Women and Politics as a subfield in the study of Canadian politics. Scholarship about the RCSW has relied heavily over the past 40 years on the reflections of two participants, the Chairman and the Executive Secretary, for accounts of what happened and why. This excessively narrow interpretive frame has entirely disregarded all but 10% of the submissions, the Minutes of the meetings of the Commission that were supposed to have been destroyed, audiotapes of the public hearings available since 1995, surveillance by the Security Intelligence branch of the RCMP of some organizations that prepared briefs, and almost all of the materials deposited by the Commission with the Library and Archives of Canada. This paper draws on these primary sources, elaborated in "Primed and Ticking, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970" (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming 2010) to provide a more complete and nuanced account of this formative contribution to the development of women's equality in Canada. Based on those findings the paper looks ahead to areas requiring further work in order to realize more of the explosive power of gender analysis in the next half century.

**Aslam, Ghazia – gaslam @ gmu.edu**

*Empirical Testing of Strategic Voting as the Basis of Duverger's Law*

Duverger's law states that political party competition in single member districts using plurality to select the winner will result in only two candidates receiving votes. The primary basis of the law is the game-theoretic argument that voters expend their vote strategically i.e. a voter may not vote for his first choice but for the next ordinal choice he believes is more likely to win. However, this claim has not been tested empirically. This paper fills the gap and empirically investigates how strategic voting affects the voting distributions and number of contestants in a single voting unit by observing the voting behavior at different levels of information available to the voter. In order to act strategically, voters require information to form expectations of other voters' behavior. Therefore, when different levels of information are available to different voters, their ability to vote strategically should be different and should lead to different voting distributions. I use the data collected from exit polls of 2005 local government elections from 300 villages in Pakistan. The elections were held on a non-party basis where one councilor was elected from each union council, which is a multi-village electoral ward consisting of an agglomeration of villages. The unit of analysis is a voting faction – a village level group of voters who decide to vote for one candidate. The analysis will also identify other political and economic factors that affect voting distributions and electoral competition, thereby opening new avenues for further research on this topic.

**Aslan Akman, Canan – aslanc @ metu.edu.tr**

*Beyond the Ballot Box: Turkish Democracy Under Tension between Idealism and Populism*

This paper has the objective of analyzing the recent paradoxes of the democratic regime in Turkey which undermine the quality of democracy. As a 'third wave' democratizer, despite significant progress towards democratization since its transition to civilian rule (1983) the Turkish political system has remained as a restrictive democracy. In particular, the enjoyment of civil/political rights, and governmental accountability has remained notoriously weak. Besides the enactment of far-reaching reforms of the legal system in the context of the Europeanization process, greater stability in the party system, and the moderation of the Islamic actors who came to power in 2002, majoritarianism rather than consensualism has pervaded political institutions. This paper will inquire into the connections between the procedural and substantive aspects of democracy on the basis of the analysis of the policies and the discourses of the ruling Justice and Development Party government toward the electoral process, constitutional reform, protection of civil and political liberties, and fostering democratic accountability. Based on comparative insights from the studies of other neo-democracies, the paper will also answer the question of how state effectiveness and legitimacy is affected in procedural democracies marked by deficiencies of the democratic process. It will contribute to efforts to understand and theorize hybrid democracies by emphasizing the interplay of majoritarian political parties, politicized state institutions, and divided civil societies. Based on the writer's current research on democratization and political parties, the paper will use qualitative research methods, enriched with in-depth interviews with politicians, and state and civil society representatives.

**Atikcan, Ece Ozlem – ece.atikcan @ mail.mcgill.ca**

### *Spotting Diffusion Effects in Referendum Campaigns: A Methodological Challenge?*

The 2005 European Union (EU) constitutional referenda results reflected growing Euroscepticism. While Spain and Luxembourg approved the European Constitution, France and the Netherlands rejected it. A close look at the percentages reveals that the no vote reached 43% even in a highly pro-EU country as Luxembourg. This paper poses a question largely ignored in the EU referenda literature: How important was the sequencing of 2005 EU constitutional referenda? Despite few brief references to the importance of sequencing, there is no actual research on how it works. This paper aims to spot the diffusion among the four referenda campaigns in 2005.

Defined broadly, diffusion is a process wherein new ideas or models of behavior spread geographically from a core site to other sites. Based on extensive field work in all four countries, involving 96 in-depth interviews with the campaigners, media content analysis, and public opinion data; I argue that sequencing mattered. Spain held the first referendum, followed by France, the Netherlands, and finally Luxembourg. The later a state held its referendum, the more the previous referenda results and campaigns in other states influenced its campaign dynamics and the public. Nonetheless, I find that this diffusion effect was not automatic and depended on certain facilitating channels/carriers. The stronger the diffusion carriers between the states –such as shared language/culture, common media sources, collaborative networks/transnational linkages– the more the later case was influenced by the previous one. Furthermore, the higher the campaign intensity in a state, the greater its influence on the later cases.

### **Audrey, L'Espérance – audrey.lesperance @ gmail.com**

#### *Assisted Reproductive Technology and Its Influence on Parenting Policy: Comparing Canada and the United Kingdom*

Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) offer options to people living with infertility whether its basis is biological or social. By creating alternative forms of relationship and by supplanting sexual intercourse as means of reproduction, reproductive technologies have unleashed a range of intermediate effects. Collaborative reproduction creates the possibility that a child stemming from such medical practices has much more than only two filiations. While Canada and the United Kingdom are considered leaders in the field of ARTs, they now find themselves struggling with the redefinition of their parenting laws. When we take a closer look at the policy processes that led to the adoption of the policies in place as regards these issues, the differences between the two countries are considerable, and pose a serious challenge to the prior institutional explanations posited in the literature on ART policy. If we consider that these types of policy issues – here reproduction and family – raise concerns over values and social norms, it is not surprising that the policy designs in this matter are very different in Canada and the United Kingdom. This paper will attempt to shed a light on the reasons why Canada and UK embarked on different policy paths, by focusing on social conceptions of the family and the child, as well as the specific configuration of actors who mobilized in the wake of these issues.

### **Bachvarova, Mira – 2mb29 @ queensu.ca**

#### *Non-domination and Relational/moral Autonomy*

The concept of non-domination is most commonly associated with Phillip Pettit's republican theory of freedom. Relational autonomy is associated with a feminist reinterpretation of personal autonomy as a positional capacity to pursue individually chosen ends in conditions of interdependence. Iris Young (2002, 2005) discussed non-domination and relational autonomy as kin concepts in her theorizing of inclusion and democracy. She argued that the political self-determination of peoples should be reconceived as non-domination – i.e. as a principle that structures relations between peoples rather than merely establishing non-interference.

This paper posits non-domination as a principle of legitimate political authority in multicultural states, which implies that the demands of non-domination between distinct groups must be reconciled with those of non-domination within group structures. It then outlines a relational view of the moral autonomy of persons and makes an argument that such autonomy, rooted in respect for equal moral agency, is a fundamental aspect of non-domination. To clarify this, the paper focuses on the religious practice of polygyny in Bountiful, BC and various arguments for and against state interference in this fundamentalist community. Neither public discourse (which frames this as a Charter issue) nor multiculturalism theorists (focused on the tension between cultural and gender equality) have developed an adequate understanding of the claims in the case. The paper suggests that deference to religious authorities is not necessarily co-extensive with domination, but only on the assumption that group norms are not structured to promote the relational moral autonomy of some members while eroding it for others.

### **Baglioni, Sebastian – sebastian.baglioni @ utoronto.ca**

#### *The Spanish way to avert the Paradox of Multinational Federalism*

Federalism, by combining unity and diversity, has often been defended as offering good prospects for the accommodation of multinationality. However, federalism itself is institutionally open to different arrangements, each of which will pursue that combination to varying degrees. Moreover, the different levels of government and competencies between them will also imprint specific dynamics to the system. Therefore, political devolution can provide sub-state nationalisms the necessary recognition and legitimacy. And yet, that very fact can lead to what Kymlicka calls the paradox of multinational federalism where secession is a real possibility, or what Moreno calls the territorial competence model where demands spiral out of control.

Spain is a good example of the possibilities and limits of federalism as part of the solution to the accommodation of multinationality. On the positive side, Spain has embarked upon a tremendous process of political devolution from the central state to regional governments, which has consolidated beyond doubts the democratic character of the country. On the negative side, the system has been characterised by a constant tension between homogenising tendencies across units and the claimed distinctiveness coming notably from the Basque Country and Catalonia.

This proposal aims at analysing the impact that federalism has had in Spain regarding the claims posed by its multinational character and the ways in which it might have modified the relative sense of grievances and dissatisfaction of the Basque Country and Catalonia. It is argued that federalism, far from being a magical solution, can nonetheless constitute a workable option for multinationality.

**Baier, Gerald – baier @ politics.ubc.ca**

*Comparing the Supreme Court of Canada*

Comparative judicial politics as an area of study, has generally looked at the comparative policy implications of judicial empowerment, particularly through the addition of bills of rights to constitutions. The independent variable in such studies is usually the constitution, not the high courts that take on new prominence through their interpretive power. There is

less institutional focus than one might expect in the comparative judicial literature. While the institutional nature of high courts is not ignored, there is less attention paid to the comparative position of courts in constitutional regimes when looking at judicial politics cross nationally. This is especially clear when one compares the effort put into understanding the relevant institutional characteristics of courts when they are studied domestically, especially in the United States. This paper will situate the Canadian Supreme Court's institutional features comparatively, using the High Court of Australia, the Supreme Court of the United States and the new Supreme Court of the United Kingdom as benchmarks. Of particular concern will be methods of appointment, judicial control of the court's caseload, and the administrative supports used by the court (ie clerks, legal officers and media support).

**Baier, Gerald – baier @ politics.ubc.ca and Delaney, Erin – erin.delaney @ law.columbia.edu**

*The Democratic Consequences of Sub Unit Capture in Federations*

Federations generally divide power along functional lines. National governments almost invariably have legislative authority for matters like security and foreign relations, and subunits are likely to have authority for matters closer to home such as local government and education. Time and circumstance, plus the predilections or short sightedness of a constitution's writers often result in misplaced powers. In many cases subjects that may be functionally national are still governed by states or provinces. This results in a degree of 'regulatory mismatch.'

In those instances where states or provinces have legislative responsibility for subjects that regulate national industries or activities, a variety of problems are potentially created. If all subunits persist in actively making policy in the field, there is likely to be a problem of co-ordination. National governments may help this co-ordination effort, or will push to transfer the subject to their own legislative competence. There is also the possibility of competition. Where there are few or no obstacles to the mobility of forces like capital or labour, states will compete for investment or populations.

Our paper will explore the consequences for a stable federal regime where one or a few subunits are responsible for making laws that affect the whole federation. We use three examples to illustrate this phenomenon: securities regulation in Canada; incorporation law in Australia and the personal credit market in the United States. How different federations have responded to this 'regulatory mismatch' gives us an idea of the democratic problems that this phenomenon presents.

**Baird, Maegan – maegan\_baird @ hotmail.com**

*Municipal and Community Experience: Their Impact on Representation and Responsiveness in the Implementation of Horizontally Managed Policies*

In Ontario today an increasing number of policies affecting local communities are horizontally managed. Often these policies involve programs that implemented in a cooperative manner with municipalities and community groups. Not only are these programs more complex than programs delivered by single provincial ministries, but also of concern is whether the original mandates are being realized. Legislators who can help in the design of these complicated programs are legislators who were municipal officials or community leaders before entering the legislature. Does this experience matter in this case? An analysis of selected government programs together with interviews of legislators with municipal and community leadership experience will be the primary source of material for this paper.

**Baird, Maegan – maegan\_baird @ hotmail.com**

*Assent Against the Odds: Accounting for the Success of a Private Member's Bill*

The likelihood of a private member's bill (PMB) making it through all the parliamentary hurdles and being granted royal assent is remote.

Although the success rate is low, the occasional PMB does defy the odds and is implemented as law, some of which pertain to important issues. There are number of characteristics of the successful PMB.

These include the timing and context of introduction, how the bill is marketed and ,of course, the merits of the bill itself. Of major interest in this paper is the characteristics of the MPP proposing the bill, including the reputation of the member. The research will emphasize successful PMBs and the members who crafted successful PMBs.

Interviews with these members will be especially important. How do they create and promote successful PMBs? Some consideration will be given to PMBs that are so wellcrafted, that these bills are taken over by governments in later sessions of a parliament.

**Bajc, Vida – vbajc @ methodist.edu**

*On Surveillance as a Solution to Surveillance*

Current discourse in the media, the official thinking, as well as common sense perceptions of citizens tend to relate surveillance to the notion of security. These discussions reflect the prevailing sentiment that something must be done to

protect the public from crime and terrorism. There is also a growing sense that the implementation of surveillance technologies and practices are interfering with our notions of privacy and individual freedoms but this sentiment tends to be accompanied by a widespread persuasion that surveillance can deter crime. As a result, the debate tends to be centered on the question of how much freedom, civil liberties, and right to privacy should be given up for state protection in prevention of all sorts of crime, from shoplifting to terrorism. The assumption is that civil liberties and security are reciprocally related, the more of one the less of the other. Public debates on these issues are indeed extremely important, not the least because they allow the citizenry to participate in the political process, but they do not provide us with a deeper and broader understanding of how surveillance is related to the current security imperative.

In this paper, I offer some preliminary thinking about the nature of bureaucratic surveillance and its relationship to the security concerns. To understand the bureaucratic underpinning of surveillance, it becomes necessary to analyze the genealogy and the interrelationships of the foundational elements of surveillance. These elements are Western individualism, exclusionary classification, biopolitics, and the bureaucratic logic. The rise of surveillance technologies and techniques that are now offered as a solution to security concerns is grounded in these elementary characteristics.

**Ballingall, Robert – rob.ballingall @ utoronto.ca**

*The Educative Function of Political Theory and the Beleaguered Role of Human Nature*

One drawback of Rawls' distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory is that it overlooks a preoccupation of ancient political philosophy and Marxist thought. In both these traditions theory attempts to be what Aristotle calls a practical science, one whose aim is the improvement of practice through education as opposed to the establishment of facts which preoccupies theoretical science. The type of knowledge practical science seeks to generate straddles Rawls' distinction as it articulates 'ideals' of the good life and good society through a moral psychology operative under non-ideal circumstances. Rawls does have reason to ignore educative theory of this type, relying as it does on ontological argument. Indeed, liberalism since Rawls and 'post-Marxism' since Habermas are largely in agreement that such argument, at least when making claims about human nature, should be bracketed not only from reasoning about the obligations of the state but also from theories of moral psychology seeking to improve human practice. This paper defends the role of human nature in arguments of the latter type against two objections, both of which maintain that its use impedes the improvement of practice. These are that conceptions of human nature imply an asocial essentialism and egoistic perfectionism resulting in an inability to appreciate the extent to which human beings are shaped by social and historical context. I explore these objections as they figure in two critiques of the political thought of C.B. Macpherson which draws heavily upon a conception of human nature and attempt to meet them using Aristotle as a counterexample. I thereby provide reason to rethink the rejection of human nature in particular and educative theory in a 'practical' mode more generally as well as the utility of the ideal/non-ideal distinction insofar as it is justified by such arguments.

**Banack, Clark – cbanack @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*Religion and the Roots of Populism and Conservatism in Alberta: Revisiting the UFA and Social Credit Movements*

Contemporary politics in the province of Alberta are clearly characterized by a specific brand of conservative ideology constructed around a particular populist bias. Explanations of such a legacy have harkened back to a number of historical factors including, but certainly not limited to, immigration patterns, class structures, external political antagonisms and resource extraction decisions. While admitting that such factors were surely influential, this paper focuses on the role of religious interpretation and practice upon the initial development of the peculiar political culture that defines Alberta and its politics. Specifically, this paper examines and compares the influence of religion within both the UFA and Social Credit movements and argues that the general populist impulse that fuelled their victories, as well as the particular ideological direction each government moved, can be traced back to the specific Christian theological interpretation that dominated each movement. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of the key phase of Alberta provincial politics wherein the cooperative social gospel message prominent within the UFA was overtaken by the more individually-oriented fundamentalist religious interpretation contained within the Social Credit and considers the continuing importance of the ramifications of such a change on both the style of populism encouraged as well as the ideological direction taken within Alberta politics.

**Banerjee, Kiran – k.banerjee @ utoronto.ca**

*Beyond the Boundaries of Law and the Borders of States: Remarks on a Relational Theory of Human Rights and Democratic Sovereignty*

I take up Jennifer Nedelsky's relational critique of the boundary concept of law as a point of departure for conceptualizing novel approaches to the quandaries facing international constitutionalization. Focusing on the interplay of universal human rights norms and state sovereignty, I suggest that both legal artifices currently rest upon problematic notions of autonomy and independence. I do so by connecting Nedelsky's critique of boundary dependent conceptions of law with the limitations of our contemporary human rights paradigm. Much like the understanding of rights based on the notion of property, our framework of inalienable human rights rests up an untenable notion of autonomy. Conceptualizing human rights in such terms is pernicious as it obscures the relational, inter-subjective, aspect of rights. Extending this analysis to the domain of states, I suggest that the conception of national sovereignty that informs our current international order suffers from an equally problematic conceptual deficit. Like the notion of individual autonomy central to human rights, the independence that underwrites sovereignty is quickly being eroded as globalization reveals the untenable nature of this construct. This has implications for our current international context. First, human rights remain a problematic way of theorizing the conditions of human wellbeing because presumptions of autonomous selfhood elide the relational dimension of such 'rights'. Second, state sovereignty proves to be incoherent, as the very condition of sovereignty is

mutual recognition, and therefore implicit interdependence. This paper therefore calls for the extension of a relational concept of law to the emerging domain of international constitutionalism.

**Banfield, Andrew – acbanfie @ ucalgary.ca and Flynn, Greg – gregflynn @ rogers.com**

*The Judicialization and Democratization of Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy in Canada*

There has been an increased judicialization of politics and policy making in democratic states. (Shapiro, 2002) Judicialization was initially defined as consisting of two developments: an increasing level of judicial review over legislative and executive actions and the dispersion of legal discourse and practices throughout government and society. (Vallinder, 1994) Judicialization has now also spread beyond procedural and negative rights to encompass fundamental and core political questions, including the conduct of foreign affairs and national security practices. (Hirschl, 2006) These developments raise questions concerning the location of decision making authority in democratic states, particularly in relation to policy areas traditionally reserved to the exclusive purview of the executive. (Clayton, 2002) Through an examination of legislative debates and a series of court decisions involving the government's treatment of citizenship rights, this paper will argue that the conduct of foreign affairs and national security by the Conservative government in Canada over the period of 2006 to 2009 has resulted in the relocation of decision making authority in these policy areas. The traditional scope of prerogative executive authority has been reduced by delegation to the legislature in relation to some policy decisions, such as the role of the Canadian forces in Afghanistan, and by the intervention of the courts in others. The result of these occurrences is the development of a new foreign affairs and national security policy regime with "shared" decision making authority, where executive decisions, in part, are legitimized by parliamentary participation and individual rights are insured by the courts.

**Banting, Keith – keith.banting @ queensu.ca, Johnston, Richard – rjohnston @ politics.ubc.ca, Kymlicka, Will – kymlicka @ queensu.ca and Soroka, Stuart – stuart.soroka @ mcgill.ca**

*Ethnic Diversity and Democratic Solidarity in Canada*

A growing number of studies argue that there is a deep tension between multicultural diversity on one hand and social solidarity on the other. We have also seen a backlash against multiculturalism policies in many countries, with governments placing greater emphasis on the integration of newcomers and minorities into the cultural mainstream. In effect, the very viability of a society which seeks to combine multiculturalism and social solidarity is being called into question. This paper responds to these issues by focusing on one aspect of the relationship between diversity and solidarity in Canada. We begin by identifying "democratic solidarity," understood as support for the political inclusion of minorities and willingness to engage on minority claims, as one central component of the broader "social solidarity". Recent Canadian Election Studies, perhaps more so than any other surveys in Canada, are particularly well-equipped for a study of democratic solidarity. Relying on CES data from 2000 to the present, then, this paper (a) investigates the distribution and structure of Canadian attitudes on issues relating to democratic solidarity, and (b) explores relationships between support for democratic solidarity and attitudes about diversity, immigration, and redistributive policy. Results speak to the nature of support for democratic solidarity in Canada, as well as changes in that support over the past decade. They also confirm the value of the CES in studies of political behaviour outside the electoral context.

**Barsky, Robert – robert.barsky @ vanderbilt.edu**

*From the American Dream to Maximum Security Lockdown: The Muzzled Voices of 'Illegal' Refugees in the 'American South'*

The pathway to refugee status in America remains to a huge extent informal, uncodified and fickle winds of political and economic change. Claimants who could request status in bordering Canada on the basis of the UNHCR Convention follow precarious routes into US cities, in the hope of keeping their voices down long enough to achieve their own version of the American Dream. From a practical perspective, the best route to America is via Canada, especially Quebec; but for those committed to a life in the US, the most popular, and dangerous route is through illegal immigration. In this talk, I will draw from 5 years of interviews with public defenders, lawyers, interpreters, government officials and representatives of religious communities to describe the refugee voices that have joined the hordes of illegals in the US and have thereby become victim to ever-changing regulations, local enforcement practices and varying standards of status determination. Tracing the complex Institutional Review Board imposed methodology elaborated to allow me full access to informants, I will argue that the most important encounters are the first ones, with highway patrol officers or low-level government bureaucrats, where the refugee voice is most crucial and, in most cases, woefully inadequate to the complex task at hand. I will suggest that dissemination of crucial information to both parties to this encounter may be the greatest opportunity for local justice.

**Bastien, Frédéric – frederick.bastien @ com.ulaval.ca and Pétry, François – francois.petry @ pol.ulaval.ca**

*To Count or Not to Count? Vote Intention Firmness in Election Polls*

Polls on vote intentions are paramount in media coverage of election campaigns because they are known to provide reliable snapshots of the state of the race between political parties. We know that a large proportion of election poll respondents remain undecided well into the last days of the campaign, and there is evidence that this proportion is growing. Yet most media releases report election poll from day one of the campaign as if almost everyone had already made their mind. Sometimes this is not reported by the media because journalists ignore the data supplied by the pollster. But many times the pollsters themselves fail to make clear how firm vote intentions are in their reports to journalists. In this paper, on the basis of data from the 2008 Canadian Election Study and pollsters' reports released during the

campaign, we argue that it matters whether vote intentions are firm or not. We show that vote intentions among firm voters are significantly different and more stable than vote intention from respondents who “lean” towards a party or who concede that they may change their choice before election day. Furthermore, our content analysis of media election poll reports shows that journalists seldom made such distinctions. We argue that they should present figures according to the vote intention firmness to increase the quality of information provided about vote intentions.

**Bayes, Jane – jbayes @ csun.edu**

*Globalization and Transnational Community Organizing: The Consejo Consultivo del Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (CC–IME)*

The Consejo Consultivo del Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (CC–IME) consists of members of the Mexican American community in the United States and Canada who have been elected by their communities or appointed by the Mexican consulate to represent the views and needs of the immigrant Mexican community in the United States and Canada to the Mexican government. Created in 2003 by Vicente Fox, the first CC–IME had about 100 members who served from 2003–2005. A second cohort of 100 is serving from 2006–2009. While the initial purpose of the CC–IME was to represent the problems of the diaspora to the Mexican government, in practice it has also served to stimulate leadership and grassroots organizing within the diaspora. This paper reports findings of a case study of CC–IME, its leadership, its activities, its gender relationships, its problems, its alliances with other interest groups, its attitudes towards migration, and what it represents with regard to the growing phenomenon of transnational citizenship.

**Bayirbag, Mustafa Kemal – bayirbag @ metu.edu.tr**

*From Economic Crisis to Reform in Public Policy: Lessons from the education policy in Turkey*

The paper aims to investigate how economic crises translate into major changes in the policy-making and implementation process. It suggests that the fiscal pressure on governments following major economic crises are translated into policy reforms through the filter of three factors, namely the composition of the service recipients and the nature of service demand; the political bargaining power of the policy implementers; and the ideational roots of the politics around the policy field subject to reform. The field of education policy provides us with an excellent case to elaborate the above argument, and Turkey, hit by several, and huge, economic and fiscal crises since the late 1970s, offers us a very fruitful context to concentrate on. The paper indicates that the post-crisis interventions of governments tend to re-distribute the fiscal burden on public purse by employing a three-level preference set: economic policy issues vs social policy issues; among the sectors belonging to the same policy family; and among different levels/institutions of the same policy field. The paper also attempts to develop a initial categorisation of post-crisis reform strategies departing from the findings of the empirical analysis.

**Beatty, Bonita – bonita.beatty @ usask.ca, Berdahl, Loleen – loleen.berdahl @ usask.ca and Poelzer, Greg – greg.poelzer @ usask.ca**

*The Myth of Disengagement: Aboriginal Culture and Political Engagement in Northern Saskatchewan*

The provincial Norths are growing in economic significance, and the growing Aboriginal population is central to their economic and political development. Given the increasingly pivotal role of Aboriginal peoples in shaping politics, policy, and governance of northern development, it is critical to understand northern Aboriginal culture and political engagement; indeed, rising expectations for meaningful responses to the duty to consult make such understanding all the more pressing. The complex jurisdictional, geographical and historical differences in the north shape northern political relations between Aboriginal and non–Aboriginal peoples and governments. Community cultural values and practices and their influence on governments and developmental activity in the northern region are closely linked. However, traditional measures of political engagement are insufficient to fully define northern Aboriginal political engagement. Such measures can lead to inaccurate conclusions; in particular, analyses of low Aboriginal voter turnout leave the impression of First Nations communities that are disengaged for political processes. This paper makes the case that the reality is quite the opposite: northern Aboriginal political engagement is intense, culturally–driven, local, provincial and national in scope, and often highly effective. We do so by analyzing the political engagement of Aboriginal peoples residing in Saskatchewan’s northern administrative district (NAD), an area that covers the top half of the province.

**Bélanger, Éric – eric.belanger3 @ mcgill.ca and Stephenson, Laura – lstephe8 @ uwo.ca**

*Canada Compared: Voting Behaviour*

We illustrate the extent to which a comparative approach is helpful for understanding Canadian voting behaviour. Adopting first a macro perspective, we focus on the multiparty system found in Canada. Testing Duverger’s law in the Canadian case has illuminated the effects of our electoral system on our party system, and has reinforced the importance of regionalism to our understanding of Canadian politics in a national sense. Yet, a look at third party support in provincial elections (thus, disaggregating to the subnational level) shows that Duverger’s hypotheses are still valid in cases where some provinces experimented (briefly) with electoral systems other than SMP. Thus, using the comparative theories pushed the community of Canadian scholars to go beyond national data to reveal some interesting intricacies of electoral system effects (i.e., not always at the national level). Adopting a macro perspective, we focus next on the two major ‘comparative’ models of voting behaviour tested in Canada: the Columbia model (group identification/class voting) and the Michigan model (partisanship). Previous studies have shown class voting to be largely irrelevant in Canada, and the nature of partisanship in Canada was argued to be different than the Michigan/US formulation. Thus, the application of American models to the Canadian electorate challenged the generalizability of the theories, in turn enriching the theories

and expanding our understanding of the Canadian case specifically. Using these models as a foil has helped to push the understanding of Canadian voters – if they are the same, if they are different, and why.

**Belfry, Kaija – kaijabelry @ gmail.com**

*Risk and Advantage in a Changing Climate: Business Preferences for Climate Change Policy Instruments in Canada*

This paper presents the first study of business preferences for climate policy instruments in Canada. It demonstrates that, despite clear economic expectations to the contrary, the business community is overwhelmingly in favour of a price on carbon. The type of carbon price, however, remains contested; while the majority of participating business associations and firms support a cap-and-trade program, many also advocate carbon taxation, which would theoretically entail greater cost. These puzzling findings throw into question the general assumption behind most business-government relations literature that firm preferences for government policy are fixed and based entirely on cost minimization.

If cost alone does not explain the observed variation, what does? Drawing on semi-structured interviews with officials at 13 major business associations and 18 corporations, this paper provides a theoretical framework through which to understand how and why firms come to adopt a specific environmental policy preference. I argue that the concepts of business risk and advantage – key to how managers are taught to analyze corporate investment – are also employed in evaluating government policy. Decision makers attempt to determine, first, the possible risks to the survival of the company entailed by a given policy and, subsequently, the amount of possible advantage to the firm. In doing so, they are influenced, not only by corporate circumstances and market pressures, but also by ideational factors such as personal conviction and managerial experience.

**Benz, Arthur – Arthur.Benz @ FernUni-Hagen.de**

*Decline or Resilience of Parliamentary Democracies in Multilevel Governments: Canada and Europe compared*

For some time now multilevel (federal, confederal) governments have been said to suffer from a democratic deficit, since parliaments, in particular those at lower levels, have lost ground against competing or cooperating executives. There is indeed a problem of incongruence between democratic politics which remains bound to territorial levels, and policy-making cutting across levels in intergovernmental settings. But parliaments have been searching for ways to cope with this dilemma. Efforts of national parliaments in the EU are particularly instructive in this respect. They have reacted in different ways to the advancement of multilevel policy-making. Parliaments have introduced new procedures to influence policy-making and to hold the government accountable. Scholars have recently also observed emerging inter-parliamentary relations in the EU. In contrast, Canadian provincial parliaments focus on internal relations to control the government. Interestingly, parliaments of member states in the EU recently have put more emphasis on controlling European integration, i.e. constitutional change, an area that has been open to Canadian parliaments for a long time. Apparently parliamentary democracies evolve in multilevel governments, but in different ways, depending on the historical background, the institutional framework and policies.

Guided by institutionalist theories of multilevel governance, the paper describes and explains these trends in Canada and the EU. The two contrasting cases give reason to reconsider assumptions made during the long discussion about the decline of parliaments in multilevel governance systems, and on the dynamics of federalism and multilevel government.

**Benz, Arthur – arthur.benz @ fernuni-hagen.de**

*Reform, Adjustment and Historical Evolution: Understanding Dynamics of Federal System*

Federalism makes decisions difficult due to competition between governments or due to institutional veto points. The resulting tendencies towards conflict and stalemate affect normal policy-making, but also constitutional reforms which often fail or are constrained by path-dependency of institutions. On the other hand, federal systems generate dynamics that either allow adjustments to changing conditions or cause instability of a federal order. Both “endogenous” dynamics and constitutional reform policies contribute to historical evolution of federal systems.

To understand how federal systems work and how they manage to persist despite inherent tensions it is essential to consider these dynamics. So far, theories of federalism focus either on historical development, on deliberate change by constitutional reform or on the incremental dynamics of politics. However, we have to consider interrelations between these three modes of change. Constitutional change and endogenous adjustment in ongoing politics regularly shape only particular dimensions of federal systems. As a result, incompatible structures may co-exist, but serious structural tensions can trigger change in different dimensions. Which one of these alternatives occurs depends on actors in governments and parliaments. Interested in maintaining the performance of the federal system and their power, they determine whether problems of incompatible structures are coped with by adjustment or by constitutional reform. Historical evolution results from particular linkages of the different lines of structural change and from shifts between deliberate and endogenous change.

With such a broader perspective, the paper will contribute to develop a theory of federal dynamics.

**Bercuson, Jeffrey – jeff.bercuson @ utoronto.ca**

*Politics and Moral Learning: Kant, Hegel and Rawls on Institutional Socialization*

In his “Kantian Constructivism in Moral Theory,” Rawls discusses the role of political philosophy: philosophy, he says, must make explicit the values and principles implicit in the prevailing institutional background of society; philosophy, in other words, exposes common sense as something manufactured by specific forms of political organization. This is what Rawls means when he insists that any proposed conception of justice must fall within a “general and wide reflective equilibrium.” The basis of our understanding of freedom and equality, for example, is to be found in the public culture of our democratic society. This approach is best understood in light of Rawls’s engagement with – and departure from –

Kant. In his Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy, for instance, Rawls emphasizes the insensitivity of Kant's ethics to the political sphere: there is no indication in those Lectures of the capacity of political institutions – and the duties of justice instantiated by them – to affect our knowledge of what is required by the a priori, non–deducible duties of virtue. Our consciousness of the moral law, that is, is not the outcome of experience or of exposure to particular justice principles. Rawls, by contrast, is concerned with institutions, and with the pedagogical purposes served by them. Rawls's philosophy is therefore better understood as falling under the banner of non–ideal theory – by its commitment to understanding the effects of prevailing institutional patterns and principles. In this light, Rawls's account of the role of philosophy is deeply indebted to Hegel.

**Bernard, Isabelle – ibern022 @ uottawa.ca**

*L'interprétation de la tradition comme enjeu politique: exemple de la pratique Akan de Sankofa*

Pour Nietzsche les concepts "Bien" et "Mal" sont les produits d'une lutte historique. En comprenant le politique comme la lutte constante pour influencer la hiérarchisation des valeurs sociales, le normatif devient le lieu de l'action politique (Ferguson & Mansbach, 1988: 37).

L'exposé proposé vise à montrer un exemple d'acte politique conçu en ce sens, soit "Sankofa". Cette expression en Twi (langue des Akan du Ghana) peut être traduite littéralement par "retourner–recueillir". Chez les Akan l'expression (accompagnée d'un symbole visuel) désigne le retour dans la tradition pour récupérer les éléments positifs du passé et construire le futur (Agbo, 2006; Arthur, 2001; Quarcoo, 1994). Cette idée est également mise en pratique périodiquement par les chefs traditionnels Akan qui choisissent de réactualiser les éléments "positifs" de la tradition (Meyer, 2001; Owusu–Sarpong, 2003). On considère ces pratiques comme culturelles, traditionnelles et/ou religieuses (Ephirim–Donkor, 1997).

L'exposé vise à rendre compte de cette pratique en répondant à la question: En quoi une telle interprétation de la tradition est–elle fondamentalement politique?

Nous démontrons que la pratique engendre une hiérarchisation des valeurs par une application d'un concept de "Bien", en utilisant trois arguments:

- 1) Des exemples d'application de Sankofa dans les pratiques "culturelles" locales au sein de villages Akan du Ghana montrent que les choix normatifs y sont prépondérants.
- 2) Dans la littérature traitant de Sankofa, l'idée d'"éléments positifs de la tradition" n'est pas problématisée.
- 3) Il existe un écart entre la lecture historique et traditionnelle du passé des Akan que nous montrerons en soulignant quelques exemples.

**Bherer, Laurence – laurence.bherer @ umontreal.ca and Chauvette, Anne–Louise – anne–louise.chauvette @ hotmail.com**

*Metropolitan Governance of Transit in Thirteen Cities (North America and Europe)*

The objective of this paper is to explore models of metropolitan governance of public transportation. What are the recent trends in the management and planning of public transportation? Can lessons be drawn from recent reforms in metropolitan administration? Has there been convergence among agglomerations within different national contexts? In particular, we compare the role of higher authorities, modes of taxation and financing, relationships among diverse authorities, the form and number of metropolitan institutions, and the mechanisms of harmonization between land use and transportation planning within the cases of thirteen cities in North America and Europe. In particular, we find that different facets of metropolitan administration of public transport are strongly determined by the role of higher–level governments. The presentation of these results also serves as an occasion to call into question the usefulness of comparison, in urban studies, where the value of n is relatively high.

**Bhérier, Laurence – laurence.bherer @ umontreal.ca, Gauthier, Mario – mario.gauthier @ uqo.ca et Simard, Louis – lsimard @ uottawa.ca**

*Transformation(s) de la participation publique en environnement et en planification urbaine au Canada : premiers bilans*

Depuis plusieurs années, se développe ce que plusieurs chercheurs nomment l'impératif délibératif ou participatif. Aux différents échelons gouvernementaux, au sein des organisations publiques, qu'il s'agisse des secteurs de l'environnement, de l'aménagement du territoire et de l'urbanisme, de l'énergie, des transports, de la santé ou des finances, les instruments d'action publique de types informatifs et communicationnels qui visent la délibération et/ou la participation publiques se multiplient et apparaissent plus que jamais au cœur de la gouvernance de nos sociétés et de la vie démocratique au quotidien. Ces phénomènes plutôt récents ont encore peu fait l'objet d'études systématiques. Quelles formes ses instruments et dispositifs prennent–ils ? Quelles sont les comparaisons possibles et souhaitables entre les différentes expériences? Quels sont les effets de ceux–ci sur les politiques publiques, la gestion publique et les décisions? Telles sont les principales questions auxquelles l'atelier souhaite répondre.

In the last several years, there has been a growing movement termed by some scholars as the "deliberative or participatory imperative". At different levels of government, and in a number of policy fields, including the environment, land and urban planning, energy, transport, health or finance, there has been a focus on developing the appropriate policy instruments to strengthen deliberative participation and with it, the governance of societies and of democratic life. These recent phenomena have yet to be studied in a systematic way. What is the character and form of these policy instruments? How do we compare experiences with deliberation? What are the effects of these on policies on public management and on decision making? These are the main issues that this workshop seeks to address.

**Bickerton, James – jbickert @ stfx.ca**

*Seeking New Autonomies: State Rescaling, Reterritorialization, and Minority Identities in Atlantic Canada*

That Canadian provinces exercise a significant degree of regional autonomy is a given for those who study Canada in a comparative context. But this tends to be both reductionist in its collapse of regions into provinces, and neglectful of the ways in which federal institutions can inhibit or co-opt, but also nurture new territorial autonomies.

There have been a number of different catalysts and rationales at work in attempts to diversify and spatially rescale regional governance in Canada: shifts in the national and global political economy that have altered the conditions and strategies for regional development; strong minority group identities and territorial affinities; fiscal and political crises that have been interpreted through the lens of neoliberal ideology and new public management philosophy; and growing energy and environmental pressures that seem poised to trigger a re-scaling of economic activity and regional governance.

At least three different strategies are evident in processes aimed at negotiating and/or constructing new regional autonomies: the creation of completely new nodes of governance; government-initiated spatial rescaling; and the renovation of established constitutional and/or institutional arrangements.

A number of Canadian experiences with new regional autonomies will be examined, yielding insights into the general processes at work, especially as they may apply in well-established federal systems. These cases involve new autonomies at a number of different spatial scales and political processes pursued by a range of cultural and territorial identity groups, in addition to state actors seeking to solve policy problems and implement conflict management strategies.

**Bilodeau, Antoine – [abilodea @ alcor.concordia.ca](mailto:abilodea@alcor.concordia.ca), White, Stephen – [steve.white @ utoronto.ca](mailto:steve.white@utoronto.ca) and Nevitte, Neil – [n.nevitte @ utoronto.ca](mailto:n.nevitte@utoronto.ca)**

*Hope and Disillusionment: The Dynamics of Political Support among Immigrants in Canada*

We know remarkably little about how immigrants generally feel about the political institutions of the host country, and we know even less about the roots and dynamics of political support among immigrants. Using the Canadian case, this paper investigates two questions regarding the dynamics of immigrants' political support.

Research increasingly demonstrates the enduring impact of immigrants' pre-migration political experiences in determining the trajectory of their political integration (Bilodeau 2008; Simpson Bueker 2005; Harles 1997) but it is not clear yet to what extent it shapes immigrants' political support. In a first step, this paper examines to what extent immigrants' political support is rooted in pre-migration experiences of politics with democratic and authoritarian political regimes. Do immigrants who experienced authoritarianism express more or less support than other immigrants who experienced democracy prior coming to Canada?

Research also increasingly demonstrates the impact that the experience of discrimination has on immigrants' integration. Michelson (2003) demonstrates that the experience of discrimination by immigrants weakens their trust relationship with public authorities. In a second step, this paper examines to what extent immigrants' political support is rooted in the treatment received by immigrants in the host society. Do experiences of discrimination and social and economic marginalization make or brake immigrants' relationship with the public officials and with the entire political system? Analyses will be conducted using the 2000 and 2006 New Immigrant Survey conducted among immigrants in who lived in Canada for up to ten years.

**Birch, Lisa – [lisa-maureen.birch.1 @ ulaval.ca](mailto:lisa-maureen.birch.1@ulaval.ca)**

*Marketing, Public Policy and Democracy: Insights from Health Canada's Use of Public Opinion Research*

Political marketing has focused on the use of marketing and public opinion research tools by political parties for political branding, communications and election strategies. Political marketing specialists are now asking questions about the use of these tools by governments (Lees-Marshment, 2009). How do governments use opinion research both in terms of the methods used, their scientific quality, their timing relative to policy decisions? Is this research being used for policy development, social marketing or political communications? Is there any branding taking place and, if so, what is the nature of this branding and is it having the desired impact? Is this research responding to the governing party's own needs or to those of the civil servants in policy and management? What are the implications of this for democracy? These questions are addressed through a case study of Health Canada's utilization of several hundred POR studies between 1995 and 2007. Through content analysis of these reports and their measurement instruments along with document analysis and interviews, we trace the portrait of POR use by Health Canada. We find evidence that these tools are being used for policy development, implementation and evaluation. We also find some evidence of efforts to create a "Health Canada" brand in Canada. The implications are discussed in terms of democratic responsiveness, good governance and legitimacy issues in Canadian federalism.

**Birch, Lisa – [lisa-maureen.birch.1 @ ulaval.ca](mailto:lisa-maureen.birch.1@ulaval.ca)**

*Canadian Women's Opinions and their Impact: A Case Study of Health Care Reform, 1995–2007*

Ideas about the privatization of the health care system permeated Canadian health policy debates from 1995 on. A gender analysis of Canadian health reform by the economists, Forget et al (2005), concluded that "women have a particular interest in maintaining single-payer insurance, because women are moderately higher users of healthcare resources, while men tend to be low or catastrophic users who would be shielded from the full force of market-oriented reforms." One would thus expect women to have stronger, more crystallized opinions on Medicare and its reform. This study seeks to determine whether women's opinions aligned with their expected economic, social and health interests, and if so, whether this made a difference in aggregate public opinion data, in the evolution of the debate and in the policy choices for reform. We analyse public opinion research commissioned by state and non-state actors to see what it

reveals about the direction of women's preferences, the intensity of their views and the consistency of their opinions on health care reform compared to those of men. Through triangulation by policy and media analysis with interviews, we look at what influence, if any, women's opinions had on public opinion and on Canadian health care policy choices.

**Bird, Karen – kbird @ mcmaster.ca and Khan, Mohammed – ayubpathan @ hotmail.com**

*Canada's South Asian MPs in the Age of Internet 2.0: Cultural Consciousness, Web Savvy and Impression Management*

The internet has increasingly become an effective medium for political communications. Politicians are using it to reach out to potential voters in the campaign period, and to keep in touch with constituents once elected. This paper assesses how Canada's South Asian origin MPs utilise the internet in reaching out to their constituents, as well as how they themselves are perceived online.

At a theoretical level, the study considers the potentially unique representative role played by visible minority MPs vis-à-vis minority citizens. It explores how these MPs present themselves to constituents in an institutionally relatively unconstrained environment, thereby adding to our understanding of the nature of 'minority representation' in Canadian politics.

Empirically, the research involves two complementary strategies. The first explores the image that is intentionally presented by MPs, while the second explores public perceptions of the same MPs. The research design thus involves two components:

1) A content analysis of selected MPs' websites, facebook and twitter pages, focussing on what issues the MPs choose to highlight, photographs they post, language(s) of communication deployed. 2) An analysis of perceptions of MPs, focussing on user interface with MPs websites. This assessment will be done through the use of analytical tools including Google Trends and AdSense. We will also undertake focus group interviews with constituents, applying an innovative experiment: prior to the group discussion, some participants will have surfed the web on their MP, while the others will have no such pre-treatment.

**Bittner, Amanda – abittner @ mun.ca**

*The Impact of Political Institutions on the Role of Party Leaders in Elections*

In any systematic assessment of how evaluations of leaders affect electoral outcomes, one would expect some discussion of the institutional factors that provide a framework for voters and candidates. The bulk of the literature surrounding the role of leaders tends not to focus on the influence of institutions, but some scholars have touched briefly on the issue, focusing on the impact of electoral systems (Banducci and Karp 2000), and the role of presidential versus parliamentary systems in bringing the evaluation of leaders to the forefront (Graetz and McAllister 1987b; Klingemann and Wattenberg 1992; Mughan 1993, 2000). Some scholars suggest that leaders should be more important in presidential systems which place a premium on candidates, rather than parliamentary systems which encourage a focus on parties (McAllister 1996; Wattenberg 1991). This argument conflicts somewhat with the numerous findings of the independent impacts of leader evaluations in parliamentary systems (Banducci and Karp 2000; Bean 1993; Bean and Mughan 1989; Brown et al. 1988; Clarke et al. 2000; Crewe and King 1994; Gidengil et al. 2000a; Gidengil et al. 2000b; Graetz and McAllister 1987b; Hudson 1984; Jones and Hudson 1996; Mughan 2000; Stewart and Clarke 1992). Using data from 35 elections in 7 countries, this poster explores these competing theories to get to the root of the role of political institutions in explaining the importance of party leaders in elections.

**Bittner, Amanda – abittner @ mun.ca, Terry, Jillian – jterry @ mun.ca and Piercey, Susan –**

*Who Cares? Canadian Attitudes About Women in Politics*

In November of 2008, 69 women were elected to the Canadian House of Commons, representing 22.4% of the 308 sitting Members of Parliament. Despite this record high number of women elected to the House of Commons, the number of men elected to parliament still far exceeds that of women. Furthermore, the ratio of men to women in the House continues to vastly over-represent the ratio of men to women in the Canadian population. Scholars have pointed to a number of factors that influence the presence (or lack thereof) of women in politics (Bashevkin 1985; Burns et al. 1997; Elder 2004; Erickson 1993; Gidengil & Everitt 2000; Hooghe & Stolle 2004; MacIvor 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2006; and Schlozman et al. 1994). Very few studies, however, focus on the attitudes of voters themselves in explaining women's representation in parliament (see, however, Bennett & Bennett 1999 and Jennings 2006). This paper aims to fill the gap. Longitudinal analysis of voters' attitudes in Canada during elections over the past decade (1997–2008) suggests that neither men or women are particularly concerned about the number of women in parliament, nor do they believe that policies or regulations should be introduced to increase the number of women candidates put forward by Canadian political parties. We argue that the relatively low number of women elected to the House of Commons is closely linked to the lack of concern about the issue on the part of the Canadian public. Simply put, people don't care, so women aren't there.

**Blattberg, Charles – charles.blattberg @ umontreal.ca**

*Taking Politics Seriously – But Not Too Seriously*

In this paper I argue that monist political philosophers such as John Rawls fail to take politics seriously enough. The reason is that they treat it as if it were, or could be, a game. The paper begins by showing why we consider games as unserious and then asserts that Rawls's theory of justice is more than merely analogous to a game, as Rawls himself claims, but is in fact a kind of game. Conceiving of justice in this way is then shown to be harmful to political practice both as regards the citizens who participate directly in it and those who do no more than follow it. Similar harms, it is then argued, come from taking politics too seriously, which is the attitude of pluralist political philosophers such as Isaiah Berlin. To them, the plural, incommensurable nature of political values means that they cannot be reconciled when they

conflict; politics, as a result, becomes a site of no more than compromise, dirty hands and hence tragedy. What is needed, the paper thus concludes, is a third, middle way.

**Blidook, Kelly – kblidook @ mun.ca**

*Legislative Activity and Political Career Paths*

This research undertakes an examination of parliamentary activities in order to assess the importance of various factors, including “theatre”, in Canadian political life. The purpose is to better understand how both performance and competence (symbol and substance) affect the likelihood of an MP gaining promotion. The research questions to be answered are: does one’s ability to “perform” in Parliament have an independent and tangible value in terms of individual career promotion? If so, how significant is it?

Question Period (QP) has become the public’s window on Parliament. The media generally feature stories based upon QP (Smith 2007; Soroka 2002), and some research also suggests a substantive significance of oral questions in politics and policymaking (Crimmins and Nesbitt–Larking 1996; Howlett 1998; Penner et al 2006). All of this suggests that the importance placed on this single venue may have a significant affect upon who sits in front benches in Parliament. The research method for this paper involves two stages. First, it uses quantitative data to track the frequency of questions asked in QP over the period 1980–2004 in order to assess trends of QP “performances” and determine if these trends are predictive in terms of MP promotions/demotions. The second stage of the study includes analyzing data from a series of qualitative interviews with MPs which have been conducted with the purpose of assessing the perceived importance of various factors and parliamentary venues in terms of their impact on MP promotions.

**Bodet, Marc–André – marcandre.bodet @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Fortresses, Strongholds and Battlegrounds: Measuring Electoral Support in Canada*

Despite the nationalization of politics in Canada, local electoral competition remains fundamental to our understanding of politics in Ottawa. The Single Member Plurality system conditions government formation since Members of Parliament remain the only elected officials in our democratic system. In this paper, I discuss how the electoral system and party configurations influence the structure of representation in the House of Commons. Using official electoral results, census, and survey data covering ten recent elections (1979–2008), I suggest a comprehensive parametric typology of constituencies based on their levels of competitiveness across time. Ridings are classified as fortresses, strongholds or battlegrounds depending on how well parties perform in successive elections and the stability of this support. I cover three partisan configurations and show how support from a wide array of socio–economic groups has changed across parties and time, and how these changes might be expressed differently at the micro– and macro–levels. Important shifts in the electorate have challenged the traditional image of the Liberal Party as the “natural governing party” and explain the relative success of the Conservative Party since 2004.

**Bodet, Marc–André – marcandre.bodet @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Sides of the Same Story: Media Coverage of Polls about Quebec Sovereignty*

Support for sovereignty is a very sensitive question and one of the major cleavages in Québec politics. In this article, we examine the relationship between public support for sovereignty among Québec citizens and media coverage of opinion polls in *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, and *The Gazette*. Based on recent work on media gatekeeping (Soroka 2009), we expect two phenomena in our case of interest. First, newspaper will tend to give more weight to polls showing a decrease in the support for sovereignty. Secondly, we expect some form of asymmetric responsiveness that will condition the gatekeeping function as we move from nationalist to federalist newspapers. We make use of two sources of data. First, we include opinion polls on the question of sovereignty conducted between the 1995 referendum and the 2003 general provincial election. Secondly, we code media tone for every article published during that period using automated content analysis techniques. This analysis casts light on possible biases that citizens might face when dealing with valence issues.

**Bodruzic, Dragana – dragana.bodruzic @ utoronto.ca**

*Civil Society in a Post–Conflict Multiethnic Setting: A Case Study of Bosnia*

Disagreements about how best to promote democracy in societies emerging from conflict have been well exemplified in the constitutional design debate between Arend Lijphart and Donald Horowitz. Despite their differences, both believe that ethnic divides will impact the form of polity that emerges in a particular post–conflict society. What is not well researched, however, is how constitutional design impacts the development of civil society in a post–conflict setting. I explore this question by considering the development of civil society in Bosnia–Herzegovina following the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. The paper focuses on the barriers that civil society has faced in its development, and considers how these barriers are linked to the country’s constitutional set–up. It also analyses what the challenges faced by civil society indicate about Bosnia’s prospects of achieving more lasting peace.

This paper is based on two months of qualitative field research conducted in Bosnia, as well as on a wide selection of secondary sources in Bosnian and English. The focus is on two separate, though not unrelated sets of literature: that on civil society, and that on the constitutional arrangements of plural states. What is lacking, it seems, is sufficient theorization bridging these two sets of literature. The paper, by focusing on how civil society has developed within Bosnia’s consociational constitutional setting, attempts to bridge these two literatures.

This paper is part of a larger project on democratization in post–conflict societies, which I am pursuing as part of my PhD at the University of Toronto.

**Boesten, Jan – jboesten @ interchange.ubc.ca**

### *The Institutionalization of (Dis)trust in Colombia*

The paper I propose, intends to expand on the concept of the institutionalization of trust and distrust. I found that Colombia is caught in a social trap, which is itself the result of the generalization of particularized trust. When the Colombian executive utilized paramilitaries to fight an internal counterinsurgency war against the guerrillas, the influence of these closed trust networks extended into the executive. This undermined the institutionalized distrust standard in democratic states. This social trap generates system exceptions to the rule of law despite a liberal constitutional design. I intend to expand on this framework and include Venezuela in this analysis. I want to look, if we can see patterns of institutionalized trust and distrust and how these matter for the rule of law in Venezuela. Do we see in-groups – particularized trust networks – at one juncture in the Venezuelan political system? Is the presidency bestowed with distrust or are the “populist patterns” of rule that Chavez utilizes – playing community councils against municipal and regional opponents for example – effectively undermining the institutionalized distrust that is normative to democratic regimes? Venezuela and Colombia are “obvious” cases of comparison due to the similarities in their political histories: long history of constitutional rule, party systems developing out of a pacted democracy, and eventual breakdown of that “pacted” party system. With this, I want to test how far the framework of institutionalized trust and distrust can take us in comparative politics. Therefore, expanding the model from a case study to a similar case, appears to have merit.

### **Boisvert, Yves – yves.boisvert @ enap.ca**

*Régime de divulgation dans la fonction publique : une comparaison entre le Canada, Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Royaume-Uni et États-Unis.*

Peu après le scandale des commandites, le Canada a adopté en 2005 la Loi sur la protection des fonctionnaires divulgateurs d'actes répréhensibles (LPFDAR). La LPFDAR a pour objectif 1) d'offrir une protection au fonctionnaire-divulgateur témoin d'actes répréhensibles commis au sein de la fonction publique et 2) de fournir un cadre juridique à tout fonctionnaire souhaitant obtenir réparation parce qu'il a été victime de représailles dans son milieu de travail suite à une divulgation. Si la LPFDAR n'est en vigueur que depuis 2007, l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande, le Royaume-Uni et les États-Unis ont tous précédé le Canada dans l'adoption d'une telle loi.

Cette présentation vise à présenter les résultats d'une recherche comparative sur les systèmes de protection des divulgateurs et de réparation suite à des représailles des pays ci-haut nommés. Plutôt que de m'attarder à décrire les modèles de gouvernance et les différents processus découlant de la loi, je mettrai davantage l'accent sur la présentation des résultats (par ex. nombre de dossiers de divulgation et de réparation reçus annuellement) que je tenterai de moduler selon différents paramètres, tels que :

- Le caractère intégrateur de la loi
- Le caractère autorégulateur ou hétérorégulateur de loi
- Le caractère privé ou public de la loi
- L'âge du système de divulgation

Cette recherche a été menée sous la supervision d'Yves Boisvert, professeur en éthique et gouvernance à l'École nationale d'administration publique de Montréal, et fera l'objet d'une publication ultérieurement.

### **Boisvert, Yves – yves.boisvert @ enap.ca et Tremblay, Maryse – maryse.tremblay @ enap.ca**

*Structure et gouvernance des institutions parlementaires. Le cas des gardiens de l'éthique canadienne*

La Banque Mondiale définit la responsabilité horizontale comme étant la capacité d'un réseau de pouvoirs relativement indépendants (...) de remettre en question, et éventuellement de punir, une déresponsabilisation inadéquate d'un agent gouvernemental. En d'autres mots, la responsabilité horizontale est la capacité des institutions d'État de veiller aux manquements et abus commis par d'autres agences publiques et instances gouvernementales .

Au sein du régime fédéral canadien, huit institutions parlementaires, que l'on surnomme les «Gardiens de l'éthique», agissent en tant qu'infrastructure du réseau de responsabilité horizontale et veillent à ce que l'intégrité de l'éthique publique et des valeurs canadiennes soit préservée. Dans le cadre du mandat qui leur est conféré, ils ont élaboré des programmes de gestion des plaintes et des mécanismes d'enquête propres à leurs compétences qui permettent l'achèvement d'une saine gouvernance publique du régime fédéral canadien.

La communication fera état de la structure des modèles de gouvernance des huit haut-fonctionnaires fédéraux et présentera les résultats de l'analyse comparative de leurs processus d'enquête et de gestion des plaintes. Une analyse des meilleurs pratiques en matière de tenue d'enquête sera ensuite mise de l'avant, suivie par les conclusions et recommandations sommaires.

### **Bolduc, Josée – jbolduc1 @ connect.carleton.ca and Hanvelt, Marc – marc\_hanvelt @ carleton.ca**

*Articulating the Secular: The Transcendent in Charles Taylor's Pluralism*

In *A Secular Age*, Charles Taylor describes the new conditions of belief, in the modern secular turn, as a great variety of equally plausible options ranging from orthodoxy to atheism. Taylor has never denied the fact that he is a practicing Catholic and that his faith partly affects his understanding of the current secular turn. His work has been an attempt to articulate the secular in order to emphasize its roots and thus to facilitate communication over tradition and faith in a pluralist society. This paper will argue that Taylor's personal notion of the transcendent informs his claim that the need for meaning is inherent to the human condition and can only be truly fulfilled in religious faith and practice. While Taylor claims that articulation aims at the establishment of a common web of interlocution for groups ranging from orthodox believers to atheists, his notion of the transcendent actually suggests that secularism can only provide a temporary solution to the human need for meaning. The importance that Taylor attributes to the transcendent, in turn, raises questions about the legitimacy of secular claims in the public sphere. For example, are the secular principles at the heart

of the pluralist, modern society confining people to a cohesiveness without meaning? Is the secular language of the public realm as neutral as it claims to be? How relevant to a society can such language be for Taylor if secularism is merely a weak solution to a misunderstood need for meaning?

**Bonner, Michelle – mbonner @ uvic.ca**

*Defining the Role of the Police: Discourse and Accountability in Chile*

Police play a role in authoritarian regimes that is often very violent. Thus defining a new role for the police with the return of electoral democracy is important. However, establishing what this role should be is very political. Often the central debate is framed as a zero-sum battle between security and human rights. The definition chosen has implications for accountability as it establishes the boundaries between acceptable police behaviour and wrongdoing. Drawing on over forty interviews conducted in Chile in 2009, this paper analyzes the way key groups frame the role of the police. The frames are evaluated in terms of their consequences for accountability.

**Borst, Chris – chris.borst @ utoronto.ca**

*Relative Non-Elite Power: Kenneth Bollen's Theory of Democracy and an Agenda for Democracy Measurement*

Kenneth Bollen is arguably the most important figure in the methodology of democracy measurement. In an early paper, Bollen (1980) defined democracy as "the extent to which the political power of the elites is minimized and that of the nonelites is maximized". Considering this definition as theory, I argue that Bollen's definition is superior to the Dahl-Schumpeter model cited in most democracy measurement methodology – more general, more precise, more scalable, less derivative and less tendentious – but examine the problems involved in his use of "political" and "minimized/maximized". Considering his operationalization of this theory, I argue that the operationalization of Bollen & Paxton (1997), "Democracy before Athens", is superior to that in the bulk of his work – both in terms of the theory of Bollen (1980) and on the methodological standards recommended in his work on structural equation models – though giving attention to the serious problems that led to his operational choices. Finally, I sketch out an agenda for work on the measurement of democracy following from these conclusions – an agenda for measuring relative non-elite power.

**Boucher, Jean-Christophe – jcboucher84 @ hotmail.com and Roussel, Stephane – roussel.stephane @ uqam.ca**

*Quebec's Anti-imperialism and its Influence on Canadian Foreign and Defense Policy: The Ballistic Defence Missile's Case*

Much has been said about Quebec's attitude toward Canadian foreign and defense policy. Although the "pacifist myth" is still used to explain the province's singularity on foreign policy matters, many recent studies have tried to shed new light on this specific issue. Criticizing the "easy" explanation of an inherent anti-militarist attitude in Quebec's society, some authors have, instead, traced Quebec's opinion on Canadian military participation overseas to anti-British imperialism found at the turn of the 20th century in the "Belle province". We argue that we can find much in common between this particular trait of anti-imperialism found in Quebec in the beginning of the 20th century and today's attitude toward close military cooperation with the U.S. Especially when this cooperation is associated with a strong military U.S. interests. In short, we argue that far from being "pacifists", Quebecers seem to be highly critical of Canadian close military ties to the U.S. To support this idea, we analyze the decision from Canada not to participate to the U.S.-led Ballistic defence missile project. Examining news coverage in English and French newspapers between 2002 and 2005, we find that Quebecers expressed an opinion that amounted more to anti-Americanism than anti-militarism.

**Bourbeau, Philippe – philippe.bourbeau @ uottawa.ca**

*Editorialists, Security, and Canada: the case of international migration*

One often reads that popular written medias bear a special responsibility in the linkage between migration and security. In Canada, several observers have argued that media often (if not always) portray the movement of people as negative; thus, fostering a sense of threat and insecurity. In addition, several Canadian senior analysts/bureaucrats interviewees for this study have ranked media as a highly significant actor in the process of securitizing migration. In this paper, I problematize the relationship among editorialists, security, and migration in Canada. I investigate editorials of two major newspapers in Canada (The Globe and Mail, La Presse) between 1989 and 2005; I demonstrate that the role of editorialists in the securitization process is not as straightforward as many would it to be.

**Bourgault, Sophie – sbourgau @ uottawa.ca**

*Plato, Gadamer and Foucault.*

In recent years, the Greek notion of parrhesia (frank-speech) has attracted the attention of numerous students of ancient political thought—and in particular, students of Plato. Appeals to the Platonic treatment of frank-speech have often been done with the intention of showing that Plato is not an enemy of democracy; rather, his dialogues are said to contain a much more ambivalent stance towards the democratic ideal. For instance, Sara Monson has noted that "Plato straightforwardly appropriates the democratic ideal of parrhesia for the practice of philosophy." (Plato's Democratic Entanglements, p.180). Similarly, Peter Euben has suggested that "the Socrates of the Gorgias is genuinely sympathetic to aspects of democratic culture" ('Democracy and Political Theory: A Reading of Plato's Gorgias', p.203). Largely through an appeal to Hans-Georg Gadamer's work and Foucault's peculiar treatment of parrhesia in *Le Gouvernement de soi et des autres*, this paper argues that contemporary efforts to make Plato more palatable to our democratic sensibilities are not entirely convincing, but most importantly, not desirable.

**Bourque, Mélanie – melanie.bourque @ uqo.ca and Farrah, Jean-Simon – jean-simon.farrah @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Roemer's Typology 20 Years Later : Does Privatization alter the Developmental Paths of Nationalized, Mandated and Entrepreneurial Health Care Systems?*

In 1990, Roemer came up with a very influential health system typology. From his vast study, emerged three types of health care systems: nationalized (Canada, Sweden, UK), mandated (France, Germany, Netherlands) and entrepreneurial (USA). Health care systems are not static; slow changes and reforms somewhat alter values and goals on which those systems were initially established. We think privatization is one of the main factors inducing altered developmental paths in health care systems. With that in mind, in 2010, is Roemer's typology still relevant for students of health care systems? Are national health care systems moving away from these models? If that is the case, is privatization a significant explanatory variable for the loosening of Roemer's typology? We will attempt to answer these questions by identifying the main arguments in the literature which suggest that Roemer's model may not be as accurate anymore. Then, we will develop our own approach to health care system classification with a particular look at effects of privatization (management practices, service delivery, insurance, out-of-pocket or tariffs) on health care systems' developmental paths. The cases of Canada, France, United-Kingdom, USA and Sweden will be assessed to support our main arguments. Findings will be important because they will be an indication of whether 1) Roemer's model is still accurate or not, 2) whether health care systems from a similar category are actually moving in the same direction or not and 3) the extent to which privatization is causing important structural shifts in health care systems.

**Boychuk, Gerard – gboychuk @ uwaterloo.ca**

*The Color of Health Care: Obama, Race and Reform*

The paper examines the role of race in current health care reform debates in the United States. In late 2009, a coalition of major African-American and Latino civil rights groups launched a major advertising effort emphasizing the importance of reform efforts (especially the public insurance option) to people of color. Similarly, former senator Daschle argued publicly that the debate over health care reform "is the civil rights battle of the early part of this century[.]" Echoing this framing of the debate, earlier friction over health care reform among factions of the Democratic Party were reported by the national media as having "racial overtones." Examining public opinion polling and media coverage, the paper considers the effects of efforts to cast the health care reform debate in terms of civil rights imperatives. The paper also considers the broader state of race relations in the current context relative to the state of relations in which the Clinton administration introduced reforms and the effects that this has had on the political viability of current attempts at health care reform.

**Boychuk, Gerard – gboychuk @ uwaterloo.ca and Wallner, Jennifer – jennifer.wallner @ uregina.ca**

*Power, Money, and Relations: Comparing the Federal Features of Australia, Canada, and the United States*

Students of comparative federalism have long documented the features that characterize and distinguish federal states. Cross-national variations in components such as the balance of powers among the orders of government, fiscal federalism, and intergovernmental relations have figured prominently in comparative studies of federations. Explanations for these differences range from case specific factors, such as prevailing coalitions among pertinent political and economic groups to more generalizable structural factors, such as the ethno-linguistic characteristics of the social base (Erk and Koning, 2009). Usually, researchers focus exclusively on one feature – such as Rodden's (2003) investigation of fiscal federalism or Erk's (2008) work on decentralization. While providing rich details, this approach may miss the connections, and indeed potential interdependence, among these three important components of federal systems. This paper will explore the potential interactive effects among these three features of federalism by examining their characteristics across three cases: Australia, Canada, and the United States. Our intention is to determine whether or not consistent patterns emerge in the national arrangements of these three features and in the factors that influence their character.

**Bradford, Neil – bradford @ uwo.ca**

*Economic Ideas and Development Strategy: The Case of London Ontario*

In recent years recognition has grown of the significance of cities and regions as strategic spaces of innovation in the global economy. An international body of research now documents the importance of local sources of competitive advantage, and the geographic clustering of high technology producers in particular city-regions with an "innovative milieu" offering the services, amenities, and networks that support knowledge-driven adaptations. The bulk of these studies continue to focus on new economy 'hotspots' such as the Silicon Valley or large cosmopolitan creative cities, including Toronto and Vancouver. Consequently, much less is known about economic innovation in smaller, second tier cities where the dynamics of change are likely quite different from those in the talent rich and highly resilient global centers. This paper helps address this gap by examining two such "ordinary" cities in Southern Ontario – Waterloo and London. The analysis is organized in three parts. First, we take stock of the specific configuration of knowledge economy assets, opportunities, and challenges for each city, tracing patterns over time and probing strategic choices at critical development junctures. Second, we map their rather divergent economic trajectories and cluster profiles. Finally, we explore the different institutional practices, network relations, and knowledge flows that have shaped development strategies and economic trajectories, engaging with theoretical arguments from leading urban and regional innovation scholars such as Annalee Saxenian, Sean Safford, David Wolfe and Meric Gertler.

**Bradford, Neil – bradford @ huron.uwo.ca**

*Framing Canada's National Policy Debate: The Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects*

Commissions of Inquiry (COI) are important to public policy and public administration in Canada. COI scholarship features in-depth case studies probing the factors which condition effectiveness, and policy theories that explain their operation

and outcomes. This paper contributes to the COI body of knowledge through focused study of the 1955–58 Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Gordon Commission). Seeking to understand the commission's policy impact, the paper uses a neo-institutional framework to track dynamics across five explanatory variables: the external context shaping the COI's creation; the ideas that structured the COI's thinking; the institutional features that organized the COI's work; the actors involved in the COI's activities; and the relationships both inside and outside the COI that influenced outcomes and legacies. The paper's exploration of the Gordon Commission highlights several key dimensions shaping the inquiry's policy relevance. These include the presence of a fully engaged Chair committed to advancing a particular set of economic ideas; a quite open-ended mandate that invited broad reconsideration of prevailing federal policy practices; and an internal COI struggle over postwar Canadian development policy (reflected in the published reports and research) that set in motion a protracted debate in academia, government, and think tanks between 'continentalists' and 'nationalists'. The paper situates the Gordon Commission as a discursive and relational 'policy bridge' across the Keynesian Rowell-Sirois Commission of the 1930s and the neo-liberal 1980s Macdonald Commission.

**Bramwell, Allison – abramwell @ lincsat.com**

*Urban Governance in a Deindustrializing Ontario City: Crucible or Conundrum?*

Cities are important strategic spaces that mediate the impact of globalization. The complexity of balancing the exigencies of economic competitiveness in a global knowledge-based economy and the democratic imperatives of social inclusion are, however, beyond the capacity of local governments alone. Consequently, there has been increased analytical attention to the collaborative efforts of local state and non-state actors to develop policy responses to local economic development and social welfare challenges. Comparative studies of urban governance focus on questions of local political agency, and examine variation in the patterns of interaction between local governments and community-based actors, and the strategic political choices that result, in cities within and between different national contexts. Yet studies of urban governance dynamics in Canadian cities are relatively rare. This paper presents the results of a case study of recent urban governance initiatives in Hamilton, Ontario, a medium-sized de-industrializing city in the process of attempting to diversify its economy while also alleviating its comparatively high poverty rate. Innovative community-wide urban governance mechanisms aimed at developing strategic responses to these challenges, such as the Hamilton Economic Summit, the Jobs Prosperity Collaborative, and the Hamilton Roundtable for Poverty Reduction, have recently emerged in Hamilton. These initiatives appear to enjoy strong civic leadership and broad cross-sectoral support, but similar efforts in the past have met with limited success due to political obstacles at the local level. The key question is whether or not current initiatives can overcome barriers to collaboration and develop durable governance mechanisms to support major economic and social transitions.

**Brennan, Jordan – jbreannan @ yorku.ca**

*Crisis of Capitalism or Theoretical Crisis? Dominant Capital and Differential Accumulation in Canada*

This paper will argue that both mainstream and Marxist explanations of the current political-economic crisis are off the mark because they ask the wrong questions. Instead of looking at absolute outcomes in the accumulation process—based on either utility (neoclassical economics) or abstract labour (Marxism)—this paper will employ a new theoretical framework that uses the twin concepts 'dominant capital' and 'differential accumulation' to query distributional outcomes. The paper will begin with a brief primer on the theoretics of this new approach and from there will examine the crisis at three levels: first, the distributional winners within dominant capital itself; second, the performance of dominant capital in relation to the corporate universe as a whole; and third, the performance of capital relative to labour. Using disaggregate measures and with a view to differential and distributional outcomes, we will be in a better position to determine whom this has actually been a crisis for.

**Breux, Sandra – sandra.breux @ umontreal.ca and Bherer, Laurence – laurence.bherer @ umontreal.ca**

*Urbanity and Politics: Need We Worry About the State of Municipal Democracy in Quebec?*

The last municipal elections in Quebec have brought to light problems concerning those governing (corruption, ethics, etc.) and those governed (weak voter participation, questionable representation), albeit to greatly varying degrees depending on the region in question. Paradoxically, however, there are very few election studies that examine municipal governance in Canada. Moreover, apart from studies on the three big Canadian cities, there are few studies that paint a political portrait of the main Canadian cities. Thus, our objective with this paper is to show the principal characteristics of the political scene at the municipal level and, more precisely, of the nine largest cities in Quebec and some forty medium-size cities throughout the same province. The broader objective is to set up a mechanism for the systematic comparison of municipal elections. Our paper is based on exchanges made during two meetings attended by some dozen researchers associated with the VRM network. (Those exchanges will also be the subject of a scientific work to be published by Les Presses de l'Université Laval.)

**Broady Preiss, Joshua – joshua.preiss @ bucknell.edu**

*Is Social Contract Theory Impotent in Response to Political and Economic Violence?*

Social contract theory is the dominant way in which the political authority of a state is justified in Anglophone political philosophy. Depending on the account, a real or imagined agreement serves to delineate the scope and content of political or social authority, including what it would mean for social institutions to be just. Despite its influence, social contract faces significant challenges in the context of society with a history of political or economic violence. Working in the context of pre- and post-Apartheid South Africa and pre- and post-Katrina New Orleans, this paper will consider whether influential contemporary "contract theories" are able to address the legitimate concerns of individuals or

groups that currently experience or recently experienced political or economic violence. My claim is that a form of contractualism, political contractualism, can provide meaningful guidance to societies with a recent history of political or economic violence, but only if it meets a variety of conditions. Such a theory, among other qualities, must (1) be historically informed, (2) recognize the relevance of group membership to individual agency (3) understand equal moral status as distinct from equal power or capacity to do harm. Ultimately, political contractualism provides an alternative model for both institutional design and political engagement in such far from ideal contexts.

**Brock, Kathy – Kathy.Brock @ queensu.ca**

*Conflict and Cooperation within the Canadian Federation: Fiscal Relations, A National Securities Commission and Labour Market Agreements*

Economic instability caused by turmoil in financial markets requires an almost unprecedented level of cooperation among Canadian governments and an active role for the federal government in meeting challenges posed by the uncertain global market. However, the difficulties in the two levels of jurisdiction cooperating and the complications posed by competing interests at the provincial level of government have become all too apparent in the recent proposal to create a national securities commission for Canada. The federal government and Ontario appear to be pitted against the two heavyweight provinces of Alberta and Quebec as the reference question on the constitutionality of a national securities commission proceeds to the Supreme Court. Questions of the impact of this battle on the stability of the federal system are being whispered once again. Is this proposal a betrayal of the federal principal? Of the promises of Open Federalism made to the provinces by the Harper Conservatives? Is cooperation becoming increasingly difficult within the Canadian federation? This paper compares the recent attempt to create a national securities commission with the relatively recent construction of labour market agreements between the federal and provincial governments. While the former case reveals the competing interests and intransigence in the federation, the latter agreements reveal the extent to which the levels of government can engage in constructive cooperation to the benefit of citizens. The processes leading to the two end results are critical contrast in negotiated fiscal arrangements. Using a framework derived from the work of Ron Watts and Alan Cairns the paper, compares the two cases in the context of open federalism and reveals how the federation must change to respond to new global and domestic economic realities if both levels of government are to serve citizens effectively.

**Brock, Kathy – Kathy.Brock @ queensu.ca**

*Oka vs Caledonia and Cornwall: Assessing the Learning Curve in Intergovernmental Cooperation*

The 1990 Oka crisis involving the Mohawk First Nation of Kanesatake brought the actions of the Canadian state under intense scrutiny. The Quebec police force was faulted for heavy-handed operations. The Quebec government was criticized for inviting the Canadian armed forces in to manage the dispute. Opinion remains divided over the role of the Canadian army. The federal government was criticized for not acting and achieving a fair settlement sooner and not defending First Nation interests. Both the Quebec and federal governments were faulted for excessive expenditures and tensions that occurred between them and with the Mohawk First Nation.

An important dimension of the longer term impact of Oka on First Nations involves an examination of how well the Canadian and Quebec governments interacted with each other as well as the First Nations authorities in resolving a dispute over lands. How did the three authorities interact to control rogue actors? Did the federal and provincial governments recognize and act within their jurisdiction? The criticisms raised above indicate they did not. Have governments learned from Oka? Did Oka provide a model for improving relations and the settlement of disputes among the three governments? This paper will compare the state of intergovernmental relations at Oka with confrontations at Deseronto (2008) and Cornwall (2009) to assess the learning curve of governments over 20 years. The paper assesses how well the Canadian state is adapting to changing social and economic realities to determine the impact of Oka on Canadian state–First Nations relations.

**Broschek, Jörg – joerg.broschek @ fernuni-hagen.de**

*Critical Junctures, Path Dependence, and the Varieties of Federalism*

This paper starts from the assumption that federal systems exhibit diverging rather than converging developmental paths. It first introduces a typological framework of federal systems that allows to systematically map varying federal configurations and to gauge possible directions of change. Seeking to link historical institutionalism and comparative federalism, the paper then probes the value of the critical juncture and path dependence concepts for tracing different federal trajectories. It is argued that both concepts are useful for explaining how federal systems emerge from contingent origins and how they broadly evolve over time due to positive feedback as well as historically constructed ratchet effects. Path dependence, however, does not necessarily mean stickiness or even stasis as federal systems contain within themselves different institutional capacities to translate pressure for change into distinct patterns of readjustment or even redirection.

**Brouillet, Eugénie – eugenie.brouillet @ fd.ulaval.ca and Tanguay, Yves – eugenie.brouillet @ fd.ulaval.ca**

*La légitimité de l'arbitrage constitutionnel en régime fédératif plurinational: Le cas de la Cour suprême du Canada*

L'objet de l'article sera d'évaluer le plus ou moins grand degré de légitimité fédérative de la Cour suprême du Canada. Dans un premier temps, sera d'abord esquissée une grille d'analyse de la légitimité fédérative articulée autour de trois axes : la légitimité institutionnelle ou organique (juridiction de la cour, composition et mode de désignation de ses membres); la légitimité fonctionnelle (type de contrôle de constitutionnalité exercé, mode de saisine, paradigme interprétatif et pouvoir du « dernier mot »); et la légitimité sociale (attentes des auditoires). Le cas de la Cour suprême du

Canada sera ensuite analysé à l'aune de ce triple point de vue. Cet exercice permettra de mettre en exergue certains problèmes eu égard à la légitimité de cette dernière en matière de différends fédératifs.

**Brown, David C.G. – fordbrown @ rogers.com**

*The Unfulfilled Promise of Information Management in the Government of Canada*

The advent of new information and communications technologies in the 1990s gave a more prominent role to information management as a discipline of public administration, offering the prospect of knowledge-based government in the knowledge-based economy and society. In the federal government, the promise of information management enabled by networked computing and database technologies has been highlighted by the move towards citizen-centred service and the provision of information-based services to the public. There has also been a growing recognition in many areas of government that their knowledge base is a defining element and a significant asset. This promise has not been fully realized, however, for a number of reasons. These include the historical neglect of information and records management in public administration, compounded by the lack of a unified understanding of what those activities encompass or even of how they relate to each other. There has also been a weak recognition and consequent undervaluing of information as a public resource, compounded by increasingly poor management of that resource in the electronic era. Vulnerabilities arise across the board, from the practices of individual public servants to government-wide 'enterprise' information architecture. The treatment of information management as a sub-set of the management of information technology has been another limiting factor, as have wariness at the political level and a weak connection to senior public service governance structures and the public sector reform agenda. The latter two elements are particularly important if the full potential of information and knowledge management is to be realized.

**Brown, Steven – sdbrown @ wlu.ca, Cochrane, Christopher – ccochrane @ wlu.ca,**

**Kay, Barry – bkay @ wlu.ca, and Parrella, Andrea – aperrella @ wlu.ca**

*Political Ideology in Canada: Is it Geographically Contiguous?*

The study of regionalism in Canada is dominated by a broad ecological approach rooted in the concept of culture (Bell, 1992; Horowitz, 1966; Lipset, 1986; Simeon & Elkin, 1974; Wiseman, 2008). The focus from this perspective is aggregate-level differences between groups. These groups have been conceptualized in a number of different ways: as provinces (Simeon & Elkins, 1974), as trans-provincial regions (Wiseman, 2008), and, recently, as non-contiguous sub-provincial regions (Henderson, 2004). Group-level analyses underscore important differences between groups across multiple dimensions of political thought, but they do not examine the belief systems of the individuals within those groups. This paper addresses the topic of Canadian regionalism from the standpoint of an approach that shifts the level of analysis from the group-level concept of 'culture' to the individual-level concept of 'ideology'. Drawing on a large body of data from Ipsos-Reid, we answer the questions: is political ideology in Canada geographically contiguous? And, if so, in what ways?

**Brownsey, Keith – kbrownsey @ mtroyal.ca**

*Meet the New Boss: Same as the Old Boss*

Transitions in a One Party State. The Boring Case of Alberta

Transitions in a One Party State will contrast the 1971 transition in Alberta from the Social Credit Government of Harry Strom to the Progressive Conservative Government of Peter Lougheed with the 1992 transition from Progressive Conservative Don Getty to Progressive Conservative Ralph Klein. The formal processes and planning of the two transitions will be discussed and compared. As well, the changes that occurred in the executive decision making processes as a result of the transition will also be examined.

Much has been made of the transition in multi-party systems. But very little has been written about the changes that occur when a government changes in a democratic jurisdiction ruled by one party. While this case study has its methodological limits, it does provide a starting place for understanding political and administrative change in one party systems with a democratic structure.

**Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel – ebrunetj @ uvic.ca**

*Comparing the Civic Culture of Calgary, Toronto and Vancouver – What Civic Culture is Conducive to Sustainable Policies?*

In 2009, and for the fifth year in a row Calgary, Toronto, and Vancouver, Canada, ranked at the top 25 of the Mercer Quality of Life survey, yet there is little understanding of what makes those three cities the most liveable in the world, and furthermore there is little to differentiate among their sustainable policy choices. Calgary, Vancouver and Toronto are the largest Anglophone metropolitan regions of Canada and exemplify the richness of the many processes that set the civic culture of large contemporary cities. Yet, each city's civic culture varies and so do their sustainable policies. This paper focuses on what drives the social and economic construction of each city, pointing to the complex linkages that tie agents to their environment. It questions whether power arises from strong popular control and local democratic and participatory values, where group interactions produce and co-produce sustainable policies, and specifically question the relationship between citizen engagement and the production and reproduction of urban sustainable policies. The paper looks at regime openness as more or less stable, and questions each city's socially and fiscally progressive or rather conservative and pro-development culture. It documents those cities activist, tolerant and entrepreneurial civic cultures? What emerges is a contrasted picture of the civic culture of sustainable policies of these cities.

**Buckinx, Barbara – Barbara\_Buckinx @ brown.edu**

### *Incrementalism in Global Institutional Design*

In this paper, I argue in favor of an incremental approach to global institutional design. The paper's normative starting point is a concern with individual liberty, defined here as freedom as non-domination. The general institutional recommendation that follows from this normative ideal is that global public power must be institutionalized in such a way as to secure the greatest enjoyment by individuals of non-domination. I consider and then reject two possible global institutional frameworks. The first is the model of the world state, roughly analogous to the domestic, welfarist state in neo-republicanism, and the second is a global scheme of cooperation that includes some sovereignty-pooling global public institutions but that stops short of a global monopoly on the legitimate use of coercion. Deudney, Marchetti and Cabrera have engaged in (very different) projects of the former kind; Rawls and cosmopolitan democrats such as Held, Archibugi and Kuper have pursued versions of the latter. While there is much to admire here, I propose that we direct our attention away from institutional ideals, and that we instead treat the problem of global institutional design as a species of an optimization problem under conditions of considerable uncertainty. I work through an analogy that compares incrementalism to a search for 'local optimal solutions', and I argue that the articulation of a distant institutional ideal is just as likely to lead us astray as it is to guide us towards the institutional reforms that are most immediately, and most desperately, needed.

### **Buckland, Elliott – ebuck @ yorku.ca**

#### *Nature and Subjectivity in Marcuse, Horkheimer and Adorno*

I will examine the relationship between the Subject and nature in the works of Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. The subject constitutes itself as over and opposed to nature, which in turn is progressively reduced to the mere stuff of domination. With respect to nature, the subject aims at a principle of identity, the rendering of all objects under its own concepts. For Marcuse, Horkheimer and Adorno nature does not begin with a prior ontological status and is not a 'thing' per se but instead only comes about as the dialectical pole in this very process of subjective identity formation. Thus this relationship has been paradoxical as on one hand the subject strives for unity in thought, and yet in doing so posits a duality between itself and nature which intensifies. Thus the subject's drive to make all identical with itself is premised on continuously upholding a nature which is non-identical and outside of the self. It is my hope that in exploring this ambiguity we can perceive a hidden trend, an opening or opportunity for progressive and transformative social action. As identity approaches the limit of its most universal form it becomes unbuckled; its internal contradictions shine through and we see that the accumulative and reductionist drive of identity is constituted by the non-identical and in this gap rests an opening for a new sort of political project—non-repressive, sensuous and ethical.

### **Burns, Alison – aburns @ yorku.ca**

#### *A Critical Examination of Canada's Decision to Boycott the Durban Review Conference*

On January 23, 2008, Jason Kenney, (then) Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity announced that the Government of Canada would not participate in the April 2009 Durban Review Conference ('Durban II'). A follow-up to the United Nations' 2001 World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR), Durban II was designed to evaluate nation states' implementation of measures to address slavery, anti-black racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim racism, and racism against indigenous peoples, migrants and refugees (OHCHR 2009). Based on a claim that the WCAR 'degenerated into open and divisive expressions of intolerance and anti-Semitism that undermined the principles of the United Nations and the very goals the conference sought to achieve,' and that the 'preparatory process' for Durban II failed to 'remedy the mistakes of the past,' the Canadian government established a precedent in the international community by being the first country to withdraw from the conference (DFAIT 2008). Significantly, Canada's decision to boycott Durban II set in motion a chain of boycotts by other states, including Australia, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United States. This paper suggests that Canada's justification for the Durban II boycott is unsatisfying. In analyzing Harper's official withdrawal statement in political and historical context, Canada's internal racial contract (Mills 1997; Thobani 2007; Yuval-Davis 2006) and its racial contract with the state of Israel (Abu-Laban and Bakan 2008; Dessouki 1969) emerge as elements of a more likely explanation of Canada's decision to boycott the Durban Review Conference.

### **Burron, Neil – naburron @ yahoo.ca**

#### *Democracy Promotion and the Quest for Regional Order in the Americas*

In the past twenty years, democracy promotion has become a central objective of states, international organizations, multilateral agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) alike. Many of the global actors who have become democracy's most fervent supporters, however, have been criticized for supporting a model of neoliberal economic globalization that has undermined the very social foundations on which substantive notions of democracy ultimately rest. Within the international political economy literature, the neo-Gramscian school has provided the most thorough critique of democracy promotion as a form of hegemony (Smith 2000; Gills 2000; Guilhot 2005; Shamsie 2004; Ayers 2006; Hearn 1997). The United States, in particular, has been criticized for advancing a particular form of 'low-intensity democracy'—or polyarchy—linked to a neoliberal model of economic development (Robinson 1996; 2003; 2004). The proposed paper will engage with such critiques, investigating, specifically, the extent to which Canada supports a particular model of democracy at the expense of others. The proposed paper seeks to contribute to a critical theory of democracy promotion by comparatively assessing Canadian and U.S. democracy promotion actors and approaches in three case studies in the Americas—Haiti, Bolivia, and Peru. The objective is to contribute to a critical research agenda that moves beyond an exclusive focus on hegemony and that differentiates the contributions of different national and institutional actors. The

paper will draw upon Foucauldian notions of governmentality to complement the focus on hegemony for a critical framework that highlights the power dynamics that underscore democracy promotion as a transnational field of practice.

**Busser, Mark – bussermp @ univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca and Wegner, Nicole – nlwagner @ yahoo.ca**

*Conversations and Contested Concepts in IR Theory*

Recent scholarship in global politics has seen the proliferation of academic 'debates' and 'turns', complicating the teaching of international relations theory. Whereas for many decades it sufficed to teach three theories (typically Realism, Liberalism, and then a structural alternative such as marxism), teachers and students of IR must now wrestle with whether and how to consider contributions from constructivism, gender theory, identity theory, postmodernism, poststructuralism, and other approaches with ever-increasing significance to the study of global politics. This paper will focus on the oft-cited idea of 'conversation' among and between various disparate approaches to global theory. It will pose serious questions about what 'conversation' in this sense actually entails, and what teachers and students can do to identify, explore and evaluate points of connection and contrast between the various approaches.

**Byrne, Siobhan – siobhan.byrne @ ualberta.ca**

*Transnational Feminist Peace Activism and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*

Over the last decade, new women's peace networks have emerged out of the transnational social justice and anti-war movements. Originally organized in response to the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, organizations like Code Pink have recently turned their attention to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, organizing observer missions to the occupied Palestinian areas and participating in a coalition to end the siege of Gaza. These activists argue that women "as the guardians of life" (Code Pink, mission statement) are in a unique position to advocate for peace in the Middle East. Feminist IR and legal scholars have long been skeptical of such activism as it reinforces the illusion of women's inherent peacefulness and reproduces gendered differences (see: Charlesworth 2008; Tickner 2001; Pettman 1996; Segal 1987). While some of the essentialized associations of women with peace are troubling, I argue that these new activists have also used irony, subversive narrative strategies and parody to disrupt gender binaries, critique processes of militarization and build a popular transnational movement. To some extent, such feminist activism has moved away from the maternalist peace politics of the 1980s and developed new activist networks that have become popular sites of local and transnational feminist activism.

This paper is part of a larger research project that investigates the relationship between local and transnational feminist anti-war activism in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It draws on previous and ongoing interviews with activists in the Israel/Palestine, Canada and the US and analyses pamphlets, speeches and artwork published by feminist peace networks.

**Cameron, Heather – heather1280 @ hotmail.com**

*Sanctioning Zimbabwe: Comparing the EU and Canadian Approaches*

This public policy paper examines the factors and decision-making of the EU, the first Western entity to impose binding sanctions against Zimbabwe, and Canada, the most recent to do so (2008). The institutionalization of democratic governance norms in the political relationships with Zimbabwe, and Official Development Assistance more broadly, was a key enabling factor, reflecting key transitions in international thinking on both sovereignty and the role of democratic governments in facilitating development. The Zimbabwean crisis was defined by both actors in terms of democratic governance. As one of only four cases in which Canada has applied bilateral sanctions (i.e. outside of the UN Security Council framework) against a developing country, the paper contributes to an understanding of Canada's new approach to using unilateral sanctions as a foreign policy instrument in support of democratic governance.

The paper draws on a wide range of literature, including theories of agenda-setting and decision-making, as well as literature pertaining to foreign policy, conflict and state fragility, and the Zimbabwean crisis itself. A methodology of semi-structured interviews and documentary review was used in the development of the paper.

**Carrière, April – acarr049 @ uottawa.ca**

*Living Outside the Bubble: Hegemonic Gaps and Socialized Power in the Bolivian Andes*

Latin America has a remarkable history of contentious politics, which has long been theorized through liberal and Marxist paradigms of state-based social change. The Marxist revolutionary strategies that characterized left wing politics and scholarship for much of the 20th century followed a logic of hegemony in seeking state power to reverse the relationship between the oppressed and their oppressors. Postmarxist and liberal reformists, on the other hand, pursue a strategy of demand and integration within the current hegemonic system. As scholars of the Latin American Modernity/Coloniality (M/C) school have argued, the dominance of these paradigms has had the effect of obscuring many non-hegemonic movements, tactics and practices that escape the logic of hegemony – of reform/revolution – altogether.

With this in mind, and working within the framework developed by the M/C school, the paper will trace non-hegemonic indigenous practices of reciprocity, direct action, and collective mechanism of inhibition in the Bolivian Andes. Such practices will be argued to prevent the formation of hegemonic power relationships by embedding political, economic, social, and cultural relations in place-based communities. Overall, the paper will explore the strengths and weaknesses of such non-hegemonic practices as bastions of socialized power and sociability against the spread of neoliberalism, and will seek to uncover what lessons could be learned from the Bolivian experience.

**Carter, Angela – avcarter @ mun.ca**

*Explaining Environmental Regulation in Petro–States: Petro–Politics in Alberta's Tar Sands*

This paper explains the problematic environmental regulatory system surrounding unconventional oil development in Alberta's tar sands with reference to broader economic and political struggles. Starting from a political ecology approach, the paper surveys the most pressing environmental impacts of these oil developments and who bears these costs, then outlines the critical trends in environmental regulation. It then identifies the "petro-political" system at work in these cases, one marked by a symbiotic relationship between governments and oil companies who actively support oil development. The paper argues that the petro-state, driven by its interest in oil revenues and reinforced by a strong oil industry lobby, develops environmental regulation processes and institutions that forward rapid, extensive oil development with extremely poor environmental outcomes. However, the paper explores creative new resistance to this system. Potential for policy change lies in these multi-faceted forms of resistance and opposition that are channelled through global media and new leaders to the point that the industry's market and hence the economic benefits to governments are threatened. Yet at the same time, political and economic elites are now responding to this challenge by adjusting strategies and targets to recast at least the perception of tar sands developments.

**Cassatella, Andrea – andrea.cassatella @ utoronto.ca**

*Democracy and the Secular: Moving Beyond the Liberal Model*

Are forms of political life that go beyond the quest for a normative ground central to both secular reason and religious faith possible? If so, how to think them? This paper addresses the crisis of secular reason and the inability of liberal-democracy to successfully respond to the challenge of modernity, namely the replacement of religion as a foundation of communal life. I contend that Derrida's thought offers powerful resources to rethink such forms of life. I begin by explaining his argument as to why temporality is not a 'given' in politics. This leads on the one hand, to a criticism of secular modes of thought that understand history teleologically and politics as a vehicle for its actualization; on the other end, to the introduction of the 'messianic' as a mode of thought alternative to both teleology and theology. I then connect these issues to Derrida's reflections on democracy and the secular, and suggest that his deconstruction of political sovereignty shows that the latter is (i) a secularization of a theological heritage; (ii) a false secularization as it seeks to impose, universally, a particular ideology (liberal-democracy). This, in turn, provides us with a more complex understanding of the stakes involved in the attempt to ground communal life: the content of that ground (or, the meaning of democracy) cannot be fixated once and for all, and thus any re-conceptualization of the secular must grant the political sphere the independence from any doctrine seeking to universalize a monistic form of politics.

**Chandler, Mielle – mellechandler @ gmail.com**

*Mould, Marijuana, and the 'Punitive Turn' in City Regulations*

In this paper I investigate the tension between urban health concerns regarding environmental mould and the punitive measures being taken by city health departments in the regulation of indoor cannabis cultivation in Canada. I expect this scrutiny to shed light on new forms of punishment that circumvent criminal proceedings and, instead, target the real property of the accused. One of the purposes of this research is to assist in a constitutional challenge against the Corporation of the City of Toronto currently being launched by a group of licensed medical marijuana growers. My research to date includes interviews with specialists on the epidemiology of mould, city building inspectors, indoor marijuana growers, hydroponics industry representatives, and lawyers. I am also attempting to organize interviews with officers from the Toronto Police Service. Interviews and newspaper searches are new forms of research for me. As a theorist my research has, until recently, largely involved the interpretation of philosophical texts. I have been interested in how property relations shape the political subject, how law codifies this subject, and how new thinking in the life sciences challenge this codification. This paper will look specifically at how a particular criminalized identity is dispossessed of property through the administrative codification of the 'science' of mould, how competing research on the epidemiology of mould might contest this codification, and why we might want to question the legitimacy of bypassing criminal law in the name of the protection of public health.

**Chapnick, Adam – chapnick @ cfc.dnd.ca**

*Selling Canada to Ourselves: The Evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's "A Look at Canada"*

In 1977, Bill C-20, An Act Representing Citizenship redefined what it meant to become Canadian. According to legal analyst William Kaplan, what had been viewed since 1947 as a privilege became a right of those with the requisite qualifications. Canada needed new immigrants, and needed them to stay if the country hoped to prosper economically. The new legislation was followed shortly after by the release of the first of nineteen editions of "A Look at Canada", the document that now serves as a study guide for candidates preparing to take the Canadian citizenship examination.

As perhaps the clearest indicator of the official view of Canadian history, public policy, and national values as they should be transmitted to the international community, the evolution of "A Look at Canada" from eight-sheet map to nearly fifty page glossy magazine over the last thirty years is worthy of significant analysis. Changes in content, language, and subject placement reveal how Canadians' conceptions of themselves, and of how they hope to be understood in the world developed and evolved.

Building on my previous scholarship on domestic and international conceptions of Canada and Canadians, this paper also contributes to the work of Kaplan and others on the nature of Canadian citizenship; to that of Allan Sears, Reva Joshee, Tracey Derwing and others on the history of citizenship education in Canada; and to that of Shauna Wilton on official Canadian immigration promotional material by providing the first detailed, textual analysis of the development of "A Look at Canada".

**Chen, Zhiming – zhiming.chen @ umontreal.ca**

### *The Chinese Conception and Perception of Power and Their Consequences*

Evaluation of power is a sine qua non for interstate conflict studies. All power evaluations are subjective estimations of real power; how one conceives and perceives power will strongly influence how one evaluates power.

Most Western researchers conceive and perceive power as "bordered resources containers", represented by the widely used Correlates of War (COW) power indices: military (expenditure and personnel), economy (GDP and GDP per capita), and demography (total population et urban population).

Chinese strategists, however, have a tradition of conceiving power as "strategies" and/or "outcomes", besides "bordered resources containers". Sun Zi's "The Art of War" assigns much more importance to power as "strategies" than to power as "bordered resources containers". A country with weaker power as "bordered resources containers" can become superior if it excels in power as "strategies" and/or "outcomes". This is the fundamental principle underlying China's military modernization strategy today.

Based on these power conceptions, Chinese researchers develop the concept of "Comprehensive National Power" (CNP). Using CNP to calculate national power of major powers in the world, Chinese researchers arrive at a very different world power ranking than that by their Western counterpart. In conflict decisions, it is perceived power rather than real power that matters. This difference in power conception and perception between China and the West will have grave implications for international security in general, and for the probability of an armed conflict between China and the United States in particular.

### **Cherniss, Joshua – cherniss @ fas.harvard.edu**

#### *Neither Angel nor Maggot: Adam Michnik on the Political Ethics of Resistance and Compromise*

In this paper, I examine the writings and political practices of Adam Michnik (and other dissidents working within Eastern European Communist regimes). In doing so I seek to extract an account of the political ethos – the dispositions, self-understanding, attitudes to political activity and standards of evaluation – which Michnik and his fellow pro-democracy activists regarded as morally desirable in undertaking political action. I suggest that Michnik presents us with a vision of a political ethos that is both consistent in its underlying dispositions, and responsive to the changing circumstances of political life. Under the authoritarian persecution and arbitrary rule of late Communism, Michnik and his comrades articulated a conscience-based ethic of personal integrity as appropriate to the project of resistance. At the same time, while he emphasized the importance of individuals remaining true to their moral identity and standards of right and wrong action in the face of pressures towards conformity and obedience, Michnik from the beginning also emphasized the importance of humility in relation to oneself, and charity and willingness to compromise in relation to others. What we might call Michnik's moral opposition to uncompromising moralism came to the fore in his post-Communist political activity, in which he urged his fellow-citizens to embrace the "grayness" – the moral ambiguities and need for compromises – of a democratic society. In this way, I argue, Michnik offers us two models of political ethos, both of which are consistent with the values and goals of a liberal-democratic society, and which are also responsive to the particular dangers to democratic values posed by "ordinary" and by extreme political situations.

### **Chiasson, Guy – guy.chiasson @ uqo.ca and Koji, Junichiro – junichiro.koji @ gmail.com**

#### *Quebec Immigrant Settlement Policy and Municipalities: Fine-tuning a Provincial Template*

Immigrant settlement policy at municipal level has attracted increasing scholarly attention over the last years. Different studies have confirmed that municipalities have played an increasing role in this policy field as the first line service providers to all residents, including immigrant population. These studies also have demonstrated the variety of municipal policy responses to immigrant settlement issues. While the accumulation of knowledge on immigrant settlement policy in various municipalities continues, a less studied question is the dynamics of multilevel governance. What are the relations between different levels of government? What are the impacts of national and regional immigrant settlement policy on policies and governance dynamics at local level? What are the relations between governmental actors and societal actors? Are these relations and impacts different from a municipality to another? This paper attempts to answer these questions by exploring policies of four municipalities in Quebec – Montreal, Quebec City, Sherbrooke, and Rimouski. We examined local dynamics of multilevel governance through qualitative analysis of different governmental documents, interviews, and related studies. This study reveals that the Quebec government regulates municipal immigrant settlement policy within a provincial policy framework through bilateral financial aid agreements with municipalities and the Regional Conferences of Elected Officers (regional bodies within the province). At the same time, our study demonstrates that the dynamics of multilevel governance varies according to municipalities, especially in terms of the role of municipalities in multilevel governance and local approaches to immigrant settlement.

### **Chu, Wayne – wayne.chu @ utoronto.ca**

#### *Media Fragmentation and Political Preferences: The Case of the 2008 Canadian Federal Election*

The emergence of the postmodern campaign means that communication between political actors and citizens occurs through an increasing variety of media channels (Norris, 2000). And although a strong research tradition argues that media does not tell us what to think, it does argue that the media can tell us what to think about (Entman 1989; Zaller 1996; Dalton et al. 1998). In turn, what individuals think about may depend on where they receive their political information (Newton, 1999; Sotirovic and McLeod, 2001). Thus, a key question emerges: Do the audiences of such different forms of media as television, radio, newspapers and the Internet differ in their political preferences and evaluations? This study will investigate this question using data from the 2008 Canadian Election Study, shedding light on the role that an increasingly fragmented media environment has in society.

**Citrin, Jack -gojack@berkeley.edu, Johnston, Richard - rjohnston@politics.ubc.ca and Wright, Matthew - beardedelephant@gmail.com**

*Is There a North American Political Culture? Reflections on Exceptionalism and the Continental Divide*

This essay reviews recent survey evidence about how ordinary Americans and Canadians think about their national identity and the role of government. We use data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), primarily from the 2003 National Identity module, to compare opinions of the two publics on identical questions.

Comparisons involve levels of response and, more importantly, the structural relations among elements in the complex of national identity. Questions include the balance between solidarity and exclusion, the relative strength of ethnic and civic components of identity, links between patriotism and chauvinism, and orientations to foreign-born members of the community.

**Clancy, Peter – pclancy @ stfx.ca**

*Bluenose Socialism In Year One*

**Cobban, Tim – tcobban @ uwo.ca**

*The Declining Visibility of Property Taxation and its Effects on Municipal Revenues: Evidence from Canadian Municipalities*

Property taxation is widely considered to be among the most visible sources of government revenue, mostly because it has been traditionally collected through lump-sum payments made once or a few times per year. But in many jurisdictions, including most of Canada, citizens now also pay their property taxes more frequently and less directly, through remittances included in their monthly mortgage payment, for example, or through pre-arranged schedules of electronic bank deposits. This paper calculates the proportion of municipal voters in Canada for whom the property tax remains highly visible, estimates the rate of decline in property tax visibility, and explores the effects on municipal revenues. Property tax collection data are gathered from the one hundred most populous municipalities in Ontario and the five most populous in each other Canadian province for the years 2001 and 2006, a sample which represents about two-thirds of the Canadian population. Special tabulations from Statistics Canada on age, citizenship, and housing tenure by municipality are also used, as are data taken from municipal annual financial reports. The analysis shows that the property tax remains highly visible for only a very thin majority of municipal voters, that the visibility of property tax is quickly declining, and that taxes appear to be rising faster in municipalities where tax visibility is more rapidly declining.

**Cochrane, Christopher – ccochrane @ wlu.ca**

*Right-Wing Fragmentation in Comparative Perspective*

Important works in political science treat the ideological categories of left and right as mirror-image opposites of each other (Lapointe 1981; Bobbio 1996; Noel & Therrien, 2008). Yet, the concept of ideology refers to the interconnections, the “constraints”, which bind opinions about multiple issues into coherent clusters of political viewpoints (Converse 1964; Johnston 1988). From this perspective, there is little reason to suppose that the policy issues that are constrained by left-wing values are necessarily constrained by right-wing values. Right-wingers and left-wingers derive from different sources, and organize in different ways, their opinions about policy. As a result, left/right disagreement is asymmetrical. This paper examines, in comparative perspective, the fragmented state of right-wing public opinion and party policy on three dimensions of political disagreement: wealth redistribution, social morality, and immigration. The paper considers the implications of right-wing fragmentation for the dynamics of party competition in advanced industrial countries.

**Cohn, Daniel – dcohn @ yorku.ca**

*Chaoulli Five Years On: All Bark and No Bite?*

In June 2005 the Supreme Court handed down a complex and non-unanimous decision in the case *Chaoulli v. Quebec*. The ruling holds that prohibitions on the sale of private health insurance for services that are already provincially insured are unconstitutional, but only under certain circumstances. Further adding to the complexity of the ruling is that it was so worded as to apply only to the Province of Quebec. The *Chaoulli* ruling generated a virtual avalanche of media stories and a significant volume of scholarly publications. However, reflecting on the ruling five years on, it is difficult to identify what, if any, impact it has actually had on the delivery of health care in Canada or on health care policy-making. Most obviously, no parallel market providing private insurance for provincially insured services has emerged. More significantly still, Canada's major insurers have shown little, if any, interest in offering such coverage. Drawing on economic, demographic, documentary and other evidence, This paper argues that the reason for this reticence is simply that there is no business case for offering such a product. In fact, the evidence presented in this paper shows that even if the courts were to further widen the conditions under which rival private insurance for provincially insured services could be sold and were to lift other restrictions as well, a profitable private alternative to provincial health insurance would still be very difficult to create. As far as health care policy-making is concerned, *Chaoulli* has proven to be a decision which is all bark and no bite. The paper concludes by asking what lessons the Canadian health policy community can draw from the *Chaoulli* decision with regard to how future issues are assessed and debated.

**Colino, César – ccolino @ poli.uned.es**

*Explaining Constitutional Change in Federations: Varieties of Federalism and Propensities for Change*

The variation found in constitutional change in federations, its mechanisms, causes and consequences, pose several interrelated theoretical problems for the study of comparative federalism and politics. An adequate empirical theory of federalism should be able to explain why and how federations and federal constitutions change and adapt to domestic or

external changes as part of their capacity to survive and respond to societal or policy problems. Also, such a theory should indicate how stable a federation is and what factors make it persist or adjust, what is the scope and direction of the transformation and how can we measure or compare it? what factors account for differences and similarities in the evolution of various federations in the long run?

Through comparative and historical analysis of federal change in three federations (Spain, Germany and Canada) the paper proposes a theoretical framework that defines and operationalizes the dimensions of constitutional change in federations and the factors accounting for its propensity for change. This framework integrates both macro and micro factors, and formal and informal elements. The paper will examine the constitutional change modes and trajectories and its determinants, in particular the influence of institutional arrangements. The paper defines and operationalizes several types of federation and federal evolution and some of the independent variables and tries to test some of the theoretical arguments proposed. Its main empirical content will be a comparative analysis and explanation of the structural and institutional frame and the dynamics of three federal systems in the last two decades.

**Collier, Cheryl – ccollier @ uwindsor.ca**

*The Disappearing Woman – Locating Gender in Contemporary Child Care and Anti-Violence Policy Debates in Canada*

Jill Vickers (1997:157) identified an enduring tension between the need to sometimes identify sex differences between men and women to ensure appropriate state policy responses alongside an argument for identical treatment in terms of “rights, status and opportunities.” As some feminist activists have embraced a more gender-neutral policy focus (to widen the likelihood that governments will listen to their demands), the greater goals of ending women’s systemic discrimination arguably move further away from public policy discourse. This paper asks how central are ‘women’ and ‘gender’ to contemporary Canadian anti-violence and child care policy debates? Does it matter if feminist concerns are left out of related policy outcomes?

Using a combination of discourse and broader qualitative analyses of women’s movement lobbying and government policy, the paper locates the centrality of women to these policy arenas during the earlier days of their articulation around the release of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, alongside the continued theoretical arguments made to sustain this feminist focus in the current political context (see Weldon 2002, Mahon and Michel 2002). Then it chronicles ideological tensions between Canadian women’s movement advocates regarding lobbying approach, focusing primarily on provincial activism. The paper then analyzes contemporary provincial policy debates to ascertain whether or not women’s concerns or attention to gender issues figures prominently. The paper, which builds on my continuing research in these policy arenas, concludes by considering the implications of the findings with respect to the movement’s longer-term goals to end systemic inequality in Canadian society.

**Collin, Jean-Pierre – Jean-Pierre\_Collin @ UCS.INRS.Ca**

*Metropolitan Governance of Transit in Thirteen Cities (North America and Europe)*

The objective of this paper is to explore models of metropolitan governance of public transportation. What are the recent trends in the management and planning of public transportation? Can lessons be drawn from recent reforms in metropolitan administration? Has there been convergence among agglomerations within different national contexts? In particular, we compare the role of higher authorities, modes of taxation and financing, relationships among diverse authorities, the form and number of metropolitan institutions, and the mechanisms of harmonization between land use and transportation planning within the cases of thirteen cities in North America and Europe. In particular, we find that different facets of metropolitan administration of public transport are strongly determined by the role of higher-level governments. The presentation of these results also serves as an occasion to call into question the usefulness of comparison, in urban studies, where the value of n is relatively high.

**Collin, Jean-Pierre – Jean-Pierre\_Collin @ UCS.INRS.Ca and Lafortune, Marie-Ève – Jean-Pierre\_Collin @ UCS.INRS.Ca**

*Metropolitan Governance Capacity: Case Study of the Montreal Metropolitan Community*

This paper is about the building of a metropolitan governance capacity. Based on the case study of the Montreal Metropolitan Community (MMC), our research seeks to understand how this new metropolitan institution develops its capacity to manage metropolitan issues. Which factors influence the metropolitan governance capacity? What are the impacts of actor behaviour, incentives structures and political leadership on that capacity? Specifically, our results focus on two of the competencies of the MMC; land planning and social and affordable housing. Based on the analysis of MMC official’s documents (law, activities reports, budget, etc.) and on 13 interviews with municipal elected and officials, our research shows that all those three factors could have an impact on the building of a metropolitan governance capacity, mostly the fiscal incentives. Also, our results highlight the importance of some other factors in the case of the metropolitan governance capacity of the MMC, especially the role of provincial government, public concertation and time.

**Collins, Andrea – andrea.collins @ queensu.ca**

*Sites of Resistance: Gendering Education Policy in the Developing World*

Despite global agreement on the critical need to mainstream gender into policy-making at all levels of governance, the project of gender mainstreaming has largely failed in the years since the 1995 Beijing Declaration was signed. These failures can be seen across countries of both the Global North and South, among countries of various resources and attitudes towards gender equity. While we must consider some of the theoretical and political problems associated with the push for greater mainstreaming of gender, this paper seeks to deepen understanding of where targeted gender mainstreaming efforts in education policies in countries of the Global South have failed. This paper will focus specifically

on the obstacles to policy implementation, particularly where there is perceived support for gender mainstreaming at the national level. Analyzing the broad determinants of effective policy implementation – the tractability of the issues, organizational capacity, individual capacity, and system capacity – this paper examines where administrative, social, cultural, economic and historical factors combine to obstruct the effective implementation of gender sensitive policies in education. This study also analyzes how these factors collude to prevent more effective gendered education policy from being designed. Understanding these various sites of resistance is critical for ensuring that future efforts to improve gender equity in the ever important field of education do not fall prey to the same societal and institutional challenges that prevent new policy from being implemented.

**Comeau, Gina S – gscomeau @ laurentian.ca**

*Consulting or Simply Legitimizing Policy: A Case Study of Consultation Processes in Three Policy Fields*

The use of public consultation exercises has increased in the last few decades. This increase is reflected in the majority of Canadian policy sectors. These processes are often utilized by governments to legitimate policy. Their success is often questioned as research demonstrates that the breadth and scope of perspectives presented is rarely reflected in resulting policies.

This paper examines the factors influencing consultation to gain a better understanding of the role these play in influencing policy. This paper compares consultation processes in three policy fields: health, sport and foreign policy. It relies on a primarily neo-institutionalism framework to discern the institutional barriers and ideas influencing consultation. Neo-institutionalism research has been used to understand failed consultation processes and to understand consultation exercises in one policy field but not to understand these in multiple policy sectors. This paper builds on the author's doctoral research on sport policy consultation processes by applying the research findings to consultation processes in other policy areas.

**Conteh, Charles – cconteh @ brocku.ca**

*Coordinating Industrial Development Policy: Post-War Economic Reconstruction in Sierra Leone & Liberia*

This paper seeks to examine the capacity and legitimacy of institutions responsible for managing post-war economic reconstruction in two West African countries, Sierra Leone and Liberia. The paper will place a particular focus on the mandate, instruments and strategies of economic development agencies. Since the current model of development management in much of Africa is to construct multi-organizational service networks consisting of public sector and non-governmental agencies, the paper will assess formal inter-organizational arrangements as well as looser structures of development policy networks between the governments' economic development agencies and non-governmental development agencies.

The main questions that are addressed include: first, what are the administrative and political mechanics that surround the complex and dynamic relationship between the public and non-governmental sectors in the pursuit of post-war economic development policy in Sierra Leone and Liberia? Second, how does the discourse within the development administration literature on partnership and network governance explain the nature of collaborative strategic action between the state and often powerful and well resourced non-governmental organizations in the pursuit of economic development policy goals?

The significance of the present research on post-war economic development is to highlight the intra-organizational and inter-organizational challenges within the public sector, either among public sector departments and agencies, or intergovernmental relations between national and sub-national organizations in highly fragmented societies. It will draw attention to the administrative requisites for achieving public policy goals, particularly in countries in which these goals involve dramatic political, economic and social transformation.

**Conteh, Charles – cconteh @ brocku.ca**

*Organizations in Action: Regional Development Policy Implementation in Canada*

This proposal seeks to examine the implications of the transition in the analytical framing of service delivery processes from 'management' to 'governance'. Such a transition is being viewed as reflective of broader transformations in government and society in Canada and around the world. The proposed discussion will examine, through the lens of the literatures on implementation research, organization theory and governance theory, the nature of regional economic development policy implementation mechanisms in complex, diverse and dynamic societies.

The goal is to evaluate the capacity, relevance and integrity of existing institutions of regional development policy implementation. For effective comparative analysis, the paper will focus on the Canadian government's regional development agencies in Northern Ontario, Northern New Brunswick and Northern Manitoba, examining their efforts to engage other public agencies and non-governmental stakeholders in these regions.

Service delivery tasks are strategic, and not merely operational. The process often involves certain elements like; policy legitimation; constituency building; organizational design and modification; and mobilization of resources and actions. Policy implementation involves multiple agencies and groups working in concert to achieve a set of objectives. Making these joint arrangements function effectively depends upon our increased understanding of multi-actor linkages and coordination – significant turnarounds in the institutions and processes of service delivery.

While regional differences in Canada's federal structure and national policy environment have been noted, the peculiarities of less-developed regions and the implications for service delivery in these regions have not been given enough attention in the public administration literature (Carroll and Siegel, 1999).

**Contessi, Nicola P. – nicola.contessi.1 @ ulaval.ca**

*China, Russia, and the Recent Evolution of the SCO: Power Shift or Tacit Deal?*

The year 2009 is likely to go down as a turning point for the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), traditionally considered as the offshoot of Chinese diplomacy. The patterns of multilateral cooperation within the SCO appear to underscore certain transformations in the grouping's inner dynamics.

At a substantive level, the organization's activities have expanded over the past 4–5 years to include a socio-economic dimension. From the point of view of membership, the 2009 Summit has settled on a middle ground solution of intensifying cooperation with observer states, while a moratorium on new admissions remains in place. With regard to the organization's inner power relations, the Yekaterinburg Summit appears to have crowned Russia to a more prominent role, while China, the prime mover in the creation of the SCO, appears to have receded to a more discreet role. This paper retraces the recent evolution of the SCO, with the gradual expansion of its areas of cooperation, the admission of observer states, and so on; and seeks to answer the question of whether a power shift may be taking place in the inner workings of the organisation. While prospecting a Russian 'take-over' might be tempting, this paper evaluates evidence suggesting that a more accurate reading of the organization's current internal dynamics may be that of an emerging "division of labour" between the two leading powers in the context of a broader reframing of the organization's positioning.

**Conway, Janet – jconway @ brocku.ca**

*Is the global justice movement colonial?*

A study of indigenous positionality at the World Social Forum

Indigenous peoples' defense of their lands, rights, and claims to self-determination involve them in front-line struggle against multi-national corporations, capitalist states, and international financial institutions. Not surprisingly then, indigenous networks have been consistently present in anti-globalization events and protests. However, despite what appear to be objective grounds for mutual understanding and alliance-building, indigenous discourses and world views appear to be quite marginal in the global justice movement. This paper documents the history of indigenous engagement with the World Social Forum since 2001.

While indigenous movements have been active in the WSF since the beginning, their discourses appear largely unintelligible to the majority of social justice movements that are modernist in their underpinnings. Does this suggest that the global justice movement and its prevailing politics of emancipation are colonial? Is indigenous marginality in the movement a product of "colonial difference", i.e., divisions, exclusions, and inequalities structured by the persistence of colonial relations, or due to other factors such as resource deprivation or demographic weakness? Is collaboration across indigenous/non-indigenous divides improving or deteriorating? Is the Social Forum, as a specific political form and process at world and regional levels, assisting in the production of intelligibility and solidarity across difference or perpetuating indigenous marginality?

**Copeland, Lesley – lcopelan @ connect.carleton.ca**

*Intelligence, Antidiplomacy and the Narration of Security*

James Derderian's pioneering 1992 work *Antidiplomacy*, identified intelligence (along with terror and speed) as one of the three antidiplomatic forces undermining traditional diplomacy and international relations. This paper takes up his critical study of intelligence, arguing that intelligence plays a shadowed role in the construction of the internal and external threat for the state. My research investigates how, in our new intelligence age, intelligence has become a narrator of security, not merely directed by government to assess threats, but helping to create and structure them. As both bearer and judge of information, intelligence creates a portrait of the world and the state's interests in it. It pictures the state self at centre, positioning it on a terrain of politics (hostile or friendly) confronting enemies and other actors, with the assistance of or indifference of other nations and allies. The key question of how this construction takes place, is answered using the 'security imaginary' heuristic, modified to specificities of intelligence. Intelligence both draws on the imaginary and shapes it. When assessing material and intangible threats, both are interpreted based on pre-existing articulations and subject positions from the general security imaginary, and from intelligence specifically. Whereas it claims to assess the world objectively, inevitably it narrates from its own culturally specific, historically situated position. Generally, this work is situated in constructivist scholarship in security studies, but aims to make the importance of intelligence to constructivist accounts of IR and security both more visible and more accessible.

**Cornut, Jérémie – cornut.jeremie @ uqam.ca, Roussel, Stéphane – roussel.stephane @ uqam.ca and Smith, Heather A. – smith @ unbc.ca**

*Gender in CFP: To What Extent Women Get Marginalized in the Study of Canadian Foreign Policy?*

Women are more and more present in the study of Canadian Foreign Policy (CFP). An analysis of the Canadian Foreign Relation Index (CFRI) –that lists more than 50 000 works in CFP since 1945– enables to measure the evolution of contribution by women in the field. It is also useful to determine their specialization sub-fields, their networks of collaboration, their ranks in collaboration, the type of works they publish etc. Thanks to an analysis of the CFRI it is therefore possible to demonstrate that even though women are more and more present in the field, they still get marginalized. This marginalization takes various forms: for example, the most prestigious reviews in the field publish less works by women and women are usually in second or third positions in the collaborations. This communication will present the method and the results of an analysis of the CFRI. This will allow to determine to what extent women get marginalized in CFP.

**Coulthard, Glen – gsc @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*Place Against Empire: Human/Land Sociality and the Ethics of Indigenous Anti-Imperialism*

In my proposed paper I intend to examine the role played by “land” or “place” as an ethical framework for establishing postcolonial political and economic relations between Indigenous peoples and the state in Canada. In many Indigenous societies “land” is often conceived of in relational terms, encompassing not only the land, but also the rocks and trees, people and animals, lakes and rivers, and so on. Furthermore, within this relationship everything is thought to embody spirit or agency. Traditionally this meant that humans held certain ethical obligations to the land, animals, plants, and lakes in a manner analogous to the way that one holds obligations to other people. And if these obligations were met, then the land, animals, plants and lakes would reciprocate and meet their obligations to humans, thus ensuring the survival and well being of all over time. In my paper I argue that, although this place-based ethics has been worn by centuries of colonial-capitalist displacement, it can (and in many contexts still does) serve as an orienting framework that guides Indigenous struggles against capitalist imperialism today and offers a way of thinking about relations within and between peoples and the natural world built on principles of reciprocity and freedom.

**Craigie, Allan – a.craigie @ sms.ed.ac.uk**

*Democratizing Regions: Regional Alienation and Unexpected Consequences*

From the election of the Blair government in 1997 to the defeat of the government’s devolution proposals in the North East of England in 2004, the government of the United Kingdom enacted broad policies of regional devolution. While the attention of the academic and public was drawn to Scotland and Wales, as well the peace process in Northern Ireland, regional reform in England was a prominent part of Labour’s constitutional agenda. Regional supporters of devolution in the North East of England, one of the nine Government Office Regions, argued that regional democratic institutions would be able to offer ‘voice’ to the region and increase regional efficacy.

Unlike English regions, Canadian provinces are amongst the most powerful sub-state actors in the world. They are in possession of the regional ‘voice’ that actors in the North East could only dream of. By comparing the North East of England with the Canadian province of Nova Scotia – the region of North America with the longest democratic pedigree – this paper tests the assumptions of regional actors in the North East of England. It systemically analyses levels of alienation, efficacy and voice in both regions vis-à-vis their co-nationals, demonstrating that regional devolution in the North East in of itself would be insufficient for alleviating the concerns expressed by regional actors. Instead, this paper argues that regional alienation can only be relieved through a combination of democratic reform at the sub-state level with increased levels of participation of regional actors at the centre.

**Crandall, Erin – erin.crandall @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Judicial Empowerment and the Reform of Judicial Appointment Systems: The Case of the Supreme Court of Canada*

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have witnessed a rush of constitutional reform that has transferred power from representative institutions to the courts. While the question of why a government would choose to limit its own authority through the empowerment of the judiciary has already received much scholarly attention, little consideration has been given to the relationship between the constitutionalization of rights and subsequent reforms to the judicial branch. In particular, one common action taken by governments in response to the growth of judicial power appears to be the reform of their judicial appointment systems. By using Canada as its case study and a process-tracing approach to gather detailed, chronological accounts of both successful and unsuccessful attempts at appointment reform of the Supreme Court of Canada (from 1960 to the present), this paper seeks to develop a theoretical framework to answer the question: why does the reform of judicial appointment systems appear to follow the constitutionalization of rights? By developing a general theory concerning the relationship between the constitutionalization of rights and reforms to judicial appointment systems, this research will contribute to a more complete knowledge of the judiciary’s evolving role in governance.

**Crawford, Mark – markc @ athabascau.ca**

*TILMA: Playing the Market in Western Canada?*

This paper examines the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) between Alberta and British Columbia from the perspective of European literature on the politics of economic integration, focusing in particular on the work of Fritz Scharpf (Welfare and Work in the Open Economy; Games Real Actors Play) and Nicolas Jabko (Playing the Market). Although the movement and rationale for greater national and continental integration in Canada is clearly narrower than Europe, it has required similar mobilization of the idea of the market for political ends, particularly when hard data for the economic benefits of reduced regulatory barriers has been absent, or when provincial governments have desired greater harmonization for non-economic reasons.

The effort to establish and extend TILMA will be compared to processes of “negative integration” in the EU in the 1980s and 1990s. Resistance to the extension of TILMA can be contrasted to the forces favouring “positive integration” and multi-level governance in Europe, while comparative method will also be used to consider whether governance functions associated with “positive integration” in Europe are already being performed within Canadian federalism. A further question to be explored is to what extent there may be a need or potential for political strategies of the kinds described by Jabko and Scharpf in Europe within Canadian federalism in the future.

**Creutzberg, Tijs – tcreutzberg @ hal.ca**

*Restructuring Local Economic Governance in a Multilevel Polity: A Case Study of Guelph*

As Canadian cities look to knowledge-based forms of economic development as a means to restructure their economy and secure their future prosperity, growing attention has been given to the governance needed to support this transition. Indeed, local governance structures that were once suitable to older forms of industrial activity are proving less suitable to

attend to the collaborative structures needed to support local knowledge economies. As a number of studies have shown, these collaborations, which are realized by an arrangement of local stakeholders such as civic leaders, the municipal government, universities, and other business and innovation support organizations, can be a key factor in aligning the required institutional support, resources, and strategic action needed for such transitioning. A major issue, however, is how best to structure this governance. To answer this question, this paper examines the local economic governance system in the Guelph region, as well as the City of Guelph's current efforts to restructure it so as to support its agri-innovation cluster. Guelph is of particular interest because it is home to a number of provincially and federally funded associative, 'fourth pillar' organizations that support agri-innovation, few of whom are able to act strategically on behalf of the Guelph region. The result is a local governance system that is overcrowded with stakeholders, and which struggles from weak strategic capacity to address important local issues affecting the long-term viability of its cluster. In conclusion, this paper presents a new structure designed to strengthen local economic governance in Guelph.

**Crookshanks, JD – jdcrook @ shaw.ca**

*Indigenous Governance in Edmonton's Housing Field*

The paper I wish to present is part of my dissertation. I look at how housing fields are shaped in two Canadian cities, focusing on how Indigenous people are able to influence housing policy. I ask whether Indigenous self-governance within urban housing field takes place and what it looks like.

With this proposed paper, I want to bring a new level of specificity to the description of how power is distributed in Edmonton's housing field, between the three levels of government, and within civil society. The racialized and gendered nature of this system will be investigated as I ask what sites exist for accessing and exercising control over decision making regarding housing programs, policies, and service delivery.

My work to date is based on interviews I have done with elite decision makers in governments, Indigenous organizations, and 'mainstream' housing organizations. I will be complementing these interviews with focus groups with non-elite Indigenous women and men from the Edmonton community in order to hear the stories of the people most affected by Edmonton's housing situation.

I anticipate that my paper will provide a useful addition to the discourse on how the state directly and systemically affects urban Indigenous governance while also demonstrating that sites of resistance to colonial, neoliberal, and neoconservative forces do exist. Although state and societal forces may try to re-create urban Indigenous women and men as certain kinds of citizens, field analysis can show that spaces exist in urban areas for gaining Indigenous control over key forms of capital.

**Crowe, Lori – crowela @ yorku.ca**

*The Neo-liberal Superhero Soldier*

During the Cold War Superhero characters were enlisted in the war effort to fight communism and the Nazis in comic books, television, posters, etc. Many can still recall the image of Captain America on the first cover of Captain America Comics delivering a forceful punch to Hitler's jaw, securing the position of children's mythical heroes as patriotic warriors who would help America defeat its enemies. Today, re-incarnated superheroes have been recruited to normalize, glorify and celebrate militarized violence in new ways. The 1998 film adaptation of the Iron Man comic book superhero (which grossed \$570 million worldwide) and G.I. Joe: The Rise of Cobra, the 2009 Hollywood film adaptation of the G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero toy franchise (which grossed \$300,289,865 worldwide) exemplify the integral relationship between the entertainment industry in the West and the military-industrial complex. This chapter argues that Hollywood and mainstream superhero comic book publishers, notably Marvel and DC Comics, reproduce militarism through Superhero themes, corporeality's, weaponry, fashion/armor, and narratives that emphasize the value(s) of militarized hyper-masculinity and neo-liberal modes of governance. Furthermore, the mass production and distribution of such films are reaching an ever-wider audience through an economy of products that reinforce these ideologies/values. By interrogating the historical connections between the comic/film production industries and prevailing Western war-time ideology, as well as the recurring militarism in these products, this analysis reveals how the re-incarnated modern day superheroes of mainstream popular culture function to militarize everyday lives and ultimately create a loyal fan-base for military culture.

**Curry, Dion – D.Curry @ sheffield.ac.uk**

*Multi-Level Governance Frameworks, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Concept*

The concept of multi-level governance was originally developed to explain the processes at play in political relations within the European Union. Since its initial conception by Hooghe and Marks, the concept has been increasingly applied in contexts outside of its EU origins. This idea of governance can provide a more nuanced analysis of institutional and structural processes at play in complex political systems than traditional ideas of regionalism, federalism and inter-governmental relations. However, these new applications of the idea of multi-level governance also threaten to stretch the concept, rendering it less useful and well-defined. This paper approaches the conceptualisation of multi-level governance in an attempt to broaden the usefulness of multi-level governance outside of a European context. If spectrums of hierarchy and flexibility of structural design are analysed separately, a richer conceptualisation of governance processes is revealed, encompassing interactions both between and within governmental levels, relations between governmental and non-governmental actors and how these fit into local, national and international politics. This new approach to MLG is then applied to cases in Canada and the United Kingdom to demonstrate its usefulness in broadening the understanding of governance processes at local, national and supra-national levels.

**Cutler, Robert – rmc @ alum.mit.edu and Amineh, Mehdi – M.P.Amineh @ uva.nl**

*Critical Geopolitics at the Crossroads of Peace, Conflict and Security*

The paper begins by briefly summarizing the evolution of "critical geopolitics" since the early 1990s and contrasts it with "traditional" geopolitics. It does not seek to justify replacing the latter with the former. Rather, it presents a systematic conceptual synthesis of idealist and materialist elements in the human structuring of time and space. On that basis, using a quasi-Lakatosian category developed to describe how complexity science differs from the five canonical forms of justificationism and falsificationism, it proceeds to define critical geopolitics as a "complex justificationist" science; and it explains what this means. The paper focuses next on an analytical redefinition of the category of "national interest". It then proceeds to make the point that such a general redefinition, which is nevertheless grounded in the synthesis of superficially divergent theories of international relations, applies to the assessment of the "interest" of any actor in world politics, not just states. Addressing whether and how such an interest may change, the paper concludes on the category of "evolutionary learning", of which the introduction into IR theory is the fundamental empirical "turn" motivated by theories of critical geopolitics. The paper offers reasons why evolutionary learning is more difficult for states than for other types of international actors, and concludes by suggesting that the inheritance state-centric IR theory accounts in some degree for the difficulty of evolutionary theory to find a purchase on the terrain of IR theory.

**Daku, Mark – mark.daku @ mail.mcgill.ca and Heymann, Jody – jody.heyman @ mcgill.ca**

*Adult Labour Policies in Canada: How Do We Measure Up?*

This paper assesses Canada's current commitment to adult labour conditions using a new global dataset compiled by the Institute for Health and Social Policy. The paper examines policies on paid and unpaid leave for maternity/paternity, vacation, children's educational and health needs, care of adult family members and personal health. First, Canada's policies are assessed in relation to the policies of other OECD member countries. We then turn our attention to the areas where Canadian policy is lacking, and areas where it demonstrates a higher level of commitment than the OECD members. Our intention is to highlight the places where Canadian policy needs improvement while recognizing the commitments that should be celebrated.

**Dandashly, Assem – assem @ uvic.ca and Verdun, Amy – averdun @ uvic.ca**

*Euro Adoption Strategies in Central Europe: The Cases of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland*

Following their accession to the European Union (EU) on May 1st, 2004, ten New Member States (NMS) are expected to fulfill the Maastricht convergence criteria and adopt the euro in due course. However, nothing in the treaty specifies a time-frame. Some countries, such as Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta have already adopted the euro and are considered to be among the pacesetters. In Poland, the plans to adopt the euro change from government to another. For other NMS, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, it is not really clear when they will join. The questions this paper seeks to answer are why have some NMS not yet joined? What are the circumstances and policies in these countries that have led them not yet to adopt the euro to date? Has it been lack of political will on the part of the government, a strong voice in the opposition a euroskeptic president, insufficient administrative capacity or lack of policy learning? What has been the role of the media in these three cases, and what has the public opinion been like in terms of its support for euro adoption in each of these cases. Has the financial crisis made matters worse, or focused the attention of the government? In this paper we suggest explanations other than the typical economic cost-benefit analysis. We argue that one needs a domestic politics approach that is able to clarify the timing of euro adoption and the overall stance towards Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) of the various NMS.

**Dandoy, Régis – rdandoy @ ulb.ac.be and Dumont, Patrick – patrick.dumont @ uni.lu**

*Multilevel Career Patterns of Ministers: A Frame for Analysis*

This paper aims at filling a gap in the general literature on ministerial careers through the study of positions left and taken by ministers who move from one level to another. Not much has been devoted to the ministerial careers at the subnational level and especially in interaction with other decision-making levels (national and supranational, such as the European one). Ministerial reshuffles are, in numerous countries, a multilevel phenomenon. The subnational, national and supranational levels are closely interconnected when one wants to fully understand the composition of the different cabinets and the moves of the political elite between them. Federal ministers move to regional cabinets, regional ministers move to the federal cabinet, regional ministers move to other regional cabinets and all these actors interact with the European level.

The career patterns of the ministers between these different levels are not only fluctuating depending on the political environment, the coalition formula, etc. but it is also essential to understand the ministerial moves from a cabinet to another in terms of promotion or of sanction. And the shared equilibria (based on factions, political tendencies, gender and geographical equilibria) between levels have to be assessed as any reshuffle at one level threatens this global equilibrium and, often, changes have to be made to the composition of the cabinet at another level. Based on empirical evidence from Belgium and other European countries, this paper will attempt to identify all the relevant elements and build a common frame for analysis of these multilevel phenomena.

**D'Aoust, Anne-Marie – adaoust @ sas.upenn.edu**

*Disciplining Alternatives or Alternatives to the Discipline? For a Sociological Study of International Relations*

Over at least the past 20 years, the discipline of IR has engaged in debates about contestations and resistance to hegemonic paradigms inside the field. Since dominant paradigms and ideas are never the neutral outcome of contests between competing ideas, I propose to examine how paying close attention to the sociology of the discipline is a necessary crucial step to undertake if one concretely seeks enduring shifts and alternatives in thinking about the

discipline. Paying attention to the ways the discipline is taught/thought in different settings should be coupled with a sociological understanding of the power relations and structures that enable the discipline to develop in one way or the other. As such, questions such as “Where does the funding come from? Which publications are seen as being dominant in the field, what qualifications are needed to get hired as an IR faculty, etc?” need to be examined. Using the case of the development of the German discipline of IR, I explore the key role translation processes (both in terms of language and concerns specific to the American IR discipline) and journal publications play in establishing the mainstream of the discipline and its borderlands.

**Dauda, Carol – cdauda @ uoguelph.ca**

*What Should You be When You Grow Up? The Politics of Generation, Future Adulthood, and Moral Regulation of Sexuality in Liberal Democracies*

Part of a project investigating to what extent and by what means moral regulation is currently taking place in liberal democracies, this paper focuses on the resurgence of regulation of childhood and youth sexuality in Canada, the UK and the US amidst the considerable efforts, and some success, of feminist and LGBT movements to broaden notions of gender, sexuality and the family. I argue that, given the gains made by feminist and LGBT movements on rights and inclusivity of citizenship, the target population (Ingram and Schneider, 1993) for moral regulation of sexuality has become childhood and, more particularly, youth. While acknowledging the importance of different institutional structures (Smith 2008) and the complexity of the political process (Rayside 1998), the comparative analysis is based in the literatures of moral regulation, childhood and symbolic politics and, I argue, it is in understanding the symbolic that we may view the current regulation as a more general moral regulation. With evidence from debates and policy in Canada, the UK and the US, I locate the politicized identity of youth characterized by innocence, incompetence and providence, the last encompassing the preparation for a future adulthood that is very narrowly defined in stereotypically gendered terms of the ideal family. It is in this last notion of providence that I discuss the political and moral implications for women’s sexual agency and equality and for sexual diversity more generally and outline why this form of moral regulation presents a significant political challenge to feminist, LGBT and youth activists.

**de Clercy, Cristine – c.declercy @ uwo.ca and Ferguson, Peter – p.ferguson @ uwo.ca**

*Leadership in Image-building Policy: Four Saskatchewan Cases*

Undertaken as one of three provincially located image-building studies within the “Public Policy in Municipalities” MCRI research project, this paper focuses on when and how community leaders influence policy decisions. In studying the creation and quality of image-building policy within four disparate cases of Saskatchewan local government (the cities of Saskatoon, Humboldt, Swift Current and the Waskesiu resort community), our study reveals most policy decisions aimed at promoting a place or attracting new residents, businesses or tourists are made by surprisingly few actors. These leaders control many sorts of private and public resources and normally are linked within small, personal networks. The interview data we collected in particular suggests most key decisions concerning image-building activities are executed by these leadership networks, and they normally move to realize their goals quickly, quietly and with much efficiency. Interestingly, although these groups often are lauded as substantial contributors to civic pride and community economic development, one effect of their activity is to monopolize policy-making and so reduce competition in the marketplace of image-building ideas. We conclude that, particularly for larger, more diverse communities, there may be merit in increasing the bureaucratic institutionalization of decision-making in this policy area.

**de Clercy, Cristine – c.declercy @ uwo.ca**

*Women in the Social Economy and Political Economy*

This paper originates in a set of studies that have been undertaken as part of SSHRC's Social Economy Suite. It draws from a broad base of qualitative and quantitative data concerning women and social economy (aka Third Sector) enterprises to illustrate that women possess some decision-making parameters when participating in voluntary activities that are distinct from those of men. While these distinctions are well known in the case study and empirical literatures, normally they are treated as interesting aberrations, and so are ignored at the broader, abstract theoretical level. This paper suggests a way to integrate these empirical findings within the broad theory of voluntary behaviour that underlies most of the public choice literature.

As a result, this paper makes two important points. The first is methodological: it demonstrates the interplay between theoretical and empirical research — how and why empirical results should influence longstanding, widely accepted theoretical maxims. The second point is theoretical: it reveals the need for a richer, newer, feminist theory of rationality and other-regarding behaviour.

**de Meulles, Leslie – leslie.deMeulles @ gmail.com**

*Provincial Unity Amidst a Diminishing Press Gallery*

The Press Gallery at Queen's park was once a powerful tool of political communication that existed between politicians, journalists and constituents. For example, as recently as 1996, the Gallery had 52 journalists with offices at Queen's Park that represented 28 news organizations and 14 associate members. Today, a smaller Press Gallery has changed the face of Queen's Park coverage not only for the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), but also for other more remote areas of Ontario. This paper will examine the challenges of informing and representing Northern and rural Ontario with a smaller Press Gallery.

The research for this paper will include interviews with current members of the Press Gallery, journalists who work in Northern Ontario, as well as with MPPs representing Northern constituencies.

This paper will also examine the effect of Queen's Park coverage in the North considering recent changes in Northern Ontario demographics.

These interviews will give insight into the current state of the Press Gallery and its ability to link the the population of Northern Ontario to the activities and work of the Legislative Assembly. With a diminishing Northern population and an ever smaller Press Gallery, will Northerners find themselves with weaker and weaker links to the work of the legislature and the latter's increasing inability to respond to the crucial issues of the North?

**DeGagne, Alexa – adegagne @ ualberta.ca**

*Would Somebody Think of the Children? Californian Adoption Laws, Gay Rights, and the Social Conservative Nation*

This paper examines how and why American social conservatives simultaneously oppose gay marriage and adoption laws in their effort to assure the reproduction of their ideal American nation. Focusing on the Californian context, I conduct a discursive analysis of the public transcripts of key organizations which rallied against same-sex marriage and homosexual adoption laws including the Mormon Church, Protect Marriage and the American Family Association. I examine these organizations' flyers, websites, press releases and open letters, and discern the kinds of discourses that were mobilized to attempt to retract formally expanded marriage and adoption rights from homosexual Californians in the name of the nation.

American national membership is defined and administered through sexual conduct and family form (Stychin 1998). Imploring techniques of biopower, in which the state supports the lives of desirable citizens and leaves the undesirable to perish, certain populations are encouraged to reproduce themselves and thus perpetuate the nation at the expense of others (Foucault 2003). With 'gay friendly' adoption agencies, homosexuals are able to 'acquire' children and supposedly reproduce the homosexual lifestyle. With marriage rights, homosexuals can access economic benefits and assure the survival of their families (Cossman 2005). In their fight to maintain and promote 'traditional' and 'moral' national families, and to regulate and punish deviant populations, Californian social conservative organizations have launched convergent campaigns to oppose same-sex marriage and homosexual adoptions.

**Del Pino, Eloisa – eloisa.delpino @ telefonica.net, Ramos, Juan – juan.ramos @ urjc.es and Diaz-Pulido, José M. – josemanuel.diaz @ aeval.es**

*The Easiest Cut of All: Retrenchment of the Spanish Welfare State in Times of its Crisis*

Based on the analysis of the main reforms carried out in the last 30 years on the Spanish welfare policies and management, this paper tries to anticipate its forthcoming future in the current situation of economic crisis. The Spanish Welfare State (WS) has been deeply reformed over the last decades. In general, changes have been expansive and incremental. However, despite the fact that WS is strongly supported by the Spaniards, several decisions of radical retrenchment on social spending have been made by governments. While the kind of economic environment seems to matter less on incremental and expansive reforms, is revealed as a very important factor in achieving success in cutting back welfare policies. The economic crisis appears to be a necessary precondition for a radical retrenchment. With a crisis, even a left-wing government will be able to cut social policies that have generated strong commitments over the long term. In contrast, other factors that a priori might seem very relevant to predict a cut of the WS, such as a parliamentary absolute majority, or the fact that a right-wing party was in government, are insufficient to explain the cuts in times of economic boom. The analysis of several cases of retrenchment shows that in times of crisis, even when public opinion is contrary to it, governments decide to undertake cuts in the system. Crisis puts them into a kind of impasse with one exit: to launch an unpopular reform and try to avoid being blamed by the citizens for it.

**deLarrinaga, Miguel – mlarrina @ uottawa.ca and Salter, Mark B. – msalter @ uottawa.ca**

*Cold CASE: A Manifesto for Canadian Critical Security Studies*

Abstract : Critical security studies is a growing area of interest that brings together a variety of disciplines and theoretical approaches to bear on the ubiquitous deployment of security discourses and practices in the post-9-11 world. This article maps scholars working in Critical Security Studies in Canada and addresses the potential of collaborative spaces for research of this community, particularly in contradistinction to the Paris and Copenhagen schools, as set out by the c.a.s.e. collective. After a series of loosely-connected workshops and roundtables held over the past two years, an emergent network of Canadian critical security scholars have self-identified that share a critical sensibility, despite methodological pluralism, and this article sketches a genealogy of this sensibility in the Canadian context. This genealogy – much to our surprise – presented a far deeper and wider community than our initial suspicions of the "usual suspects" and points to a particular dynamic. We argue that the Canadian critical security sensibility is characterized by three concerns, within a number of issue clusters: interdisciplinarity and concerns with practices and discourses of security outside the state and outside the inter-state system; methodological pluralism; epistemological sensitivity to the important role of knowledge in the creation of security. . Important issue clusters include: a concern with the post-colonial, particularly First Nations; environmental and ecological security, a network of issues surrounding the border, refugees, immigration, and multiculturalism; questions of governance, risk, and organization; human security and development.

**Della Sala, Vincent – vincent.dellasala @ soc.unitn.it**

*Promoting Risky Business: Legalized Gambling and the Regulation of Risk*

In the wake of the recent financial crisis, much attention has been drawn to the promotion, through regulatory changes, of high-risk financial activities as the cause of the collapse. Less attention has been paid to how it was possible that the loose regulation of risk became so widespread and embraced. The aim of this paper is to argue that more than a set of policies and institutions, neoliberalism is a set of practices that are promoted through daily practices. The aim of this paper

is to look at a policy development widely ignored by the political science and comparative political economy literature – the widespread legalization of gambling – as inexorably bound to the promotion of practices that promote risk. Most explanations of the widespread legalization of gambling in industrialised and developing countries have focused on their revenue potential, regulatory competition and regional development strategies. The paper argues that while these approaches are useful, they tell only part of the story. Rooted in arguments from cultural economy, the paper will demonstrate that the recent trend is part of the promotion of practices that encouraged the “financialization of daily life”. It will examine gambling policies in the European Union, the United States, Canada and South Africa to demonstrate that regulatory regimes are not so much the cause but are the product of practices and the normative and cognitive maps upon which they are based.

**Dembinska, Magdalena – magdalena.dembinska @ umontreal.ca**

*Citizenship, Identity and Authority*

Social sciences are increasingly focused on the relationship between state power and issues of identity. Local communities and identity groups – ethnic, national, indigenous, religious and social – continuously struggle to negotiate their relations with the state and with each other in ways that may challenge conventional or legal definitions of citizenship. Yet, the quality of democracy is linked to inclusive citizenship regimes. These involve individual rights, but also a collectively defined “common good.” In divided societies both elements are problematic.

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the state as representing a single national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Group rights are at the heart of new conceptions of citizenship moving beyond the universalistic, formal equality between individuals. Debates increasingly evolve around collective versus individual rights and the meanings and forms of belonging, identity, and political membership. The challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to “glue” different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society.

The aim of the roundtable is to contribute to the scientific debate by linking the concepts of citizenship, identity and authority. More specifically, the roundtable will address the following questions:

- How can we conceptualize and study inclusive citizenship in heterogeneous societies?
- What political mechanisms, institutions and public policies empower different identity groups?
- And which of these mechanisms create at the same time public spaces for inter-group cooperation?
- How to construct citizenship as “belonging”?

**DeMoor, Michael – michael.demoor @ kingsu.ca**

*Aristotle and Hegel on Private Property and the Common Good*

Aristotle offers a defense of private property based on the necessity of property to the common good of political communities. This defense abstracts entirely from a rights-based account of the justification for private property. An account of the “right” to property can be engineered from the resources Aristotle offers, but it is unsatisfactory on a number of levels. Hegel, on the other hand, begins his *Philosophy of Right* with an account of property rights that begins with no mention of the common good as the justification for private property, offering at first an elaborate version of Locke’s account of the origins of property. However, the subsequent development of the *Philosophy of Right* gives reason to see that this Lockian view is, for Hegel, an abstraction from the proper embeddedness of private property in the life of ethical communities. This points in the direction of an “Aristotelian” defense of private property on considerations of the common good. Having argued these points, I will show that Hegel’s account of private property fulfills desiderata that both Aristotle’s and Locke’s fail to provide. First, Hegel’s view points beyond the problematic view that property rights are “natural” and accrue to individuals irrespective of their involvement in communities and a common good. On the other hand, unlike Aristotle’s account, Hegel’s offers a coherent account of the connection between individual rights to property and the common good. I will conclude with some reflections on the significance of this argument for contemporary disputes about rights, virtues and the obligations of the common good.

**Desjardins, Claudine – claudine.desjardins @ enap.ca**

*Régime de divulgation dans la fonction publique : une comparaison entre le Canada, Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Royaume-Uni et États-Unis*

Peu après le scandale des commandites, le Canada a adopté en 2005 la Loi sur la protection des fonctionnaires divulgateurs d’actes répréhensibles (LFPDAR). La LFPDAR a pour objectif 1) d’offrir une protection au fonctionnaire-divulgateur témoin d’actes répréhensibles commis au sein de la fonction publique et 2) de fournir un cadre juridique à tout fonctionnaire souhaitant obtenir réparation parce qu’il a été victime de représailles dans son milieu de travail suite à une divulgation. Si la LFPDAR n’est en vigueur que depuis 2007, l’Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande, le Royaume-Uni et les États-Unis ont tous précédé le Canada dans l’adoption d’une telle loi.

Cette présentation vise à présenter les résultats d’une recherche comparative sur les systèmes de protection des divulgateurs et de réparation suite à des représailles des pays ci-haut nommés. Plutôt que de m’attarder à décrire les modèles de gouvernance et les différents processus découlant de la loi, je mettrai davantage l’accent sur la présentation des résultats (par ex. nombre de dossiers de divulgation et de réparation reçus annuellement) que je tenterai de moduler selon différents paramètres, tels que :

- Le caractère intégrateur de la loi
- Le caractère autorégulateur ou hétérorégulateur de loi
- Le caractère privé ou public de la loi

– L'âge du système de divulgation

Cette recherche a été menée sous la supervision d'Yves Boisvert, professeur en éthique et gouvernance à l'École nationale d'administration publique de Montréal, et fera l'objet d'une publication ultérieurement.

**Desrosiers, Marie-Ève – marie-eve.desrosiers @ uottawa.ca**

*Citizenship, Identity and Authority*

Social sciences are increasingly focused on the relationship between state power and issues of identity. Local communities and identity groups – ethnic, national, indigenous, religious and social – continuously struggle to negotiate their relations with the state and with each other in ways that may challenge conventional or legal definitions of citizenship. Yet, the quality of democracy is linked to inclusive citizenship regimes. These involve individual rights, but also a collectively defined “common good.” In divided societies both elements are problematic.

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the state as representing a single national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Group rights are at the heart of new conceptions of citizenship moving beyond the universalistic, formal equality between individuals. Debates increasingly evolve around collective versus individual rights and the meanings and forms of belonging, identity, and political membership. The challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to “glue” different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society.

The aim of the roundtable is to contribute to the scientific debate by linking the concepts of citizenship, identity and authority. More specifically, the roundtable will address the following questions:

- How can we conceptualize and study inclusive citizenship in heterogeneous societies?
- What political mechanisms, institutions and public policies empower different identity groups?
- And which of these mechanisms create at the same time public spaces for inter-group cooperation?
- How to construct citizenship as “belonging”?

**Di Gregorio, Michael – digregmn @ mcmaster.ca**

*Periclean Biopolitics: Bare Life and the Limits of Politics in the First Democracy*

Thucydides' political philosophy has long been associated with the Realist school of thought, although scholarship has more recently come to a more nuanced reading of Thucydides. This paper continues this trend by arguing that Thucydides' presentation of the Funeral Oration of Pericles can be understood as the authoritative classical statement on biopolitics. The presentation of Pericles' Oration is concerned with issues of bare or naked life, the limits of politics, and the (de)centering of the body from political concerns. Thucydides' novelty lies in his judgment that politics cannot sustain the emancipation or severing of simple bodily concerns from political concerns: politics must remain concerned with “bare life” for the sake of peace and stability, or with “bare life” for the sake of pursuing the “good life”. This conclusion can directly take up Agamben's challenge to “return thought to its practical calling” and to found a new politics that escapes the immobile logic of bare life. Thucydides is ultimately less convinced of the possibility of this new foundation for politics than Agamben, and in the final analysis makes us question if Agamben's approach replicates the very mistakes he hopes to avoid.

**Di Ianni, Paul – paul.dilanni @ gmail.com**

*Lame Duck or Martyr: Ministerial Responsibility*

This paper will examine the convention of ministerial responsibility over the last twenty years. Has this convention been interpreted uniformly over this period or has the interpretation of this convention changed? If there has been change, what is the nature of that change and how can we explain that change? As government has become more complex, how much knowledge and control can we expect from a cabinet minister? How much responsibility should be placed at the door of a current minister compared to previous ministers in the same government?

Selected case studies will be examined such as the 2009 dispute over the Electronic Health Records Initiative. This paper will use information from Hansard records and interviews with members including past and present cabinet ministers.

**Dietsch, Peter – peter.dietsch @ umontreal.ca and Rixen, Thomas – rixen @ wzb.de**

*Promoting Justice in International Tax Governance*

Fiscal policy is justified at least in part by appeal to reasons of social justice. In a world where international taxation is based on bilateral tax treaties and characterised by tax competition between countries, the pursuit of these justice objectives not only becomes more difficult, but is often directly undermined.

This paper argues that international tax arrangements would have to respect two principles for this negative impact on justice to be minimized. First, a membership principle which holds that deriving the benefits of membership in any given country grounds an obligation to pay one's taxes there. Second, an intentionality principle which states that lowering of national tax rates is only legitimate if it would still be pursued in the counterfactual situation where the benefits of this move in terms of inflowing capital were absent. These principles are not principles of justice themselves, but represent a precondition for the promotion of social justice, both domestically and globally.

In a second step, we reflect on the prospects of institutionalizing the membership and intentionality principles. Whereas one institutional framework that respects the membership principle is widely debated in the public finance literature, namely unitary taxation with formulaic apportionment, respect for the intentionality principle could only be achieved by approximation. One option to implement the latter would be to create an International Tax Organisation (ITO) modeled on the WTO and its dispute settlement procedure.

**Dinsmore, Greg – greg.dinsmore @ sympatico.ca**

*Collective Responsibility and the Responsibility to Protect*

Increasingly the international system that is looking

towards a conception of responsibility to ground the authority of state sovereignty. The idea of state sovereignty as the 'Responsibility to Protect' looks directly at the responsibilities states have to their citizens and to other states within the international system. Failure to live up to these responsibilities can provide the political justification for intervention into the internal affairs of states. However, the responsibility to protect only looks at those responsibilities the state and state agents (politicians, office holders etc.) have in the exercise of political power. It does not consider the responsibilities that citizens may have for the actions of the collectivity to which they belong.

This paper will argue that if we are to say that the exercise of legitimate political power is ultimately a question of assuming responsibility, then it is important to fully understand the two-way relationship of responsibility between the state and the citizen. It will draw on Hannah Arendt's conception of collective responsibility and the liberal theories of obligation at play in the 'Responsibility to Protect' in order to show that the rights of the citizens rest in large part on their responsibility for the collective actions of their political community. The state may be indeed be responsible to protect the rights of its citizens, but the responsibility for the actions of the state falls not only on state decision-makers, but also on the citizens in whose name they act. If this relationship is not fleshed out, then this only further reinforces a Leviathan-like conception of sovereignty in which the state acts as guardian of its subjects rather than the agent of its citizens.

**Dobrowolsky, Alexandra – adobrowolsky @ smu.ca**

*New Choices for Migrants, Old Constraints?: Assessing a Provincial Nominee Program from Multiple Perspectives*

Migrants can now choose from a growing number of Canadian immigration streams, including, for instance "Experience" and "Investors" categories. New migration avenues have also opened up at the sub-national level, with the establishment of successive provincial nominee programs (since 1995). Yet, are the immigration "choices" for migrants actually expanding? What are the underpinnings and consequences of the choices made, and the ultimate realities migrants face, based on such interrelated factors as gender, race, ethnicity and class? Since most of the new streams are economically-based, what are the social effects, especially on families, children and youth? These questions lie at the heart of my paper.

Strategic choices have clearly been made with each nominee program given that they are intended to respond to the priorities and needs of the province in question. However, the strategic choices made by migrants in choosing to apply to a nominee program, and through a specific province, are less well known. This paper seeks to uncover the nature and effects of these "choices" in the case of the Nova Scotia Nominee Program (NSNP). The paper will draw on both primary sources (government documents, media reports) and qualitative interviews with approximately 18 provincial nominees in Halifax. In so doing, the aim is to add to existing research by providing both a "top down" and "bottom up" assessment of a new immigration strategy, one that considers the priorities, opportunities and constraints involved, and pays close attention to the dynamics of gender, race and class.

**Dodds, Graham – g.dodds @ concordia.ca**

*From an Act of God to the Hand of Man: the Growing Realm of the Political.*

This paper considers the contested ways in which political scientists define the realm of our discipline, by examining how the sphere of things that are in some sense "political" (and therefore amenable to analysis by political scientists) is expanding. Towards that end, I examine how phenomena that were once seen as beyond human control are now increasingly seen as being influenced by people and hence political. One measure of this is the contracting category in insurance law of "acts of God" (i.e., events which could not be foreseen and hence cannot be covered by regular insurance policies). In part, this overall trend also tracks the relative strengths of science and religion from the Enlightenment onward, and other indicators may include recent political critiques of deaths caused by heat waves (e.g., Chicago 1995) and floods (e.g., New Orleans 2005), as well as the growing acceptance of global-warming as human-induced. This paper should be accessible to, and of interest to, a wide variety of political scientists.

**Dostie-Goulet, Eugénie – eugenie.dostie-goulet @ usherbrooke.ca**

*How Is Political Interest Linked to Cynicism, Party Affinity and Civic Duty?*

This paper addresses a question that has remained understudied in political science: why some young people are interested in politics while others are not? The focus is on three attitudes related to political interest: cynicism, party affinity and civic duty. A panel of 622 Quebec teenagers was used to investigate the extent to which these attitudes have an effect on change in political interest, and conversely, the extent to which political interest affects change in these attitudes. Analysis of the data shows a reciprocal relationship between cynicism and interest, as well as between civic duty and interest. In the case of party affinity, however, the effect is unidirectional: party affinity does not emerge as a result of political interest or disinterest, while this attitude was found to influence the development of political interest.

**Doucet, Cindy L. – cdouc017 @ uottawa.ca**

*Does the Transnational Nature of Capital Require a Transnational Response? A Case Study of Women Maquiladora Workers Organising in Mexico's Northern Border Region*

When studying civil society's responses to the effects of globalisation, there are a few key debates. Among these is the debate surrounding the best strategies for combating the ill effects, direct or indirect, of this phenomenon that cannot be contained within a state and therefore requires a new way of looking at civil society mobilisation. Most studies focus on transnational organising as the best option to combat globalisation, often using the argument that since capital is global, the response must also be global. This paper expands on this growing literature by asking if the answer must necessarily be found at the transnational level. Through a case study of one specific organisation of maquiladora workers in Mexico's northern border region, the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras (Border Committee of Women Workers), I examine why some organisations are opting out of this seemingly better option of organising in transnational networks, and going at it alone or through short term alliances with larger organisations. I argue that some form of transnational cooperation is necessary for community-based organisations in Mexico since Mexican civil society does not have access to the same resources as their Canadian and American counterparts. This transnational cooperation can however be detrimental to the grassroots-base as power dynamics between North and South often lead to loss of autonomy on the part of the partner from the South. This paper examines the delicate balance needed between the local and global for an organisation to both advance and not lose its grassroots-base origins.

**Dowding, Keith – keith.dowding @ anu.edu.au and Lewis, Chris**

*Ministerial Resignations and Non-Resignations in Australia*

The paper provides descriptive statistics on the calls for resignation and forced exits in the Australian national (Commonwealth) government 1949–2007). It demonstrates an increasing number of calls for resignation on both personal and policy grounds. It argues that the increasing number of calls is a result of both institutional changes in government and new culture of media reporting.

**Dragojlovic, Nicolas – ndragojl @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*The Global Bully Pulpit: U.S. Presidents, Persuasion, and Soft Power*

A common argument in favor of Barack Obama's candidacy for president was that his election would immediately improve the United States' image abroad. While cross-national surveys show that President Obama is indeed more popular internationally than George W. Bush ever was, it remains unclear to what extent this popularity translates into soft power. In this paper, I draw on the political psychology literature to investigate the conditions under which U.S. presidents are most likely to persuade foreign publics to support U.S. policy initiatives. I begin by examining a set of moderating variables – grouped into three categories: leader attributes, audience attributes, and contextual factors – and set out a number of hypotheses about how they might influence U.S. presidents' persuasiveness. I test these hypotheses empirically using data from two source cue experiments administered to a sample of Canadian undergraduates. These experiments examine how support for a policy position changes when the position is attributed to either Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, or Barack Obama. The findings suggest that President Obama is indeed more likely to be persuasive internationally than President Bush ever was, but also that this persuasiveness is not unique to Obama and faces significant constraints.

**Dragojlovic, Nicolas – ndragojl @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*Negative Frame Resonance in Global Politics: Arguing for Abstinence as AIDS Prevention Policy*

Much of the recent work on transnational advocacy has focused on the idea of strategic framing – that is, on how norm entrepreneurs use rhetorical arguments strategically to persuade other actors to support the policies they advocate. This paper draws on the political psychology literature to introduce a new concept to constructivist theories of persuasion – namely, that frames can backfire, leading to increased opposition to the advocated policy position. I present two hypotheses about when frames are most likely to backfire. On the one hand, frames can backfire when a frame that is perceived as “weak” is deployed on a population that strongly opposes the policy position proposed by the frame (psychological “reactance”). On the other hand, frames are also likely to backfire when a weak supportive frame is paired with a strong opposing frame (the “contrast effect”). I test these two hypotheses in a global political context a survey experiment administered to Canadian undergraduate students. The experiment evaluates the relative effect of several frame combinations on participants' attitudes towards the use of information campaigns advocating sexual abstinence as an AIDS prevention tool in South Africa. To further illustrate the implications of this argument to transnational politics, I use the results of my experiment to interpret the rhetorical strategy adopted by the Bush Administration in its efforts to promote the teaching of abstinence as an AIDS prevention policy.

**Drake, Anna – anna.drake @ gmail.com**

*Inclusion and Institutional Design in Deliberative Mini-publics*

The normative justification for deliberative democracy – that policies are legitimate only if they arise as a result of inclusive deliberations on the part of all people who are affected – has renewed attention on the importance of inclusion for political legitimacy. The growth of deliberative mini-publics gives rise to questions of inclusion implicated in institutional design. Deliberative theorists who advocate mini-publics pay considerable normative attention to the representative nature of random samples. As a way to advance inclusion and political equality, the “all affected” threshold that guides the selection of deliberants here aims to exclude participatory distortion and the resulting power imbalances that upset deliberative legitimacy. In this paper I question the effects of this approach on a more substantive form of inclusion. Analyzing Fishkin's concerns of participatory distortion I do three things. First, paying particular attention to the argument that

activists engage in “strategic rather than sincere behaviour” (Fishkin 2009, 128) I examine the kind of mutual respect that mini-publics foster. Second, I analyze the implications that a clearly defined random sampling has upon larger questions of democratic participation, most notably upon the role of protest. Finally, I ask whether this carefully prescribed inclusion within mini-publics entrenches problems of exclusionary deliberative framing. This last question in particular is under-analyzed in the deliberative literature. The question of whether participants can successfully impact the background conditions that set the overarching agenda and affect subsequent participation speaks to issues of inclusion and legitimacy that are at the heart of deliberative democracy.

**Dufort, Julie – dufort.julie @ uqam.ca and Gagnon, Frédérick – gagnon.frederick @ uqam.ca**

*Minutemen at the U.S.–Mexico Border: Role and Influence*

An increasing number of American civilian border patrol groups, including the much publicized Minutemen Project, have been patrolling the northern border. Aside from the significant amount of attention they have been receiving from the national and international media, this paper looks at Minutemen as potential influential actors in policymaking for border security. While using the Copenhagen School’s securitization theory, this paper will attempt to compare the roles of the Minutemen between the Northern and Southern borders of the United States.

**Dupuis–Déri, Francis – dupuis–deri.francis @ uqam.ca**

*Conservatisme, moralité et politique aux États–Unis: Que reste–t–il des “guerres culturelles” à l’ère Obama?*

En 1992, l’ultraconservateur Pat Buchanan affirmait qu’une « guerre culturelle » (culture war) fait rage aux États–Unis. Décrite par Buchanan comme un combat pour définir l’identité nationale américaine, la guerre culturelle a été le cheval de bataille de multiples acteurs conservateurs moraux et religieux depuis les années 1970 (groupes pro–vie, leaders d’églises évangéliques dénonçant l’érosion des valeurs familiales traditionnelles, législateurs contre le mariage gai, etc.). Tandis que les premiers mois de la présidence de Barack Obama illustrent que les guerres culturelles continuent à battre leur plein aux États–Unis (adoption d’une proposition visant à interdire le mariage gai en Californie le soir de l’élection d’Obama, assassinat d’un médecin pratiquant des avortements tardifs par un militant pro–vie en mai 2009; etc.), cette table ronde vise à mieux cerner le phénomène des guerres culturelles et leur importance au sein de la société américaine. Les participants évalueront, entre autres, l’impact de divers “guerriers culturels” et de leurs discours (par exemple: Bill O’Reilly, Glenn Beck, blogueurs qui s’insurgent contre la nudité dans la culture populaire, organisations antiféministes, etc.) sur les débats politiques.

**Dwivedi, O.P. – odwivedi @ uoguelph.ca**

*Roundtable: Public Service Values in the Age of Governance*

The classic version of Canadian public service values derives from the achievement of responsible government in the 1840s. Collective and individual ministerial responsibility require a hierarchical system of public service values in which, within the limits set by the law and the constitution, public servants impartially put into practice policy decisions adopted by parliament and cabinet. In contrast, contemporary governance, subsidiarity and the strategic state see power as more diffuse, more shared and more bottom–up. Ministerial responsibility is seen as less feasible and less desirable. This Roundtable will explore the tensions among differing versions of the public interest and between creative federalism, demands of diversity, and power–sharing on the one hand and the minimal requirements of common policies and practices in maintaining the polity on the other.

**Eagles, Munroe – eagles @ buffalo.edu and Hagley, Annika – ahagley @ buffalo.edu**

*Constituency and Personal Determinants of Votes in the Canadian House of Commons*

With party discipline that ranks among the strongest in the world, Canadian MPs are expected to tow the party line in voting in the House of Commons. Though uncommonly used, there are however options for a determined MP to vote either according to their conscience or their constituency. One option that MPs have when they oppose their party’s position on an issue would be to abstain from the formal vote in the House (Longley, 2003). Occasionally, particularly when dealing with issues of morality, MPs are released from the whip and allowed to vote according to their constituency or conscience (Overby et al., 1998). Finally, even more rarely, MPs may defy their party’s whip and vote against their party on measures they feel particularly strongly about. Our proposed paper will explore for evidence of personal and constituency influences on votes on five “moral issue” votes that came before the House of Commons in recent years: a) the 2003 “Definition of Marriage” vote; b) Bill C–250 adding “sexual orientation” to the list of hate crimes; c) Motion M–83 asking for a study on the medical necessity of abortion; d) Bill C–13 on reproductive technologies, and e) the 2005 vote legalizing same–sex marriage (the Globe and Mail published a breakdown of MP voting intentions on this Bill, and in addition to identifying those MPs intending to vote for and against the measure, they included those who were “undecided” – we will make use of this categorization to explore the nature of these “waverers”). Building on earlier research in Canada and the UK, we seek to determine the independent role in these votes of MP and constituency characteristics. We will also explore for evidence of the impact of dissenting votes (in graduated order from “paired” voting; abstention, and voting against their party) on the electoral performance of those MPs reoffering in the 2004 and 2006 elections.

**Earles, Kimberly – kiearles @ uoguelph.ca**

*Aims and Outcomes of Recent Changes to Swedish Family Policy: Contradictions Within a Social Democratic Welfare Model*

Since the centre–right alliance of the Moderate, Liberal, Centre and Christian Democratic parties won the 2006 national election in Sweden, the government has introduced a variety of family policy reforms. Three such reforms include a tax deduction for household services, a home care allowance for parents who stay at home with children between the ages of one and three, and a gender equality bonus for couples who share parental leave benefits more equally. However, the aims of these three policies are different, with the care allowance encouraging women to stay out of the labour market for extended periods, and the other reforms encouraging women to remain in the labour market. In addition, the care allowance encourages a step backward in terms of gender equality, while the gender equality bonus in parental leave encourages a step forward. Thus, the recent reforms in Swedish family policy are contradictory in their nature, and will prove to have conflicting outcomes in terms of gender and class equality. In order to determine the aims of these reforms, an analysis will be provided of the government’s stated purpose in implementing each reform, as well as the debate that ensued between the government and opposition parties, civil society groups and trade unions. A preliminary analysis of the outcomes will be provided by looking at which groups are using each reform, and what the outcomes will be for equality within the Swedish social democratic welfare model.

**Edgar, Alistair – aedgar @ wlu.ca**

*Justice and the Politics of Peace building: Comparing Experiences in Kosovo, Cambodia and northern Uganda*

What “justice” means, and how or where different forms of justice fit within larger processes of conflict resolution and sustainable peace – such as war–to–peace transitions, ceasefires, peace settlements and post–conflict peace building – are questions that defy simple answers. Peace and justice too often have become idealized or politicized notions, sometimes portrayed as intimately and positively intertwined (“no peace without justice”), and on other occasions declared as mutually contradictory or exclusive goals (“no peace settlement without withdrawal of ICC indictments”).

Serbia/Kosovo, Cambodia and Uganda provide three fascinating case studies of the complex political debates that are attached to the ideas of justice and peace building. In each case, internal (local, national) and external (regional, international) political, social, economic and other influences have played roles in shaping the nature of the “justice” that is sought by various actors in the violent conflicts that have done so much harm to their populations.

What emerges from the analysis is a story not of a single, clear path towards justice, reconciliation and sustainable peace, but rather of a difficult, awkward and uncertain process of balancing goals and claims that at different times can be complementary or contradictory, central or irrelevant, or more often a mixture of values that can change over time and circumstance as well as in the eyes of the beholder.

**Edge, Jessica – edgejl @ mcmaster.ca**

*Environmental Sustainability and the Electronics Industry: Corporate Responsiveness to Activist Campaigns*

Growing numbers of obsolete electronics, such as computers and cellular telephones, have created massive amounts of electronic waste (e–waste). Electronics contain hazardous materials such as lead and mercury, and are a significant source of toxic waste. Recycling e–waste is labour intensive and expensive, and the illegal disposal and transport of e–waste to parts of the developing world where labour and environmental standards are weak is a serious problem. A global group of activists have pressured electronics manufacturers to take responsibility for their obsolete products and phase out the use of toxic chemicals in electronics. Due to activist efforts, several electronics manufacturers now provide free take back for their obsolete products and are actively working to phase hazardous materials out of their products. However, there is considerable differentiation in the responsiveness of individual companies to activist tactics. While some companies now actively work with non–governmental organizations, other companies have been resistant to activist tactics.

Drawing on the social movement and corporate social responsibility literatures, this paper will argue that a variety of factors, such as brand sensitivity, perception of competitive advantages, and especially corporate culture have shaped the responsiveness of electronics manufacturers to activist arguments. It will also show how over time the interactions of companies and activists have evolved to become increasingly cooperative, to the point that some companies and NGOs now actively work together on specific issues. The case of the electronics industry has implications for corporate campaigns and the relationship between NGOs and corporations in general.

**Eisenberg, Avigail – avigaile @ uvic.ca**

*Can the Norms of Effective Participation and Identity be Reconciled?*

Advocates of minority rights often suggest that something like a norm of effective participation is the best way to resolve conflicts involving minority entitlements and offers better guidance than norms for assessing the contested claims of minorities on the basis of something distinctive and important about minority identity. For instance, French republicans can accept a right of minorities to effective participation, yet insist that such participation not permit the making of identity–based claims. Similarly, the Bouchard–Taylor Commission endorses effective participation or ‘the citizen’s route’ to resolving conflicts between religious minorities and the majority, as an attractive alternative to juridical solutions which inevitably require courts to assess claims minorities make based on their identity. The ‘duty to consult’ is another version of this norm and is emerging nationally and internationally as a favoured principle to resolve Aboriginal rights conflicts over resources and land. Those who are unsympathetic to identity–based claims may nonetheless believe that minorities have a right to effective participation (or that indigenous peoples have a right to be consulted). Indeed, effective participation/consultation may have emerged in real world settings precisely to avoid having to formulate principles for adjudicating identity–based claims. This paper examines whether this is the case. It explores the presuppositions that inform a preference for the norm of effective participation and then examines the kinds of conditions that actually exist in real life settings where the duty to consult or the right to effective participation is recognized.

**Erk, Jan – erk @ fsw.leidenuniv.nl**

*The Sociology of Comparative Constitutional Politics in Federal Systems*

The study of constitutional politics is one of the areas where Canadian political science enjoys international visibility. However, sociological approaches to the topic are quite rare. This proposed paper aims to present the first findings of an on-going comparative research project focusing on the societal aspects of constitutional politics. That is, the paper seeks to examine to what extent a country's ethno-linguistic composition influences the degree of judicial activism. In particular, the focus is on the important rulings of constitutional courts that impacted federal/provincial relations.

The paper contrasts two groups of federal states: those with a higher degree of linguistic/cultural/societal homogeneity (Austria, Australia, Germany, the United States, Germany), and those with territorially based cultural minorities, i.e. those with societal heterogeneity (Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, Spain).

Preliminary evidence suggests that the most activist constitutional courts are in ethno-linguistically homogeneous federations (or where heterogeneity is not territorially based). Whereas in ethno-linguistically heterogeneous federations, the courts either refrain from playing a political role or lack powers to rule on big constitutional questions dealing with the very nature of the federal union.

The working hypothesis is that in homogeneous federations, big constitutional questions are seen as 'technical'; there is a fair degree of agreement concerning the nature of the political union. Whereas in federations with territorially based heterogeneity – since the interpretation of the very nature of the political union differs among the federal partners – big constitutional questions are seen as political and not technical.

**Erk, Jan – Erk @ fsw.leidenuniv.nl and Iacovino, Raffaele – raffaele\_iacovino @ carleton.ca**

*Where Is the Demos in Multination Federations? Belgian and Canadian Constitutions in Comparison*

Recent years has witnessed a growing scholarly interest in comparing federalism in Canada and Belgium. What seems to be understudied however, is the constitutional foundations of democracy. The authors fill in this gap by examining the foundational principles of federal constitutions in both countries. This is carried out by a comparative reading of the underlying notion of the 'people' in whose name democratic politics is based, i.e. the demos, and the subsequent role of the *pouvoir constituant* it plays in legitimizing the constitution. What is of particular interest is the difficult relationship the constituent multiple *demos* have with the prevailing monistic conception of popular sovereignty. In addition to giving primacy to state integrity, federal constitutions seem to favour an organic conception of democratic legitimacy. A formal conception of divided popular sovereignty has yet to constitute a defining attribute of multination federations.

The paper provides an overview of the appeals of democratic self-determination for the constituent *demos* and the various mechanisms used to circumvent constitutional rigidity. In both countries, flexibility has been injected through executive-led compromises. But this process of accommodation through informal mechanisms and ambiguous definition of the *pouvoir constituant* remains a contingent source of political instability – leading to the persistence of a perceived deficit of legitimacy between national constituents, cycles of contention, and an erosion of trust with regards to a commitment to the federal principle. The paper tackles the question of democratic legitimacy of multiple *demos* in federations by contrasting the tension between constitutional recognition and political accommodation.

**Esselment, Anna – aesselme @ uwo.ca**

*Market-Oriented in a Minority Government: The Challenges of Product Delivery*

Can a market-oriented party remain that way in power? This paper proposes to examine the market-orientation of the Conservative Party of Canada from 2006 to 2009 and the difficulties of delivering the political product in government. Considering the minority status of the CPC since 2006, the party should be intently focused on responding to its market research in order to win a majority. However, there are challenges to remaining market-oriented in government, among them: separation from the public, operating in a political "bubble", growing arrogance and misuse of the trappings of power, using the public service for expertise and advice, detachment from the party grassroots, and the realities, constraints, and distractions involved in governing from day-to-day. Which of these barriers has the CPC faced? What have been most detrimental in terms of being able to "deliver" the CPC product? Do these obstacles have a greater or lesser impact on a party in a minority situation? To what extent do the "deliverers" (public service staff, political staff, and elected officials) help or hinder the product in government? What are some solutions to these challenges? Analyzing these questions will contribute to the field of political marketing in Canada by providing an evaluation of a market-oriented party in power.

**Estlund, David – david\_estlund @ brown.edu**

*Roundtable Discussion: Non-ideal and Institutional Theory*

This workshop considers theory about moral choices and political circumstances that wouldn't arise at all under ideal conditions. In recent years, political philosophers have done a great deal of methodological and metatheoretical work on the ideal/non-ideal distinction, while political theorists have undertaken non-ideal normative analysis of a wide range of problems. It especially highlights non-ideal theory in the context of political institutions, by—for example—proposing institutional designs for non-ideal settings, analyzing ideal versus non-ideal ways of thinking about the justice of institutional structures, or showing how particular institutions are themselves the sources of the morally compromised settings in which decision-making must take place. This concluding roundtable will discuss the themes of the workshop.

**Estlund, David – David\_Estlund @ brown.edu**

*Human Nature and the Limits (If Any) of Political Philosophy*

Political philosophy often posits standards of justice, or preconditions of authority, legitimacy, and so on, which there is reason to doubt will ever be met in human life. Of course, such pessimism has often proved unwarranted, and that is an important point. However, I want to ask whether, and in what way, it would be a defect in a normative political theory if such pessimism were warranted—if, that is, there were good reasons for thinking the standards would never be met. In general, I believe it is no defect at all. In this paper I take up just one aspect of the question: what sorts of constraints are placed on sound normative political theory by the facts (whatever they might be) about human nature? A crucial distinction for my purposes is between facts about how people will act (or are very likely to, or tend strongly to), and how people are capable of acting. More specifically yet, it is often said that certain standards or requirements are not compatible with people's motivational or psychological abilities. Some theories require things said to be beyond what people can be motivated to do (those requiring a lot of altruism or civic virtue, for example). I want to inquire into whether this kind of consideration places limits on what can (soundly, truly, appropriately...) demanded (which is different from "expected") by such political values as justice. I will argue that there are fewer and less severe constraints of this kind than is normally assumed.

**Ethier, Diane – diane.ethier @ umontreal.ca**

*The Imposition of Democracy: Exception or Rule Since 1945 ?*

A review of the literature in comparative politics and international relations, during and after the Cold War, reveals that there exists no precise definition, nor any catalog of scenarios of imposition of democracy by foreign forces of occupation since 1945. It is thus impossible to know whether these were limited to five exceptional cases, as Huntington (1991) and Schmitter (1996) claimed, or if they were the rule, as maintained by Whitehead (1996). The aim of our paper is to answer this question and at the same time to assess the validity of theories on the endogenous origins of democracy that have been the consensus for nearly sixty years (Bunce 2000; Przeworski, 2000). We propose a definition of imposition of democracy in accordance with three criteria, which lead us to conclude that there have been 40 probable cases of imposition of democracy since 1945. We then proceed with an examination of 24 of these cases, which shows that democracy was imposed on nine countries only, either by diktat (Japan, Germany, Kosovo, Iraq), by control (Austria, South Korea, the Philippines) or by means of pseudo-negotiation (Malaysia, Bosnia-Herzegovina). These preliminary results of our research tend to confirm that democracy is "a domestic affair par excellence." These partial results tend to confirm that democracy is "a domestic affair par excellence"...but 16 other cases must be investigated.

**Evans, Bryan – b1evans @ ryerson.ca and Smith, Charles – chuck @ yorku.ca**

*Managing Ontario's Decline: The Politics and Policy of Forging a Neoliberal State*

**Fabre, Elodie – e.fabre @ ed.ac.uk**

*Political Parties and Territorial Integration: Challenges of Asymmetry and Diversity in the UK*

The capacity of a multinational state to overcome the difficulties posed by the disparities between its various territorial units lies in part on the manner in which the institutional and political system allows the different entities to represent their interests at the centre. The interests of sub-national entities may be represented in different ways: institutionally through the participation of sub-state governments in central decision making (intergovernmental relations, second chamber), and politically through the presence of non-statewide parties that represent specific sub-state units in the central parliament and through statewide parties, which are present across the country and can therefore integrate sub-state units through their elected representatives but also internally in their central governing bodies. This paper will compare the mechanisms of territorial integration in the UK: intergovernmental relations and the issue of Westminster as Parliament of both England and the Union; the importance of Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party at home and in London; and the uneven presence of the three statewide parties (Labour, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats) across the UK.

**Fafard, Patrick – pfafard @ uottawa.ca**

*Meanwhile, Across Campus: Scientific Expertise Meets Policy Analysis*

How do technical experts who wish to shape public policy and who strive to produce "policy relevant" research conceptualize the policy making process? For these experts, what is a "policy" and who is a "decision maker" about policy? To what extent do these approaches and definitions diverge from those commonly employed by policy specialists and with what effect? To begin to answer questions such as these, this paper reports on an exploratory study that draws on a sampling of published research in medicine and the health sciences more broadly defined. The paper begins with the hypothesis that technical experts in the health policy domain who seek to link their research to the policy making process operate with a loose and poorly defined conception of what constitutes public policy, about who makes decisions about public policy, and about how governments make policy decisions or non-decisions. I further hypothesize that the model of policy making that is predominant among these experts may also be a relatively simple, problem-solving model. To investigate these hypotheses, the paper will report on an analysis of a sample of research studies that focus on health policy-related knowledge transfer, knowledge exchange and knowledge brokering.

**Farney, James – farney @ queensu.ca**

*Conservative Party Behavior and Organization in a Neo-Liberal Age*

Regionalism and bi-nationalism are often pointed to as reasons for some of the unique features of Canadian politics: the combination of a first-past-the-post electoral system with more than two parties, the prevalence of brokerage politics, and the party system's susceptibility to dramatic 'earthquake' elections. The combination of these features with a

Westminster Parliamentary system – which encourages dominant leaders and disciplined parties – is often taken to have produced a distinctive environment for political parties.

This paper evaluates whether such claims to uniqueness holds by comparing the organization and electoral strategies of Canadian conservative parties with those in the other Westminster systems (the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand) and the United States. It paper focuses on English-speaking conservative parties since the 1979 election of Margaret Thatcher. It suggests that some features of party politics (dominant leaders, an organization built around a permanent campaign, and systemic instability) occur in most or all of the systems under consideration. While some features of Canadian politics — like the 1993 election — are more dramatic than those experienced by conservatives in other countries, the general trajectory of conservative party politics is similar throughout the Anglophone world.

**Farrelly, Colin – farrelly @ queensu.ca**

*Scientia and Justice*

In April 2009 President Barack Obama pledged to invest more than 3% of American GDP to science research and development. This represents the largest investment in scientific research and innovation in American history. On such an occasion it is apt for political philosophers to ponder the question: is such an investment in science and innovation just or unjust?

My goal in this paper is not to answer such an ambitious question, but rather to argue for two more modest points. The first, and more detailed and primary aim of the paper, is diagnostic— to offer a (partial) explanation of the disconnect between science and contemporary liberal theories of justice. Because rights-based theories champion the analytic and moral primacy of the individual, they ignore the important benefits yielded by science. Furthermore, such theories typically invoke idealizing assumptions— to help bring attention and clarity to the importance of individual rights— which marginalize the importance of scientia by bracketing the very considerations that make knowledge and innovation important. Taking Rawls's theory of justice as fairness as the paradigmatic example of this, I argue that his account of domestic justice imposes a number of important simplifying assumptions which marginalize the importance of science. The second, more provisional and less-detailed, aim of the paper is the prescriptive one of outlining how the divide between political philosophy and science could best be narrowed. Rather than invoking John Rawls's overtly idealized and abstract analysis of justice, political philosophers should turn instead to the pragmatism of John Dewey.

**Farrelly, Colin – farrelly @ watarts.uwaterloo.ca**

*Roundtable Discussion: Non-ideal and Institutional Theory*

This workshop considers theory about moral choices and political circumstances that wouldn't arise at all under ideal conditions. In recent years, political philosophers have done a great deal of methodological and metatheoretical work on the ideal/non-ideal distinction, while political theorists have undertaken non-ideal normative analysis of a wide range of problems. It especially highlights non-ideal theory in the context of political institutions, by—for example— proposing institutional designs for non-ideal settings, analyzing ideal versus non-ideal ways of thinking about the justice of institutional structures, or showing how particular institutions are themselves the sources of the morally compromised settings in which decision-making must take place. This concluding roundtable will discuss the themes of the workshop.

**Ferguson, Janna – jannaferguson @ gmail.com**

*Transnational Representation? Citizenship, Membership and the Gendered Politics of Inclusion in Transnational Mexican State Institutions*

In this paper, I examine nature, possibilities and outcomes of transnational representation of Mexican citizens located in the United States. The complicated issues of gendered, raced and classed representation are made all the more murky by the unprecedented stretching of representation across an international border. There are two interlocking elements of transnational representation in Mexico: the development of the special state apparatus designed to serve the interests of Mexicans abroad as well as to incorporate them – and their resources – into a transnational Mexican nation, culminating in the Consultative Council, and efforts to have Mexicans located in the United States vote in presidential elections in Mexico. Both of these innovations raise similar questions about the functioning of representation across borders, and their operation offers an opportunity to examine the operation of gender, race, class and ethnicity within new institutional arrangements. These representational innovations are two prongs of a state strategy to provide limited representation which will, they hope, channel and diffuse migrant criticism through state-sanctioned, semi-clientalist and politically-limiting structures. I will also argue that the extension of representation is inseparable from the financial interests of the Mexican state, suggesting that this provides both a lever which migrant groups are able to use to gain deeper representation in policy-making processes, and which disadvantages those migrants who are not thought to be as financially important to the state – women, members of indigenous groups and poor migrants.

**Ferguson, Peter A. – p.ferguson @ uwo.ca and Mitchell, Mark – mmitch04 @ uoguelph.ca**

*Disaggregating the Democratization Demonstration Effect*

This paper examines the demonstration effect theory of democratization. While research on the demonstration effect has received more attention recently, little attention has been paid to theorizing about and testing the importance of the relevant components. This paper disaggregates the demonstration effect by examining the relevance of common language, geographic proximity, economic integration and common membership in international organizations on democratization. We find evidence of a positive demonstration effect such that democracy can beget democracy in “similarly situated” countries. Interestingly though, we also find evidence of a “democratic reversion” demonstration effect. So while most focus on the “positive” nature of the demonstration effect, there is an important alter-ego wherein countries

are more likely to experience reversions from democracy when their closely-situated neighbors experience such reversions. Despite these important findings the paper concludes with a note of caution regarding the policy implications of the demonstration effect. When placed inside larger models considering more traditional domestic and international influences, the relevance of the demonstration effect are drawn into question. While the significance of this group of variables can be seen in the larger models, their overall effects on democratization models appear to be marginal.

**Ferland, Benjamin – benjamin.ferland @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Voter Preferences, Electoral Systems and the Number of Political Parties – An Experimental Study*

In this article, we examine the impact of electoral systems and social heterogeneity on the number of political parties and on the level of strategic voting. The study is based on experiments conducted with groups of 21 participants. The experiments consist of a series of elections which involve four candidates. Two different treatments have been applied. First, we designed four different kinds of voter distributions by modifying the number of subjects at the same political position. Second, there were two kinds of electoral systems, plurality rules and proportional representation rules, under which the subjects voted. Subject's gains were determined by the winning political party under the plurality rules and by the winning coalition of political parties under the proportional rules. Our objective is to test the theory on the interaction of social and electoral structures and their impact on the number of political parties. We also examine if the level of strategic voting is conditioned by the heterogeneity of voter preferences and if it is greater under a plurality system than under a proportional system.

**Field, Ann-Marie – field.ann-marie @ uqam.ca**

*Redefining public safety: police-citizens committees in Ottawa and Montreal*

Issues of accountability and transparency are increasingly becoming a challenge for police services in liberal democratic states such as Canada. In metropolitan areas, where diverse populations include people from different "racial", ethnic and religious backgrounds, as well as sexual minorities, the challenge faced by police services is made even more complex. The problem of institutionalized racism in the criminal justice system, including police services, has been well documented (Neugebauer, 2000; Lewis, 1995; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Bellemare, 1988). The solutions to prevent racism and more generally discrimination in police responses, however, are not clearly identified. Must the police adapt its responses to better serve multicultural and diverse populations? How can police services adapt their practices? What can the public expect from the police?

Police services in both Ottawa and Montreal have set up police-community committees as a mechanism to improve relations between the two groups. These committees are intended to make police more responsive to specific community needs and, in return, communities are supposed to regain trust in the police, as their needs and realities are accounted for. This paper will examine whether these committees make police services more responsive and accountable to a diverse and multicultural public. It will ask whether public safety is redefined to include previously marginalized groups. It will question if police services, which are institutionalized structures, can function in more democratic ways, open to community input? The consequences for substantive citizenship will also be discussed.

**Findlay, Tammy – tammy.findlay @ ubc.ca**

*Gendering the Governance of Child Care: State, Community and Nancy Fraser's Étatism*

The women's movement in Canada has long argued that a national child care system is fundamental for gender equality. But what should this system look like?

I seek to answer this question through the lens of feminist political economy. With reference to the notion of étatism elaborated by Nancy Fraser in her 2009 article in *New Left Review*, the paper explores the gendered contradictions inherent in two distinct models for the governance of child care in Canada. The first approach is reflected in the proposals made by Ontario's Special Advisor on Early Learning, Charles Pascal in his 2009 report, *With Our Best Future in Mind*. This School-Based Model embodies feminist principles of universal citizenship and social entitlement, while at the same time raises the specter of feminist critiques of welfare state hierarchy and paternalism (what Fraser calls "second-wave feminism contra étatism") (2009). The second vision, espoused by child care advocates, particularly in British Columbia, is the Community-Based Model. It is indicative of feminist interest in participatory democracy, popular control, and empowerment, but runs the risk of reprivatizing responsibility for social reproduction, and falling into the same neoliberal trap as Fraser's "feminist anti-étatism resignified" (2009).

I argue that these child care models contain the tensions that exist within feminism itself — between liberalism and socialism and procedural and substantive democracy, and consider whether "post-neoliberal anti-étatism," as proposed by Fraser, provides a way forward in child care governance.

**Fischer, Jörn – joern.fischer @ uni-koeln.de and Stolz, Klaus – klaus.stolz @ phil.tu-chemnitz.de**

*Patterns of Ministerial Careers Across Territorial Levels in Germany*

In the scarce literature on ministerial careers in Germany, the career structures between regional and national cabinets have hardly received any scholarly attention yet. Whereas recent research focuses on linkages between parliamentary and ministerial careers within the federal level, the comparison of ministerial moves across territorial levels is lacking. We want to fill this gap by identifying the personal linkages between regional and national executives in Germany.

Two different types of career patterns in traditional federal democracies such as Germany can be identified. The first one is nationally integrated, with unidirectional career paths leading from regional to national office. The second type of career pattern consists of two separate career paths that are pursued alternatively. Politicians either serve in their region or at the national level, yet with very little exchange between the two political arenas. Given the joint character of German

federalism, we hypothesize that the typical career pattern of German ministers is integrated rather than separated. We test this hypothesis by using a sample which not only consists of federal ministers but also encompasses the ministers of the Länder. This allows us to identify the share of ministers in the federal cabinet who once were minister at the Länder level, but also to detect the share of ministers in sub national governments with a ministerial past on the federal level.

**Fitzgerald, Erin – erin.kelly.fitzgerald @ gmail.com>**

*Canada's and Mexico's Role in Constructing (or Constraining) US Power: A Political–Economy Overview*

Through their consumer markets and investment opportunities, their abundant mineral and petroleum resources, and their continuing supplies of skilled and unskilled labour, Canada and Mexico have proven the most important foreign material sources of US economic strength.

In border security matters, outlaw civil society organizations in Canada and Mexico present the greatest threat to the United States as producers and suppliers of illegal narcotics and as possible conduits for US–destined terrorists. At the same time, the two peripheral states provide crucial anti–terrorist border security to the United States, making the Canadian and Mexican governments Washington's most important allies in its wars on drugs and terror.

In the international arena, Canada and Mexico's roles vis–à–vis the United States are inconsistent. On the one hand, they construct US power by spreading the norms that buttress US global economic hegemony when they negotiate their own free–trade and investment treaties with other states. On the other hand, Canada has supported US resistance to the multilateral Kyoto protocol, while Mexico has defiantly thwarted US foreign policy in Central America.

Our analysis leads to a puzzling conclusion. Although Canada and Mexico have occasionally succeeded in leveraging their assets into effective action, they have historically exerted less influence on the United States than their actual contribution to its wealth and security would seem to warrant.

**Fizet, Christiana – cfizet @ gmail.com**

*Pandora's Box: Opening the Discussion on the Use of 'The Lord's Prayer' in the Ontario Legislature*

In February 2008, Premier Dalton McGuinty proposed the reevaluation of the use of "The Lord's Prayer" in the legislature, proposing in its stead the use of a more inclusive prayer that would better reflect the changing religious make–up fo the province. Changes have occurred in other provinces yet there was a strong negative reaction in Ontario with a surprising relative silence from the religious groups this move was meant to satisfy. In the legislature itself, strong support was lacking even from members from religious minorities and from the traditionally inclusive New Democrats.

How can we explain the failure of this initiative? The answer will be sought in a thorough review of the Legislative Assembly debates that took place between February and June 2008, as well as examining the work of the all–party committee set–up to deal with this matter. This will be supplemented by interviews with members of the committee, and with members of non–Christian backgrounds and NDP members. Finally, the author will interview Premier McGuinty in order to get his understanding of the origins of this initiative and its lack of support.

**Flanagan, Tom – tflanaga @ ucalgary.ca**

*The Conservative Party in an Age of Permanent Campaign*

In structure and organizational style, the Conservative Party of Canada shows the influence of both predecessor parties, the Reform Party/Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives. It has inherited from Reform a flat organizational model with no intervening structures between the national office and the electoral district associations, as well as a highly efficient approach to grassroots fundraising; while from the Tories it has adopted the use of political professionals such as lobbyists and communications consultants.

Merging of past influences, however, is only part of the story. The new party also bears the stamp of an extremely strong–willed leader. Financial matters are entirely controlled by the Conservative Fund, all of whose members are appointed by the leader; and grassroots policy–making has almost entirely disappeared, replaced by policy crafted in the leader's office; and campaigns are prepared by paid staff reporting directly to the leader, rather than by a volunteer committee.

The Conservative Party has developed its organization in a time of minority government, when election readiness overrides all other concerns. Thus the contemporary Conservative Party is, more than anything else, a campaign organization constantly ready for political battle. This unique organizational structure helps to explain its success in electioneering and is likely to be copied by other parties as they fight back.

**Flanders, Chad – cflande2 @ slu.edu**

*Public Reason as Ideal*

How should we evaluate deliberation in non–ideal circumstances? John Rawls says we can do so by reference to an "ideal of public reason," where there is agreement on constitutional essentials and matters of basic justice and certain institutional conditions (e.g., public financing of elections) obtain. On this picture, those who urge change in terms of their religious doctrine and not on the basis of public reasons (such as some abolitionists) can nonetheless be seen as acting for the sake of an "ideal of public reason."

I argue that we should abandon talk of public reason as an ideal, and put in its place various ideas of public reason, each one getting its content from the public political conception and the reigning common sense of the time. Such an account has several virtues. First, it offers a cleaner description of the motivations of many who oppose the current political conception. It does not well describe the motivations of most abolitionists to say they made arguments that "strengthen an ideal of public reason"—rather, they were insisting on the truth of their comprehensive doctrines. Second, it makes clear how opposing a current society's political conception in this way goes against the "very great values" of civility and

civic friendship, which even a non-ideal public reason embodies. Third, giving up on an ideal of public reason shifts the focus from what public reason is ideally to an account of how the content of public reason changes over time: how some arguments become publicly reasonable (women's equality) while others become unreasonable (references to Scripture). Finally, it opens up the possibility that other regimes, and not just liberal ones, might have a kind of "public reason."

**Flemig, Sarah Sophie – sarah.flemig @ utoronto.ca**

*Attitude versus Doctrine – A Jurimetric Analysis of the German Federal Constitutional Court*

The last fifty years have witnessed an unprecedented global expansion of judicial power. Judicial review plays a major role in this development. The proposed paper aims to contribute to the literature on judicial review by focusing on the effects of multiculturalism, exemplified by constitutionally guaranteed group rights, on judicial review practices. Focusing on the treatment of religious minority groups, it will explore differences between judicial review practices in Canada and Germany. The comparison of these two countries suggests itself for the purpose of this analysis as each country exhibits a strong reputation for rights adjudication based on group rights (Canada) and individual rights (Germany) respectively. Moreover, both societies host significant religious minority groups. Finally, both countries have recently witnessed important decisions on the status of religious groups (for instance *Multani* (1 S.C.R. 256) in Canada and the *Headscarf case* (2 BvR 1436/02) in Germany).

Adopting a neo-institutionalist approach with a particular emphasis on legal doctrine, this paper will investigate two inter-related questions regarding the role of constitutional group rights on judicial review. First, it will trace institutional access routes to rights adjudication at the example of prominent cases in both countries; secondly, it will explore differences in the jurisprudential approaches to judicial review through a close analysis of judicial reasoning based on group rights in Canada as compared to individual rights in Germany.

The findings will not only give valuable insights into the judicial review process, but will also inform general discussions on multiculturalism and its consequences for rights adjudication.

**Foley, Paul – pfoley @ yorku.ca**

*The Global Political Economy of Public Support for Private Regulation: The Impacts of International Eco-certification and Labeling on Canadian Fisheries Management*

This paper examines how Canadian fisheries and aquaculture management is being reshaped through interaction with third-party environmental certification and labeling initiatives. The proliferation of certification schemes and similar forms of non-state regulatory authority has drawn attention from a growing number of political scientists over the last decade. However, existing literatures on certification standards in political science and other disciplines lack detailed analyses on the impacts of these new regulatory tools on domestic regulatory regimes. The nature and extent of state involvement in these new regulatory arrangements therefore requires empirical and conceptual clarification. In response to these gaps, this paper combines document analysis and information from interviews to examine complex ways in which Canadian domestic policy priorities are being reshaped through interaction with certification forces. The paper highlights, for example, the significance of certification and labeling in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO)'s new 'Oceans to Plate' policy framework, a key pillar in Canadian efforts to reform fisheries management. Contrary to prominent approaches in the literature, this paper argues that (1) conceptualizing certification dynamics as private, non-governmental and voluntary is somewhat misleading and that (2) certification dynamics in Canadian seafood industries are being heavily shaped by existing globally-oriented economic 'competition' policies at federal and provincial levels. The paper concludes with a discussion of important trade implications of the Canadian case, since the legitimacy of new eco-labeling and certifications initiatives—and especially the future development of government support for them—is currently a contentious topic of policy discussions in international trade circles.

**Forbes, H. D. – dforbes @ chass.utoronto.ca**

*What Is Anglo-American Conservative Ideology? The Contrasting Perspectives of Russell Kirk and George Grant.*

Conservative ideology is hard to pin down because of its principled opposition to explicit principles as 'ideology.' In practice, conservatism is defined by its opposition to the explicitly theoretical principles of other parties or movements, such as socialism, which can of course be opposed on the basis of non-conservative (e.g., liberal) principles. How then can one generalize about what conservatives think in order to compare Canadian and American conservatism at the level of principle? The most troublesome difficulties can perhaps be avoided and yet some insight gained by comparing the accounts of Anglo-American conservatism provided by two prominent scholars, one American, Russell Kirk, and the other Canadian, George Grant. In particular, I propose to examine their different treatments of Edmund Burke as a way of clarifying what underlies the widely held impression that Canadian and American conservatives have moved from divergent traditional conservatisms to a common neo-conservatism

**Forest, Benjamin – benjamin.forest @ mcgill.ca**

*The Memory-Market Dictum: Gauging the Inherent Bias in Different Data Sources Common in Collective Memory Studies*

Scholars should view collective memory formation as a social process in which individuals encounter bits and pieces of the past as represented in different social artifacts. These artifacts may be a social practice, such as the telling and retelling of epic poetry, or a physical artifact such as a drawing, painting, photograph or film. The individual interprets these artifacts in a social setting and thereby comes to generate meanings and understandings about the past, which are then shared and exchanged with others.

To present, scholars have drawn upon many different social artifacts in pursuing their studies of the collective memory process, but often without much systematic critical reflection on what biases might be imbedded in these different

social artifacts. Collective memory scholars have drawn upon both social practices such as oral history, theater, elite discourse, narratives within families and social movement protests, as well as physical artifacts such as historiography, literature, paintings, photographs, films, monuments, names of streets, maps, and buildings.

In this paper, I will further develop what I have called the “memory–market dictum.” The dictum suggests that the more “capital,” which can take many different forms in terms of time, money or ideology, a given practice or artifact requires the more likely this artifact will conform with given social norms of interpreting the past. Through reflection on my own work and a survey of others, I will help collective memory scholars think critically about the choices they are making regarding their data sources.

**Forest, Benjamin – benjamin.forest @ mcgill.ca**

*The Power of Symbolic Capital: Public Participation in Post–Communist Memorialization*

The fall of Communist governments across East Europe in 1989 and the break–up of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought difficult questions of state–building to the fore. As in earlier national movements, cultivating a public sense of the sacred by reframing history and manipulating historical artifacts has been central to asserting the legitimacy of post–communist regimes. Our study investigates how post–communist political actors have attempted to use the “symbolic capital” of monuments and memorials to legitimize their claims on power. In doing so, we ask how does the relative openness of the process affect the development of public memory and regime legitimacy? We investigate this question through the development and analysis of a broad cross–national database on monument creation, alteration, and destruction in post–communist capital cities. Our analysis suggests that more open regimes have more participatory memorialization practices, but that the increasing ability of private actors to participate in creating a state’s symbolic landscape does not necessarily contribute to an increased representation of political openness and ethnic tolerance in monuments and memorials.

**Forget, Amélie – forgetamelie @ hotmail.com**

*L’appropriation des études critiques de sécurité par la doctrine militaire canadienne : l’urgence de repenser l’éthique et la responsabilité du chercheur*

Une recherche récente révèle que les concepts et les innovations apportées par les approches critiques en études de sécurité se sont vus appropriés et utilisés au sein de la doctrine militaire canadienne.

Nonobstant la prudence intellectuelle et les lignes normatives des chercheurs critiques, leur production scientifique est tout de même reprise de façon erronée par les stratèges militaires. La lecture des manuels indique que cette utilisation va à l’encontre de l’épistémologie et de la normativité critiques.

Les travaux critiques publiés ruissellent vers le domaine militaire. Du coup, il y a un lien inévitable entre le chercheur et la pratique militaire.

Cet exposé présentera des exemples de cette appropriation en faisant une courte analyse critique du manuel canadien de contre–insurrection. Par la suite, il sera possible de problématiser l’enjeu éthique de ces glissements conceptuels : étant donné l’absence de dialogue ferme avec les forces militaires, comment concilier l’identité et l’intégrité intellectuelle du chercheur? Une fois publiés, les auteurs perdent–ils tout contrôle de leur production scientifique? Qu’advient–il de la responsabilité sociale lorsque ces innovations sont appliquées en théâtre opérationnel?

Devant la mise à jour révélatrice des manuels militaires à cet égard, la multiplication des réseaux, l’accessibilité croissante aux revues spécialisées et la volonté du gouvernement d’impliquer la société civile dans le processus stratégique de l’approche 3D, il semble inévitable d’entamer une réflexion commune et constructive sur l’adaptation de la recherche critique quant à cette nouvelle réalité.

**Forman–Barzilai, Fonna – ffb @ ucsd.edu**

*Author Meets Critics Roundtable: Fonna Forman–Barzilai, Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy*

Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pursues Adam Smith’s views on moral judgement, humanitarian care, commerce, justice and international law both in historical context and through a twenty–first century cosmopolitan lens, making this a major and timely contribution not only to Smith studies but also to the history of cosmopolitan thought and to contemporary cosmopolitan discourse itself. Forman–Barzilai breaks new ground, demonstrating the spatial texture of Smith’s moral psychology and the ways he believed that physical, affective and cultural distance constrain the identities, connections and ethical obligations of modern commercial people. Forman–Barzilai emphasizes Smith’s resistance to the sort of relativism, moral insularity and cultural chauvinism that too often accompany localist critiques of cosmopolitan thought today. Respondents will engage with both the work’s normative claims about cosmopolitanism and its historical ideas and interpretation of Smith.

**Fortier, Isabelle – isabelle.fortier @ enap.ca et Lesage, Sophie–Isabelle – Sophie–Isabelle.lesage @ enap.ca**

*Légitimité de l’action publique : justificatifs et instrumentation*

Dans son essai sur l’intersection entre la science politique et la sociologie de la culture, Fleury (2008) souligne à quel point le politique, en quête d’un sens de communauté à la base d’un vivre ensemble, a besoin du ciment de la culture. Par ailleurs, la figure de l’artiste relève l’irréductible diversité et singularité de l’humain et peut se poser ouvertement en critique de toute opération mystifiante qui vise à créer une vision unifiée de l’identité. L’enjeu de la légitimité de l’action publique en culture, de même que du choix de ses instruments, se joue au coeur de cette tension. Sous le gouvernement Harper, des changements au financement de la culture ont été une source de débats, particulièrement vifs au Québec, alors que plusieurs acteurs du secteur des arts de la scène voyaient certaines de leurs activités mises en péril (CINARS, 2008). Cet article propose de faire le point sur la légitimité de l’action publique dans le secteur culturel à partir de la

littérature et d'appuyer l'analyse par l'étude des prises de position de différents acteurs et groupes et des arguments justificatifs soulevés de part et d'autre pour discréditer ou défendre la légitimité du financement en culture, notamment dans le secteur québécois des arts de la scène. Les enjeux de l'arrimage des justificatifs à d'autres domaines de politique tels que l'économie et l'identité sont soulevés. À un niveau institutionnel, nous soulignons en quoi les politiques culturelles et les instruments d'action publique sont structurants pour le rapport entre l'État et la société.

**Fossum, John Erik – j.e.fossum @ arena.uio.no**

*Beyond the State? On Democracy in today's Europe*

Today's world is marked by complex patterns of state interdependence. Some see this as a form of transnationalization; others as a form of federalization; yet others as a form of cosmopolitanization. Whatever form it takes, the EU is a central component and even driver of these developments. Further, it is quite clear that these transformations have democratic implications: In today's Europe we can no longer establish the democratic quality of the nation–state without taking the European (and global) dimension properly into account; nor can we consider the prospects for European or global democracy without paying proper attention to member state democracy.

Is there such a thing as a viable national democracy under such conditions? How is it linked to developments at the European level? Or does democracy's future ultimately depend on developments at the global level? It seems that the prospects for a democratic European order hinge on the prospects for a viable democracy beyond the nation state. A comprehensive assessment requires systematic attention to two closely related, yet distinct dimensions: the type of polity and the democratic viability of a given polity.

This paper draws on the research conducted under the Reconstituting Democracy in Europe (RECON) integrated project, and assesses the EU against three democratic polity models: audit democracy, federal democracy, and cosmopolitan democracy. The purpose of the paper is (a) to provide a preliminary assessment of the empirical relevance of each model and based on that (b) to discuss the implications for the relationship between statehood and democracy.

**Fossum, John Erik – j.e.fossum @ arena.uio.no and Laycock, David – laycock @ sfu.ca**

*Representative Democracy in the EU and Canada Compared*

This paper compares and critically assesses the democratic legitimacy of the EU and Canada. There are interesting parallels between the EU and Canada, but the EU's democratic legitimacy (parliamentary) is not functionally or conceptually equivalent to the electoral accountability that grounds democratic legitimacy in Canada. The most obvious inference from this is that Canada's representative–democratic system enjoys a higher degree of popular legitimacy than does the EU's. Is that the case? Canada's Westminster–based system of parliamentary majority government has been widely criticized for fostering executive dominance and for paying little attention to parliamentary opposition.

We will examine the following hypothesis:

EU legitimacy in the present configuration cannot have a directly electoral basis; it therefore needs a higher level of democratic/legislative legitimacy [via meaningful and transparent executive accountability to legislature(s)], whereas Canada can ride on electoral legitimacy: minimum acceptable levels of democratic legitimacy in Canada thus accommodate relatively low levels of executive accountability to legislatures.

Can the EU's efforts to heighten legitimacy through strengthening the EP and through including national parliaments into EU decision–making somehow compensate for the EU's weak electoral legitimacy? Within the EU setting, investigating this hypothesis requires attention not only to the EP or to a collection of national parliaments, but also to the EU's multilevel parliamentary field (Crum/Fossum 2009). In what sense can the multilevel parliamentary field recompense for the Union's weaker electoral legitimacy – or can it at all? What are the implications of the findings for representative theory?

**Foster, Émilie – emilie.foster @ cas.ulaval.ca and Hudon, Raymond – raymond.hudon @ pol.ulaval.ca**

*Interest Groups and Their Use of Political Marketing*

While economic and political spheres are increasingly overlapping (Crenson et Ginsberg, 2004; Scammell, 2003, 2007), with the consequence of transforming citizens into consumer citizens (Lees–Marshment, 2004; Scammell, 2003), the use of marketing tactics in politics is a growing concern. While applications of political marketing to electoral campaigns have been studied in profusion, similar studies have remained relatively rare in the case of interest groups (Lemieux, 2008; McGrath, 2004). This paper examines the use of political marketing by interest groups in Quebec. Our theoretical approach is adapted from the framework developed by Lees–Marshment to analyze political parties' marketing orientations (2001, 2004, 2005). Our analysis is based on interviews with twelve interest groups communication directors, press clippings and relevant documents from each group we examine. We stress that interest groups are developing marketing strategies in their relations with their members and in their inside and outside lobbying activities as well. The structures do not always follow marketing rules by the book, but the minding of management teams and communication practitioners is changing. We observe that they are developing pragmatic and strategic communications with their members, the public stakeholders and the public at large in their efforts to influence the outcome of public policies. At the same time, we notice that political marketing tactics do not differ significantly as related to the nature of the interests at stake. These findings usefully enhance our understanding of strategic actions decided by interest groups and of their alleged contribution to democratic processes.

**Fournier, Bernard – Bernard.Fournier @ ulg.ac.be**

*Studying Political Reasoning Among Young French–speaking Belgians*

The study of political socialization and political reasoning can stimulate several fields of research. Last October, a citizen's conference gathered 200 young adults (16–21 years old) in Liege to address various political issues (commitment, citizenship, participation and political interest) and to measure the opinions towards the idea of lowering to right to vote from eighteen to sixteen years of age. This deliberately narrow topic has been chosen for its controversial perspectives. Everyone has an opinion on this issue. During the citizen's conference, the 200 students discussed on this topic during the whole day, both in a large group with experts and in smaller groups. Did this confrontation of ideas change their opinions and, more importantly, how? A questionnaire distributed before and after the day as well as interviews with some participants tried to measure those changes. At the end, our goal is to present different patterns of political reasoning, rather than measuring changes in public opinion. After all, lowering the voting age to sixteen years is only a pretext for the discussion, even though it could reveal interesting information about political interest among today's youth.

**Fox–Decent, Ryan – [evan.fox-decent @ mcgill.ca](mailto:evan.fox-decent@mcgill.ca) and Criddle, Evan**

*Emergency Powers: Insights from Fiduciary Theory*

Evan Criddle (law prof, Syracuse) and I are working on a paper on emergency powers. In particular, we are exploring the implications a fiduciary theory of the state has on the state's authority to limit or suspend rights (or even the rule of law) in times of stress. We also explore the implications of the theory with respect to the state's authority to declare an emergency, and the form this declaration must take.

The fiduciary theory we deploy is Kantian and institutional. It is Kantian in that it sees legal order as a regime of secure and equal freedom structured by Kant's theory of abstract right. Kant's theory itself contains a distinctive account of fiduciary relations on which we rely. The fiduciary theory is institutional in that the fiduciary principle is triggered when vulnerable individuals are subject to irresistible institutional power (ie, power that at least in principle can be exercised within a lawful institution, such as a family or corporation).

On the fiduciary theory, emergency powers are an extension of, not a departure from, legality.

**Franceschet, Antonio – [afrances @ ucalgary.ca](mailto:afrances@ucalgary.ca) and Policzer, Pablo – [policzer @ ucalgary.ca](mailto:policzer@ucalgary.ca)**

*Constitutions and the International Promotion of Democracy*

The recent coup in Honduras – where a lawfully-elected President was deposed by the armed forces acting under request from the country's Congress and Supreme Court – was widely condemned by the international community, including the major regional and international organizations (the OAS and the UN). While this reaction indicates a strong new international norm against military intervention in politics, the Honduras case also reveals that the institutions in place to prevent or resist such an intervention are in some cases inconsistent with the norm itself. A glaring inconsistency is between the principle of resisting any "unconstitutional interruptions or alterations to the democratic order" (enshrined in the OAS's Inter-American Democratic Charter), and the fact that some constitutions, including Honduras', may permit precisely such an interruption or alteration. This paper argues that efforts to promote democracy internationally must address this contradiction in a much more direct way than they have. Ironically, by ignoring a serious disconnect between norms and institutions, some democracy promotion advocates inadvertently sanction an international system ruled by power instead of principles and laws.

**Frazer, Michael – [mfrazer @ gov.harvard.edu](mailto:mfrazer@gov.harvard.edu)**

*Author meets critics roundtable: Fonna Forman-Barzilai, Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy*

Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pursues Adam Smith's views on moral judgement, humanitarian care, commerce, justice and international law both in historical context and through a twenty-first century cosmopolitan lens, making this a major and timely contribution not only to Smith studies but also to the history of cosmopolitan thought and to contemporary cosmopolitan discourse itself. Forman-Barzilai breaks new ground, demonstrating the spatial texture of Smith's moral psychology and the ways he believed that physical, affective and cultural distance constrain the identities, connections and ethical obligations of modern commercial people. Forman-Barzilai emphasizes Smith's resistance to the sort of relativism, moral insularity and cultural chauvinism that too often accompany localist critiques of cosmopolitan thought today. Respondents will engage with both the work's normative claims about cosmopolitanism and its historical ideas and interpretation of Smith.

**Frazer, Michael – [mfrazer @ gov.harvard.edu](mailto:mfrazer@gov.harvard.edu)**

*Three Methods of Political Theory: Historicism, Ahistoricism and Transhistoricism*

According to one now popular view, political theory should be bifurcated, divided into "the history of political thought" on the one hand and "contemporary political philosophy" on the other. The goal of the former enterprise is to understand authors' ideas in their unique historical context, without considering whether these ideas can be helpfully applied in any other context. The latter, in turn, is seen as a progressive, quasi-scientific and fundamentally ahistorical undertaking, one in which originality is highly valued and any reliance on the ideas of long-dead authors is suspect as an illegitimate appeal to authority. The goal of this paper is to elucidate and defend a third approach to political theory, one in which "translates" ideas first formulated in a past historical context so that they may be applied in our own. Transhistorical political theory in the sense I describe is not meant to displace either the history of political thought or ahistorical political philosophy, but to stand alongside them as a third intellectual enterprise drawing on the insights of both.

**Frédéric, Gagnon – [gagnon.frederick @ uqam.ca](mailto:gagnon.frederick@uqam.ca)**

*Conservatisme, moralité et politique aux États-Unis: Que reste-t-il des "guerres culturelles" à l'ère Obama?*

En 1992, l'ultraconservateur Pat Buchanan affirmait qu'une « guerre culturelle » (culture war) fait rage aux États-Unis. Décrite par Buchanan comme un combat pour définir l'identité nationale américaine, la guerre culturelle a été le cheval de bataille de multiples acteurs conservateurs moraux et religieux depuis les années 1970 (groupes pro-vie, leaders d'églises évangéliques dénonçant l'érosion des valeurs familiales traditionnelles, législateurs contre le mariage gai, etc.). Tandis que les premiers mois de la présidence de Barack Obama illustrent que les guerres culturelles continuent à battre leur plein aux États-Unis (adoption d'une proposition visant à interdire le mariage gai en Californie le soir de l'élection d'Obama, assassinat d'un médecin pratiquant des avortements tardifs par un militant pro-vie en mai 2009; etc.), cette table ronde vise à mieux cerner le phénomène des guerres culturelles et leur importance au sein de la société américaine. Les participants évalueront, entre autres, l'impact de divers "guerriers culturels" et de leurs discours (par exemple: Bill O'Reilly, Glenn Beck, blogueurs qui s'insurgent contre la nudité dans la culture populaire, organisations antiféministes, etc.) sur les débats politiques.

**Frederiksen, Erica – erica.frederiksen @ utoronto.ca**

*Aboriginal Peoples and Restorative Justice in Canada: Confronting the Legacy of Colonialism*

That the criminal justice system has long failed Aboriginal peoples in Canada is now a well-documented and widely accepted truth. On the ground, this failure is manifested in the disproportional rates at which Aboriginal people come into contact with the system as victims, as offenders, and as members of communities affected by crime. The problem of over-representation is just one aspect of the colonial legacy of dispossession, marginalization, and domination of indigenous peoples in Canada; yet it holds particular significance both for what it reveals about the depth of social disadvantage experienced by Aboriginal Canadians on a daily basis and for the questions it raises about the legitimacy of laws and institutions that are often highly intrusive and limiting of individual freedom. Put forward as a remedy for a system that relies too heavily on incarceration and sees all too many Aboriginal people end up before the courts and behind bars, restorative justice reflects a heightened concern with the human dimension of justice—with the relational context in which wrongdoing occurs, the status of the offender as a three-dimensional moral agent, and the need for spaces in which citizens can participate in resolving conflicts that affect them—and has been instrumental in rendering criminal justice institutions more effective, meaningful, and accountable to Aboriginal people. Yet restorative justice has a lineage quite apart from its development in this context. This paper will provide a critical analysis of the usage of restorative justice discourse for the promotion of Aboriginal autonomy in the sphere of criminal justice and for the continuing pursuit of Aboriginal self-determination.

**Frederiksen, Jens – jens.frederiksen @ vanderbilt.edu**

*Chantal Mouffe's Agonistic Pluralism. Radical Democracy and the Struggle for Normative Grounds*

Many critics of liberalism including Slavoj Žižek, Jacques Rancière and Judith Butler consider liberalism an obstacle to an open and egalitarian democracy. They argue that liberalism, with its emphasis on rights and freedoms, contains an exclusionary dimension that privileges certain norms and values at the expense of a fully democratic logic of contestation. Many liberal theorists have responded that it is imperative to defend the role of liberal institutions in guaranteeing certain individual rights and freedoms because it is these very rights and freedoms that make democratic contestation possible. It is in this context that I will explore the agonistic theory of Chantal Mouffe. Mouffe's collaboration with Ernesto Laclau helped spark this schism between radical and liberal democracy and yet, her latter work can be seen as an attempt to heal this schism. Consequently, I will explore the way Mouffe's work should be understood as an attempt to conceive of a democracy that includes both liberal and radical elements. Finally, I will argue that Mouffe's commitments to liberalism fall prey to a version of the critique she directs toward similar theoretical attempts at salvaging liberalism.

**French, Martin – martin.french @ utoronto.ca**

*Soft Security and Overt Surveillance*

In 2003 the RCMP formed the Vancouver 2010 Integrated Security Unit (V2010 ISU) in order to better co-ordinate amongst security agencies in the lead up to the 2010 Winter Olympics. This organization brings together the RCMP, the Vancouver Police Department, West Vancouver Police Department, the Department of National Defence, the South Coast British Columbia Transportation Authority Police Service (Transit Police Service), the BC Conservation Service, the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS), the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) as well as other select local municipal police forces. The amalgamation of these agencies under one roof represents a significant merger of different surveillance capabilities, creating the possibility for organizational learning and the development of new surveillance tactics.

The presentation concentrates on the development and deployment of overt surveillance tactics in lead up to the Winter Games. These overt tactics, which were deployed by CSIS in Muslim and Arab communities following 9/11, have a chilling effect on political dissent. This paper seeks to understand how overt surveillance tactics have now been adapted for meta-agency use and to the particular task of securing the Vancouver Olympics. By drawing from interviews with security targets as to their experiences with overt surveillance, this paper will detail some of the overt surveillance tactics used by V2010 ISU and assess the silent message of what appears to be an increasingly important tool in the 'soft' security toolkit.

**Friesen, Elizabeth – oehfries @ connect.carleton.ca**

*Boomerang Politics and International Finance: Transnational Civil Society Activism and the Contestation over the International Financial Architecture*

This paper will consider the role of innovative political strategies in the contestation over the rules and practices governing international finance. First, it examines the origins of transnational civil society activism and expertise with respect to finance. Then it will examine the campaign for the cancellation of third world debt and how this served as a foundation for broader criticisms of the organization of international finance. Finally, the limitations of these innovative tactics will be discussed and what this might mean in the case of the ongoing financial crisis will be explored.

**Frost, Catherine – frostc @ mcmaster.ca**

*The Culturalist Critique of Multiculturalism*

This paper argues that the debate over multiculturalism has taken a peculiar form. Critics charge multiculturalists with latent essentialism, yet from the outset most multiculturalists have stressed a non-essentialist concept of culture. Wittgenstein suggests that we can learn a great deal from our misunderstandings and miscommunications and this paper uses a Wittgensteinian approach to explore the peculiarities of the multiculturalism debate. When we look at how culture is explained by the parties to the debate there appears to be no great difference between most theorists. But when we look at how culture works as a word in the debate as well as in our broader way of life, it appears that it works in many of the ways that concern critics. But the critic's response to multiculturalism is unlikely to help us escape these problems because their emphasis on constructivism tends to naturalise the way that the word culture works to organize the experience of difference.

**G Dizboni, Ali – dizboni-a @ rmc.ca**

*A Middle Power in the Middle East: The Challenges of a Balanced Approach at Home and Abroad*

Traditionally, the debate on Canadian foreign policy towards the Middle East is not covered that much in specialized literature whether in relation to Ottawa's international role or Canada's role in Mideast politics. This seems to be changing as Ottawa faces the necessity of an active and independent approach towards the international system and regional issues. Canada's new foreign policy activism towards this region raises both theoretical and practical questions. This paper deals with some of them. Unlike other regions, the most difficult challenge Canada would probably face is how to keep a balanced approach in the policy-making process. In the context of complex interdependence and the new security environment after 9-11, such a balance must reconcile socio-economic determinants, ideological considerations and international inputs. Taking Canada-Iran relations and CF operation in Afghanistan as cases for discussion, this paper deals with three sets of questions: What are the dangers of the security dominant paradigm in dealing with the Middle East? To what extent do Canadian Diaspora groups participate in shaping the policy community dynamics that underpins Canadian foreign policy decisions? How does internationalism interact with domestic interests in the policy making process towards the Middle East?

**Gabler, Melissa – mgabler @ uoguelph.ca**

*Federalism and the 2008 Listeriosis Outbreak in Canada*

Governmental responses to the 2008 listeriosis outbreak in Canada are generally cited as policy failures. Some media analyses focus on the federal government's failure to learn lessons from previous public health outbreaks involving E. coli and SARS and respond to the listeriosis outbreak accordingly (CBC News 2008). Conversely, experts recognize that food safety and emergency responses to foodborne illnesses are shared intergovernmental responsibilities, and with different relationships among orders of government than many other public health areas (Wilson and Lazar 2008; Gabler 2008). This paper explores how and why the listeriosis outbreak happened, analyzing the nature and effectiveness of intergovernmental relations. Were failures in the listeriosis crisis, in part, a result of federalism or a particular type of intergovernmental relationship that characterizes foodborne emergency responses in Canada (Birkland and Waterman 2008)? First, the paper describes the nature of intergovernmental relations that exists in food safety and classifies the relationship or regime. Second, it explores how and why the outbreak happened. It examines the factors responsible and evaluates the effectiveness of the intergovernmental regime and multi-jurisdictional response. It is argued some, but certainly not all, policy failures in the outbreak are related to federalism, thereby contributing to the literature on federalism, public policy and public health. Finally, the paper discusses ongoing challenges for the regime. Recommendations for future improvement, including those put forth by the 2009 Independent Listeriosis Investigative Review, are examined in light of the intergovernmental analysis. Methods involve primary and secondary research and interviews with relevant policy actors.

**Gabriel, Christina – christina\_gabriel @ carleton.ca**

*Care, Privatization and Migration Regulation in Canada*

The starting point of this paper is a consideration of the ways in which the immigration policy field in Canada is being rapidly restructured. It analyzes this development by drawing on Swengendow's (2004) conceptualization of "glocalisation" and Lahav and Guiraudon's (2000) insights that liberal democratic states have moved to select migrants with the aid of a number of non state actors at various scales. To illustrate the changing nature of migration governance the paper highlights the entry of internationally educated nurses to Canada and considers the role and activities of recruitment agencies – both public and private – in the brokering of skilled care workers. Among the questions this study will address: What role do recruiters play in the construction of global health care chains; to what extent has migration in Canada been privatized through the activities of recruitment agencies and employers; and lastly, how should the activities of recruiters in the health care field be regulated if at all?

**Gallant, Nicole – nicole\_gallant @ ucs.inrs.ca**

### *Citizenship, Identity and Authority*

Social sciences are increasingly focused on the relationship between state power and issues of identity. Local communities and identity groups – ethnic, national, indigenous, religious and social – continuously struggle to negotiate their relations with the state and with each other in ways that may challenge conventional or legal definitions of citizenship. Yet, the quality of democracy is linked to inclusive citizenship regimes. These involve individual rights, but also a collectively defined “common good.” In divided societies both elements are problematic.

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the state as representing a single national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Group rights are at the heart of new conceptions of citizenship moving beyond the universalistic, formal equality between individuals. Debates increasingly evolve around collective versus individual rights and the meanings and forms of belonging, identity, and political membership. The challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to “glue” different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society.

The aim of the roundtable is to contribute to the scientific debate by linking the concepts of citizenship, identity and authority. More specifically, the roundtable will address the following questions:

- How can we conceptualize and study inclusive citizenship in heterogeneous societies?
- What political mechanisms, institutions and public policies empower different identity groups?
- And which of these mechanisms create at the same time public spaces for inter-group cooperation?
- How to construct citizenship as “belonging”?

### **Garon, Francis – fgaron @ glendon.yorku.ca**

#### *Misconceiving Québec?*

#### *Québec's immigration and integration issues through the lens of ROC's media*

Over the last 5 years or so, mainstream English-Canadian newspapers have produced an impressive number of articles on Québec's dealing with immigration and integration issues. I identified 800 such articles in 8 major ROC's newspapers under four key words (Hérouxville, Bouchard-Taylor Commission, reasonable accommodation, and interculturalism); all articles are coded in NVivo. This paper proposes a preliminary analysis of the data around 3 main questions: 1) what was said about the debate?, 2) what was said about the measures?, and 3) what was said about le Québec et les québécois?. The general objective is to observe what aspects of the debate and/or the measures were considered legitimate by ROC's media and on what basis. The conceptual framework is grounded in Canadian politics. It explores the enduring problem of miscommunication between Francophones and Anglophones. In this line of thought, some authors have recently showed new and interesting evidence on an old problem of Canadian politics: the difficulty for the “two solitudes” to communicate and to try to understand each other on important issues (for ex. Rocher, CJPS). This paper reflects on this problem and its implications.

### **Gattinger, Monica – mgatting @ uottawa.ca**

#### *Canada's Electricity Relations with the United States: Follow the Leader?*

This paper examines the electricity sector in the post-CUFTA period, exploring the extent of harmonization between Canadian and American electricity policy and regulation over this timeframe, the administrative underpinnings of bilateral relations in the sector (formal and informal agreements, joint organizations, working groups, etc.) and the extent of public involvement in such processes. The paper argues that there has been substantial harmonization in the broad contours of electricity policy and regulation between the two countries since the mid-1980s, and that this has been driven in particular by bilateral electricity market integration and interdependence, and specific requirements of the US Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) and the North American Electric Reliability Corporation (NERC). Noting that harmonization is taking place primarily around an American pole, the paper goes on to establish that bilateral electricity relations are largely managed through transgovernmental networks, and queries the democratic legitimacy of these processes (openness and transparency, inclusiveness and representativeness, etc.). The paper notes that there has tended to be limited domestic debate around the American underpinnings of policy and regulatory change in Canada, and calls for further research to more comprehensively analyze the extent and dynamics of policy harmonization and the structure and functioning of transgovernmental relations underpinning such processes.

### **Gattinger, Monica – mgatting @ uottawa.ca et Saint-Pierre, Diane – diane.saint-pierre @ ucs.inrs.ca**

#### *Pour une analyse comparée de politiques culturelles nationales et de leur administration publique dédiée, et leurs influences sur les « approches » infranationales canadiennes en ce domaine*

Depuis le tournant du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, les gouvernements occidentaux ont adopté un nombre impressionnant de mesures en matière de culture, tant aux niveaux fédéral/central qu'infranational/subnational. Par contre, malgré l'importance que revêt de nos jours l'intégration des questions de culture aux autres domaines de politiques publiques, l'analyse des politiques culturelles demeure toujours un champ d'études modeste au Canada et à l'international. Bien plus, ces politiques et leur gestion publique sont souvent méconnues d'un pays à un autre et, dans le cas du Canada, d'une province, d'un territoire à un autre, alors que dire des études comparatives en ce domaine... La présente communication a pour but de contribuer au développement de ce champ d'études en exposant les premiers résultats des travaux d'une équipe de recherche internationale. Au niveau théorique, la communication vise d'abord à souligner la contribution d'un cadre analytique qui sert à comparer les approches nationales d'intervention. La France, le Royaume-Uni, les États-Unis et le Canada sont les pays retenus dans cette étude. Au niveau empirique, et s'inscrivant en cela dans les travaux d'une équipe de recherche pancanadienne dirigée depuis 2006 par les professeures Gattinger et Saint-Pierre, cette communication se

propose d'exposer les potentiels explicatifs de ces approches nationales à l'étude des fondements et de l'évolution des politiques culturelles et leur gestion par des gouvernements provinciaux canadiens. Ce texte met en relief les différents enjeux de la légitimité de l'action publique dans le secteur culturel par le biais de comparaisons historiques nationales et infranationales.

**Genest, Gabriel Blouin – gblou067 @ uottawa.ca**

*Camp Anatomy: Body, Border and Bugs in Global Health Surveillance*

Thinking about the camp is to think about a continuous state of exception. It's the biopolitical structure where the exception becomes the rule, and where to rule is to constantly (re)generate the exception. In the camp, you are left in a space of indistinction with nothing but your biological life and death. Historically, the definition of the safe and the healthy has been implicated with exceptional practices. Quarantine, cordon sanitaire, or "lines of hygiene" crystallized such application of biological exceptions. In that perspective, this paper seeks to identify the foundational role of exception in the modern global health surveillance apparatus. This problematization of health surveillance is found on an analysis of the spatial and geopolitical impacts of the exceptionalist definition of what can constitute a "public health emergency of international concern". It is illustrated that by stimulating a continuous state of exception regarding the definition of the pathological and the risky, health surveillance engenders what can be represented as "global health camp". Situated in a space of indistinction without any outside or inside, such camps are ultimately found at the corporeal and microbial levels, blurring the territorial understanding and mapping of the camp.

**George–Kanentiio, Doug – Kanentiio @ aol.com**

*The Oka Myth: An Internal Perspective from the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne*

The spring and summer of 1990 was defined by crisis at Akwesasne, Kahnawake and Kanehsatake which was misunderstood by the media and manipulated by those who sought the destruction of the Mohawk Nation from within. What happened at Oka in July, 1990 began at Akwesasne and the civil war which resulted from criminal cartels uniting to destroy any attempt by the Mohawk people to end illegal gambling and smuggling. During four days an intense battle took place resulting in the defeat of the cartel which then moved on to Oka. In defiance of the residents there this group, referred to as "warriors" by the media, applied terror tactics to silence opposition and destroy the civil government. The media allowed itself to be manipulated into creating the myth that Oka was an act of liberation and defiance when in truth it was organized, supported and sustained by criminal elements within the three Mohawk territories. The result was two decades of corruption and violence among the Mohawks, the creation of an alliance with organized crime in eastern Canada and demise of the unification movement at Akwesasne. My paper will expose the myth and show how the media must be held responsible for their part in the smuggling crisis which now confronts the Mohawk people. The paper will also reveal the events, beginning in Akwesasne, which led to the Oka incident and how one cannot be understood without reference to the other.

**Germain, Alexandre – agermain @ intercime.qc.ca**

*Occupation du territoire et présence autochtone au Québec : le Plan Nord et le pluralisme territorial remis en question*

La recherche sur les peuples autochtones et le fédéralisme canadien a montré que le processus d'ouverture aux revendications autochtones au Canada est caractérisé par deux phénomènes concomitants : une transformation graduelle des structures du fédéralisme, favorable à une plus grande autonomie gouvernementale autochtone, et la persistance d'un « carcan institutionnel » d'héritage colonialiste perpétuant des rapports inégalitaires entre les nations autochtones et majoritaires. Deux questions sont au cœur des rapports entre les Autochtones et l'État : les droits et le territoire. Dans cette communication, nous nous intéressons au rôle du territoire dans la persistance de rapports inégalitaires. À cette fin, nous analysons les plus récents développements des rapports au territoire et aux nations autochtones des Québécois, à travers deux démarches visant à mieux « développer » le territoire : le projet d'élaboration d'une vision commune de l'occupation des territoires par des organismes influents de la société civile québécoise et le Plan Nord du gouvernement du Québec. Ces deux démarches s'ouvrent à la présence autochtone sur le territoire, mais omettent de reconnaître l'importance de la dimension juridico-politique de la territorialité autochtone. Nous discutons donc des limites du fédéralisme canadien et du potentiel du concept de pluralisme territorial pour résoudre les conflits de territorialité dans le contexte plurinational québécois.

**Giasson, Thierry – thierry.giasson @ com.ulaval.ca**

*Good Night and... Good Luck! How Canadian Television News Frame Political Marketing Practices in Federal Elections*

Building on conclusions from previous research focusing on the dominance of horse-race journalism and strategic frames in election coverage, the paper presents the initial results of a content analysis of electoral news from the 2006 and 2008 Federal elections dedicated to political marketing practices in party campaigns. It explores how the media frames these practices in Canada. Strategic framing of political organizations and leader activities is said to be a constant staple of electoral coverage, with news items typically depicting campaigns as a competitive process in which parties and leaders strategize to gain victory. Aspects of political marketing practices presented in electoral news as well as the media's tone of coverage and interpretation of these practices' impact on democracy and the electoral process will be analyzed in the study. This contribution represents the initial phase of a broader research agenda dedicated to the study of an alternative explanation to democratic malaise: the "marketing malaise" hypothesis, which suggests that increases in public cynicism towards political actors and institutions might be stimulated by the media's ongoing negative coverage of political marketing practices in election news.

**Gibbs, Holly – gibbs @ utsc.utoronto.ca and Luczak, Alexandra – olaluczak @ hotmail.com**

(II) Legitimate Subjects: A Feminist Discourse Analysis of Canada's Response to the OECD Report on Early Childhood Education and Care

In 2006, The OECD released a report entitled "Starting Strong II: Early Childhood Education and Care" in which they compared the attention and funding in the area of Childcare Policy of 20 OECD nations. Despite scholarly work that demonstrates recent changes in policy discourse in the ECEC field away from women-centred to child-centred agendas, the OECD included a discussion on the importance of investment in ECEC for the advancement of women and gender equality. In this Report, Canada was highly criticized for its under-attended and under-funded ECEC policies and programs. In February 2009, the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology was authorized to respond to the OECD Report, analysing the state and purposes of ECEC in this country. The Senate Report on ECEC was released in April of this year and provided a unique opportunity to analyze gender equality in Canadian ECEC policy discourse given the Report's purpose. Through a feminist discourse analysis of the Report in the broader policy context of the Harper Government, we attempt to understand the role of women and the place of gender equality in current ECEC policy and recommendations in Canada. From our findings, we argue that although the OECD report provided an opportunity to centralize gender equality as a pillar of ECEC policy objectives, we instead found that the Senate Report deepened the regressive shift in the policy discourse that renders gender equality an illegitimate argument and re-imagines a limited woman as mother, equal parent or healthy womb. This discursive practice has dangerous consequences for the political participation of women's organizations in ECEC politics, and the economic and social opportunities for women and families.

**Gilbert, Emilie – emily.gilbert @ utoronto.ca**

*Risky Business: Geographies of Finance, Security and Conflict*

In July, 2009 the Australian government announced that senior officers of the Defence Force in Afghanistan would henceforth be authorized to carry cash to enable immediate compensation of civilian injury, death, and/or the destruction of property. Total payments could be for up to \$250,000 Aus. The decision was designed to circumvent the requirement that such 'acts of grace' payments be processed through the Department of Finance in Canberra. The Australian example of cash in hand is unique, but compensation payments distributed by the international forces in Afghanistan, including Canada, is not unusual. The new forms of individualized violence on the ground that are being constituted by the shift to a politics of recognition without liability will be addressed alongside the complicated blurring of lines between civilian and combatant, citizen and soldier, government and military, victim and victor, and war and markets. More broadly, this paper addresses how risk, finance and geography are being reworked through the war on terror. In so doing, I engage with an emergent literature on critical security studies, risk and finance and in particular, I address the ways that the financialization of conflict is generative of human insecurity and reinscribes spatially-constituted racial and ethnic differences.

**Gingras, Anne-Marie – Anne-Marie.Gingras @ pol.ulaval.ca**

*The Crisis of Access to Information in Canada. Can Public Servants and Parliament Officers Play Their Role in Canadian Democracy?*

My paper examines the main features of the crisis of access to information at the federal level in Canada. I will first make a short assessment of the Access to Information Act's (ATIA) efficiency based on the reports of the four Information Commissioners. Problems are to be found in information management, routine extensions of delays, lack of checks and balances, growing number of consultations between government institutions, risk management practices, resources and training, and lack of leadership in government institutions and in the Treasury Board.

I will then focus on the recurrent pattern of information management by the Office of the Prime Minister since January 2006. This pattern includes many features, amongst them media spectacle at some specific moments of the political cycle, increased restriction of information for public servants and a refusal to recognize the role of Parliament Officers and some High Public Servants. I will gather information on some conflicts involving the Office of the Prime Minister on the one hand and the Chief Electoral Officer, the Parliamentary Budget Officer, and the Military Police Complaint Commissioner on the other hand.

**Godbout, Jean-François – jean-francois.godbout @ umontreal.ca**

*Parliamentary Politics and Legislative Behaviour*

The proposed chapter will introduce the principal methodologies developed in recent years to analyze legislative behaviour in the United States and other democracies. The author will focus on recent software developments in scaling methodologies and data management which have greatly facilitated the systematic analysis of political choices and debates in parliamentary settings. The chapter's principal objective is to demonstrate how these new methodologies—such as Optimum Classification, Bayesian item response model or the W-NOMINATE approach—can be used to study legislative behaviour in the Canadian context. The study also intends to identify the strength and weaknesses of each of these techniques by analyzing and comparing legislative voting in Canada, Australia, and the United States. Part of this work is related to a broader research project in which the author aims to analyze parliamentary behaviour in the Canadian House of Commons since Confederation.

**Godbout, Jean-François – jean-francois.godbout @ umontreal.ca and Høyland, Bjørn – bjorn.hoyland @ stv.uio.no**

*Lawmaking for a New Nation: The Canadian House of Commons (1867–1878).*

The following paper analyzes the advent of party discipline in the Canadian House of Commons during the first three Parliaments (1867–1878). The paper also aims to analyze the importance of religion (Catholic/Protestant) and colonial attachment on individual legislative behaviour. Using Poole's (2005) Optimal Classification algorithm and our own measures of coalition voting and party unity, we show that most legislators elected after Confederation can be correctly classified in a two dimensional geometric model. The first dimension represents the division between governing and opposition party members that has been found in similar parliamentary systems, while the second dimension captures the opposition between anti-federal legislators from Nova Scotia and Quebec, and pro-federal legislators from Ontario. In addition, the analysis demonstrates that party discipline has somewhat strengthened over time, first with Liberal-Conservative MPs; and later, when the Liberals form their first government. Ultimately, the paper aims to explain the roots of the failure of the 1854 coalition—which basically created the Liberal-Conservative party—and how the Liberals came to occupy the center of the Canadian party system during the 20th century.

**Good, Kristin – Kristin.Good @ dal.ca and Turgeon, Luc – lturgeon @ uottawa.ca**

*Canadian Cities and Urban Policies in Comparative Perspective*

After a long period of neglect, cities and urban policies have once again been at the forefront of the agenda of both policy-makers and political scientists. While the first generation of urban scholars tended to privilege in-depth case studies, more recent studies have had a strong comparative dimension (Sellers, 2002; Kantor and Savitch, 2002). The first objective of this paper is to critically evaluate some of the main typologies in the study of urban policies that have been developed over the last twenty years (Hesses and Sharp, 1991; Pierre, 1999) in light of the post-war evolution of Canadian cities, engaging with both their approach to the study of cities and the methodology used to classify specific countries. The second part of the paper will compare urban policies among three countries that are often said to belong to a same family of "Anglo-Saxon" urban governance regime: Australia, Canada and the United States. The focus will be both on comparing the policy-making process in the urban policy sector in these three countries (a relatively under-explored aspect of most of the existing typologies), as well as the broader policy outcomes. It will test in particular the hypothesis that variations between these three cases can be explained by the respective working of their federal system, and whether it opens (or not) opportunities for greater involvement of cities in the policy-making process.

**Goodman, Nicole – nicolejgoodman @ gmail.com**

*The Experiences of Canadian Municipalities with Internet Voting*

In recent years the concept of e-democracy has attracted considerable attention. Electronic voting methods, particularly Internet voting is one aspect which has generated much notoriety not only because of the concerns it raises with respect to privacy and security, but also its potential to enhance accessibility for electors, positively effect voting turnout, and make the administration of elections more efficient. Notably, in cases where Internet voting pilots have been successful and maintained by governments in multiple elections reported access to voting, voter turnout, and use of electronic ballots has increased over time. While European cases and US trials and research are well documented in the literature, the Canadian experience has received attention only by news media despite the fact that Canadian pilots are well developed and possess unique features and technology many European approaches do not. Though to date trials have only taken place at the municipal level in Canada the models adopted in these local elections offer important explanatory insights for the potential development of regional or national approaches to Internet voting.

To shed light on Internet voting as a viable alternative voting channel with potential to improve the electoral process for electoral administration, political parties and potential electors, this paper examines the Internet voting approaches used in three Canadian municipalities to conduct their local elections. Relying on data from personal interviews with key officials and technical experts from Halifax, Peterborough and Markham the paper discusses what can be learnt from the Internet voting practices of these municipalities and how certain features of these models can greatly benefit the conduct of elections. The paper addresses the rationale for adopting specific models and characteristics of these approaches, the effect on the electoral process and turnout, how various security and privacy concerns were dealt with and the overall success of the pilots. Finally, it discusses what recommendations and conclusions can be made about the use of Internet voting in binding elections in light of these cases.

**Goodman, Nicole – nicolejgoodman@gmail.com**

*The Experiences of Canadian Municipalities with Internet Voting*

In recent years the concept of e-democracy has attracted considerable attention. Electronic voting methods, particularly Internet voting is one aspect which has generated much notoriety not only because of the concerns it raises with respect to privacy and security, but also its potential to enhance accessibility for electors, positively effect voting turnout, and make the administration of elections more efficient. Notably, in cases where Internet voting pilots have been successful and maintained by governments in multiple elections reported access to voting, voter turnout, and use of electronic ballots has increased over time. While European cases and US trials and research are well documented in the literature, the Canadian experience has received attention only by news media despite the fact that Canadian pilots are well developed and possess unique features and technology many European approaches do not. Though to date trials have only taken place at the municipal level in Canada the models adopted in these local elections offer important explanatory insights for the potential development of regional or national approaches to Internet voting.

To shed light on Internet voting as a viable alternative voting channel with potential to improve the electoral process for electoral administration, political parties and potential electors, this paper examines the Internet voting approaches used in three Canadian municipalities to conduct their local elections. Relying on data from personal interviews with key officials

and technical experts from Halifax, Peterborough and Markham the paper discusses what can be learnt from the Internet voting practices of these municipalities and how certain features of these models can greatly benefit the conduct of elections. The paper addresses the rationale for adopting specific models and characteristics of these approaches, the effect on the electoral process and turnout, how various security and privacy concerns were dealt with and the overall success of the pilots. Finally, it discusses what recommendations and conclusions can be made about the use of Internet voting in binding elections in light of these cases.

**Goodwin, Adam – adamu1978 @ gmail.com**

*Kropotkin and International Relations: Challenging Ontological Narratives*

Overcoming the 'competitive nature' of humans to cooperate has been a core issue of International Relations—this project will utilize Peter Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid to approach the ontological debate in IR. Kropotkin posited that humans, along with numerous other animals, have an evolved social instinct that draws them together into groups where intraspecific cooperative behaviour favors adaptation against harsh environmental conditions (Kropotkin 1902, 1924). This is in stark contrast to the Malthusian-inspired assumption that long-term evolution takes place in the individual according to their intraspecific fitness—the competition over cooperation paradigm. The Mutual Aid approach reconstitutes previous selfish individual-based ontological assumptions about natural selection where morality is in direct opposition to natural instincts

Mutual Aid Theory, applied to the realm of politics, overturns orthodox theories which hold that the egoistic (individualistic) and competitive drive of humans must be overcome to promote cooperation. This application becomes especially fruitful in the realm of International Politics: it offers counter-explanations to the Realist assumptions on a Hobbesian-type human nature and egoist rationality as being given; it unmasks the ontological presuppositions that underlie the Neo-Neo debates; and MAT presents a unique biologically-based approach to the Agent-Structure debate.

This study adopts a critical realist meta-theoretical approach to interrogate ontological claims prior to determining a circumscribed epistemological or methodological orientation. Reconceptualizing social ontology prompts doubts about the validity of the core ontological presuppositions that form the foundations of mainstream IR Theory.

**Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth – egg @ queensu.ca**

*Voting Behaviour in Canada Roundtable*

This proposed roundtable brings together authors from a just released edited volume entitled "Voting Behaviour in Canada" (published by UBC Press with an expected release date of May 2010). Chapters in the volume explore voting considerations that fall into one of three distinct types: long-standing attachments (gender, immigration, religion, and partisanship), short-term influences (the role of political leaders and economic issues and conditions), and proximate factors (campaign issues and poll results). Collectively, the edited volume offers valuable insight into the nature of cross-time influences of these factors on vote choice in Canada. Various chapter authors (at present: Cameron Anderson, Amanda Bittner, Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Scott Matthews) will present short synopses of their contributions which articulate the central findings of their chapter and how their work in the case of Canada contributes to the comparative literature on voting and elections. The roundtable discussion will be moderated and summarized by the editors of the volume.

**Gordner, Matthew – mgordner @ gmail.com**

*Islamism and Secularism in Muslim Democratic Theory*

Mainstream western scholarship continually derides Islamism and democracy as necessarily incompatible. Yet with both the highest levels of religiosity and government support for religion (Fox, 2006), Muslim majority nations are nonetheless home to broad support for democracy (Tessler, 2005; Amaney, 2006). By applying emergent theories of secularism and Islamism (Taylor, 2007), I advance arguments that Western governments should support Islamist parties that win legitimate democratic elections in the interest of buttressing democratic norms and practices 'from below.' Secularism is not, as traditional literature holds, the strict separation between mosque and state, but is rather a condition of belief wherein religious orientations are one among many competing views in political and public reasoning. Islamism, though often defined as a pre-modern or 'fundamentalist' monolith, is rather a simultaneous reaction to, and product of, modernity, whose adherents participate variously and meaningfully in modern debates over the extent and reaches of liberalism, democracy, and secularity in politics.

Conventional theory and policy require significant adjustment. Instead of advocating for the implementation of a secular liberal arrangement comparable to 'Western' models and trajectories, scholars should heed the substantive conceptions of 'freedom and equality' and 'rule of the people' as they are articulated in their multitudinous indigenous forms. Fareed Zakaria thus rightly notes that what Muslim-majority nations may require is likely not less but more religion in order to democratize (Zakaria, 2004). It is not democracy that will bring about "enlightened interpretations of Islam" (Fergany, 2005), but enlightened interpretations of Islam that will bring about good governance.

**Gordon, David – david.gordon @ utoronto.ca**

*Lament for a Network: A Comparative Case Study Analysis of the Impacts of the Partners for Climate Protection Network on Climate Change Policy in Two Canadian Cities*

Canadian municipalities, working alone and together through networks, are part of a multi-layered/multi-speed response to climate change in Canada. But insights regarding the motivation and substance of municipal engagement are relatively under-addressed in the Canadian literature. This paper aims to take a first cut at addressing this gap, by exploring the impact of transnational municipal networks on Canadian municipal climate policy.

This paper undertakes a comparative analysis of two Canadian member cities, Winnipeg and Toronto, and looks in depth at the impact of one such network, the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP). The following research questions are addressed: Does the influence of the PCP help to explain the different stages of political engagement with the issue of climate change in Canadian cities? What are the avenues of governance through which the PCP exerts influence on municipal climate change policy in Canada? What factors limit or constrain the impact of the PCP? Analysis is based on data drawn from elite actor interviews and primary document research. Conclusions drawn from the study are situated in the broader context of the literature on multilevel governance in Canada, the governance role of transnational municipal networks, and the relationship between state and non-state actors.

**Gore, Christopher – [chris.gore @ politics.ryerson.ca](mailto:chris.gore@politics.ryerson.ca)**

*Are Cities Willing Agents? North American Cities and Climate Governance*

The growth in the number of cities taking action to address climate change in North America and Europe continues to garner a great deal of attention. Of late, scholars have posited that networks of climate action cities challenge the orthodox conception of state-centered climate governance. These observations suggest that cities have the potential and/or interest in exerting agency in national, regional and global climate governance. While research acknowledges that this agency confronts structural constraints, analysis of how cities grapple with and address this tension in terms of their own actions remain under explored. How willing or able are cities to challenge the structures of national and global climate governance? What evidence exists to suggest that cities want to become principal agents in climate governance or that space is opening for their influence to grow? This paper examines city climate action and advocacy in light of this structure-agency dilemma. Using the experience of cities in Canada and the United States, the paper considers whether cities have the potential to emerge as agents and to exercise agency in climate governance, and under what conditions.

**Gore, Christopher – [chris.gore @ politics.ryerson.ca](mailto:chris.gore@politics.ryerson.ca) and Robinson, Pamela – [pamela.robinson @ ryerson.ca](mailto:pamela.robinson@ryerson.ca)**

*A National, Longitudinal Analysis of Canadian Municipal Response to Climate Change*

Around the world, municipal governments are recognized as leaders in climate change response and as important actors in global climate governance. In 1999, our research team conducted the first and only national survey of Canadian municipal responses to climate change. All municipalities of 10,000 people or more were contacted, with results from 286 municipalities analyzed. Building on these results, in early 2010, our team will conduct another national survey of all municipalities, this time with populations over 1,000. This research initiative will provide an updated inventory of municipal response; identify the character of municipal actions and categorize the types of interventions (if any) municipalities have taken; systematically analyze the factors that drive municipal action; and, show how municipal action on climate change has evolved over the last ten years. In addition to these practical outcomes, this research will also clarify and test existing arguments for why municipalities take action, explaining and identifying the central factors and influences that motivate action. By surveying a large national sample of municipalities the power of our explanation for why and how municipalities are taking action increases tremendously and our ability to identify relationships between variables also increases. In sum, this research program provides a strategic opportunity to advance knowledge on the factors driving municipal action on climate change in Canada. The size of the sample provides the opportunity to produce results that have national policy influence and resonance.

**Goulet-Cloutier, Catherine – [goulet-cloutier.catherine @ uqam.ca](mailto:goulet-cloutier.catherine@uqam.ca)**

*Conservatisme, moralité et politique aux États-Unis: Que reste-t-il des "guerres culturelles" à l'ère Obama?*

En 1992, l'ultraconservateur Pat Buchanan affirmait qu'une « guerre culturelle » (culture war) fait rage aux États-Unis. Décrite par Buchanan comme un combat pour définir l'identité nationale américaine, la guerre culturelle a été le cheval de bataille de multiples acteurs conservateurs moraux et religieux depuis les années 1970 (groupes pro-vie, leaders d'églises évangéliques dénonçant l'érosion des valeurs familiales traditionnelles, législateurs contre le mariage gai, etc.). Tandis que les premiers mois de la présidence de Barack Obama illustrent que les guerres culturelles continuent à battre leur plein aux États-Unis (adoption d'une proposition visant à interdire le mariage gai en Californie le soir de l'élection d'Obama, assassinat d'un médecin pratiquant des avortements tardifs par un militant pro-vie en mai 2009; etc.), cette table ronde vise à mieux cerner le phénomène des guerres culturelles et leur importance au sein de la société américaine. Les participants évalueront, entre autres, l'impact de divers "guerriers culturels" et de leurs discours (par exemple: Bill O'Reilly, Glenn Beck, blogueurs qui s'insurgent contre la nudité dans la culture populaire, organisations antiféministes, etc.) sur les débats politiques.

**Gowder, Paul – [pgowder @ stanford.edu](mailto:pgowder@stanford.edu)**

*Para-Ideal Theory and the Strategic Justification of Democracy*

It is ordinarily assumed that, in the full-compliance situations described by ideal theory, no moral improvement is possible from the collective standpoint. For example, if everyone is complying with her duties of distributive justice then (absent supererogation) the community can do no better at achieving that end. I refute this by demonstrating that there can be moral circumstances analogous to sub-optimal coordination equilibria in game theory—in which each individual is fully complying with her moral obligations, but, if the community as a whole could modify individual behavior en masse, it could achieve a morally superior state of affairs, and no individual can unilaterally modify her behavior except at a moral cost. I argue that the state's role in such "para-ideal" circumstances is to create institutions to solve these coordination problems. Democracy plays a special part: a citizen who votes for the (coercive) pursuit of a collective end can make her actual pursuit of that end conditional on each other citizen's pursuit of that end. By contrast, in a state of nature, no such coordination device is available. In a non-democratic state, coordination can be achieved by the command of a leviathan,

but that coordination does not recruit the moral motivations of individuals. Only in a democracy can citizens motivated by moral ends simultaneously advance those ends (by voting for them), while withholding their active participation conditional on the guaranteed participation of others. This constitutes a novel strategic justification of democracy.

**Grace, Joan – j.grace @ uwinnipeg.ca**

*The Royal Commission on the Status of Women and Policy Change*

**Grace, Skogstad – skogstad @ chass.utoronto.ca, Houle, David – david.houle @ utoronto.ca and Mondou, Matthieu – matthieu.mondou @ utoronto.ca**

*Policy-making Under Transnational Influence: Transnational Actors and Biofuels Policies in Canada, Europe, and the United States*

Biofuels policy is characterized by a network of transnational actors that develop knowledge and ideas. These actors include multinational firms involved in the production of biofuels as well as NGOs, research groups, and international organizations. All attempt to influence the development of domestic biofuels policies and paradigms through their knowledge and ideas about desirable objectives of biofuel policy, the type of biofuels that should be privileged, analyses of the consequences of biofuels on the environment and food security, and the policy instruments that should be employed (subsidies, mandatory standards, taxes, etc.) to foster biofuels' production and commercialisation.

In this paper, we propose to document these transnational actors and their ideas; to address how their knowledge and ideas enter domestic policy networks and shape policy learning in Canada, the United States and the European Union; and to appraise their relative impact on public policies for biofuels, including whether some types of transnational actors have more influence on domestic biofuels policy than others.

We rely on qualitative analyses of the reports of the transnational actors as well as legislative debates around biofuels in Canada, the United States and the European Union to document both the actors' ideas and their influence. Interviews supplement the secondary analyses.

**Graefe, Peter – graefep @ mcmaster.ca**

*Provincial Economic Development Policy Compared*

The possibilities for interprovincial comparisons in Canada are often raised but less often realized. From the standpoint of comparative theory, interprovincial comparison provides a ready-made « most similar system » design. Less noted is the problem of devising means of overcoming « methodological provincialism » to account for the impact of public action at other scales or for the impact of deeper structures beyond those of political institutions, such as capitalism. This paper rehearses the arguments for interprovincial comparisons, the difficulties facing such comparisons, and looks briefly at existing provincial comparative literature on economic development policy, broadly understood, in this light. The possibilities of an interprovincial comparative framework infused with a political economy lens are then advanced through a review of recent work on economic development strategies in Ontario and Quebec (and to a lesser extent British Columbia), with the emphasis on how comparison aids in tempering claims of provincial exceptionalism by highlighting shared structural constraints.

**Graefe, Peter – graefep @ mcmaster.ca**

*Quebec Nationalism and Quebec Politics, from Left to Right*

**Grant, J. Andrew – andrew.grant @ queensu.ca**

*Critical Perspectives on the Study of New Regionalisms*

The dynamic and variable nature of regionalism provides social scientists with a host of fascinating research questions that lend themselves well to both in-depth, singular case studies and comparative analyses. I posit that such research provides valuable theoretical insights while encouraging a plurality of approaches that seek to comprehend, unpack, and problematize regionalism. This is consistent with studies that contrast formal regionalism with informal regionalism or examine established forms of regionalism as well as emerging regionalism — sometimes referred to as either 'new regionalism' or 'new regionalisms'. The latter studies build upon a 'functionalist' inheritance of formal regionalism and add a novel focus on violent conflict, economic linkages (e.g., remittances, illicit trade), and the movement of people (e.g., migrants, traders) which emphasize the informal aspects of regionalism. Acknowledging the conceptual plurality of regionalism (which some scholars denote by employing the terms 'regionalisms') fuels healthy scholarly debates around order, sovereignty, authority, democracy, accountability, and transparency in relation to regionalism in an era of globalization. Although states and economies are the foci of voluminous studies, there is a need to inform researchers as they navigate the burgeoning research on regionalism. Thus, the aim of this paper is to provide a detailed, critical assessment of the current scholarly literature on new regionalisms.

**Grant, J. Andrew – andrew.grant @ queensu.ca and Malcomson, Allan – allan.malcomson @ queensu.ca**

*State Failure In Africa: An Investigation into the Security Implications of Premature Juridical Sovereignty in Post-Colonial Africa*

Scholars and commentators alike have lamented the existence of failed states in Africa. African states were initially created by the international community, and then subsequently supported by it. The lack of external security pressure to protect domestic borders ultimately shaped the political landscape of the continent. As an artificial construct of post-colonialism, there was a lack of impetus for African leaders to focus on providing state services in the peripheries or the

need to pursue widespread economic development. The corresponding generation of grievances has led to the outbreak of rebellion and civil war, often leading to regional instability and insecurity.

We argue that failed states in Africa are not a new phenomenon, but rather have existed since their post-colonial independence. African state formation was dramatically different than the European experience; the granting of juridical sovereignty prior to empirical sovereignty removed the standard security pressure on these new African states. To test the validity of these claims, we analyze three cases — Zimbabwe, Sudan, and Côte d'Ivoire — in the context of the 2009 Failed States Index. Specifically, the paper investigates the variables of economic transparency, quality of political institutions, the provision of social services, and political cohesion, and measures their impact on human security, national security, and regional stability in each of the aforementioned cases. Ultimately, this paper provides a unique comparative analysis that seeks to contribute to the scholarly literature on regional security and failed states.

**Gray, Matthew – graymatthew87 @ gmail.com**

*Assent Against the Odds: Accounting for the Success of a Private Member's Bill*

The likelihood of a private member's bill (PMB) making it through all the parliamentary hurdles and being granted royal assent is remote.

Although the success rate is low, the occasional PMB does defy the odds and is implemented as law, some of which pertain to important issues. There are number of characteristics of the successful PMB.

These include the timing and context of introduction, how the bill is marketed and ,of course, the merits of the bill itself. Of major interest in this paper is the characteristics of the MPP proposing the bill, including the reputation of the member. The research will emphasize successful PMBs and the members who crafted successful PMBs.

Interviews with these members will be especially important. How do they create and promote successful PMBs? Some consideration will be given to PMBs that are so wellcrafted, that these bills are taken over by governments in later sessions of a parliament.

**Greaves, Wilfrid – w.greaves @ utoronto.ca**

*Out in the Warm: Insecurities of Non-Dominance in the Canadian Arctic*

Contemporary security theory characterizes polities as either secure or insecure. This results in the exclusion of minority security concerns within otherwise 'secure' states and societies. This "insecurity of non-dominance" is exemplified by human insecurity in the Canadian Arctic. The Arctic faces security threats from climate change and climate-driven societal change, but the marginalization of Northern peoples from securitization processes in Canada excludes these concerns from the Canadian security debate. Human security in the Canadian Arctic is thus doubly threatened: both by acute environmental change that undermines multiple aspects of Northern peoples' security, and by excluding these concerns from dominant national security discourse in favour of state-centric security modalities.

This paper proceeds in three parts. First, it identifies the concept of "insecurity of non-dominance", situates it within a human security framework, and applies it to the security of Northern, primarily Aboriginal peoples, in Canada. Second, it examines how environmental change is driving the human insecurity of peoples in Arctic Canada. In particular, it focuses on the physical, societal, and economic insecurities that are constituted by climate change. Third, it explores the ongoing marginalization of Arctic human security from the dominant national security discourse, and how statist conceptions of military security continue to structure dominant constructions of insecurity in the Canadian North. The mechanisms of this discursive marginalization are then linked to the ongoing conditions of human insecurity in the region, and are explored in terms of their role in both perpetuating human insecurity and facilitating official Canadian inaction towards climate change.

**Grebennikov, Marat – mgrebennikov @ rambler.ru**

*The Puzzle Of A Loyal Minority: Why Do Azeris Support The Iranian State?*

Ever since its inception, the state of Iran has been pressed with the challenge of integrating the multiple ethnic identities that make up its plural society. Of a population exceeding 70 million, only 51% belongs to the Persian majority, while the single largest minority group are the Azeris numbering nearly 25 million (24%). In contrast to a number of other minorities like the Kurds and the Baluchis, the Azeris have shown loyalty to the Iranian state to the surprise of foreign scholars (Shaffer 2002, 2006). They have done so even in spite of a number of potentially favourable political and economic conditions that could support the realization of national aspirations. The paper addresses this puzzle: why, against seemingly favourable odds, Iranian Azeris have refrained from asserting their national ambitions and joining their newly independent kin north of the border?

In an attempt to solve this puzzle, the paper will examine the triadic relationship among the Azeri minority in Iran, their home state (Iran), and their kin state (Azerbaijan). Although the Azeris constitute the titular majority in the Republic of Azerbaijan (91%), their articulation of national identity has diverged sharply from that of their kin brethren in Iran. Drawing on the works of Brubaker (2000, 2009), James (2001, 2006), Horowitz (2000), Saideman (2007, 2008) and Latin (1998, 2007), the paper explores the hypothesis that the main reason for Azeri loyalty is the consistent and successful cooptation of the Azeri leadership into political and economic elite by the Iranian state.

**Greene, Ian – igreene @ yorku.ca**

*The Tension Among Three Ethics Regimes: Government, House of Commons and Senate*

As of 2005, there were independent ethics commissioners and rules intended to prevent conflicts of interest in Canada's ten provinces, three territories, and the Parliament of Canada. The first jurisdiction to adopt this model was Ontario in 1988, and the last to join this distinctively Canadian ethics regime was the Canadian Parliament. This Canadian model of promoting high ethical standards amongst members of legislatures is working well in every jurisdiction except the House

of Commons, using the number of investigations of allegations of breach of ethics rules conducted by ethics commissioners as an indicator. Outside of the House of Commons, there are investigations of allegations by ethics commissioners on average once every two years. In 2006, four of eight investigations by Canadian ethics commissioners concerned federal MPs, and in 2008, three of sixteen.

This paper argues that the challenges faced by the House of Commons/Cabinet ethics regime are the result of a) the unrealistically large mandate given to the federal Ethics Commissioner, and b) the split in federal ethics rules regarding MPs between the House of Commons rules and the cabinet rules, which confuses the ethics landscape. This poorly thought-out ethics regime is a result of the pressure felt by the Harper government to appear more ethical than its Liberal predecessor. One aspect of the federal ethics regime that is working well is the institution of a separate Senate Ethics Officer. However, the Harper government is intent on abolishing this office, thus compounding its ethics challenges.

**Grenier, Félix – fgren027 @ uottawa.ca**

*Programme de recherche réflexiviste et matrice d'analyse pluraliste pour le champ des RI*

Dans les dernières décennies, bien que de nombreux auteurs aient critiqué de manière très pertinente les caractères partial et partiel de l'ontologie et de l'épistémologie des approches dominantes en RI, aucun auteur n'a proposé ce que Robert O. Keohane a qualifié, en 1988, de programme de recherche réflexiviste cohérent. D'autre part, malgré les nombreuses critiques envers l'historiographie traditionnelle utilisée pour l'enseignement des théories des RI, un auteur critique tel Ole Wæver affirmait encore en 1998 qu'aucune alternative n'était établie pour raconter l'histoire de la discipline, c'est-à-dire pour définir, décrire et enseigner la discipline des RI.

Cet exposé aura pour but de présenter une ébauche d'un tel programme de recherche réflexiviste cohérent, pluraliste et ouvert. L'élaboration de ce 'modèle théorique' sera d'abord fondé sur une synthèse des principaux arguments critiques présentés dans les dernières décennies, et définira les propositions principales de ce que pourrait être une approche épistémologique réflexiviste. En deuxième lieu, nous présenterons une matrice d'analyse plurielle qui permettrait de diversifier les ressources, les facteurs et les unités ontologiques qui sont 'essentiellement vus' par la discipline. Nous croyons que si elle était adoptée, cette matrice 'ontologique' permettrait d'autre part de transformer l'enseignement des théories des RI en mettant sur un pied d'égalité les diverses théories du champ des RI.

**Greve, Patricia – patricia.greve @ utoronto.ca**

*Why Do States Care About Their Reputation? International Social Structure, Domestic Politics, and Concerns About Reliability in Allied Relationships*

In international security, a state's reputation for resolve or reliability is traditionally seen to make threats and promises credible and thus provide at least a thin social order and a sense of predictability among states under anarchy. This view has recently come under scrutiny. This paper extends existing critiques (definitional problems; lack of theoretical micro-foundations; contradictory empirical findings) and argues that understanding reputational concerns as a solution to the problem of signaling credibility leaves us with a number of theoretical and empirical puzzles: One of these puzzles derives from how some allied relationships are better understood as security communities, i.e. a relatively thick social order with dependable expectations built on common interests and values, trust, a collective identity and institutions. According to existing theoretical arguments, concerns about reliability should decline the more dependable expectations become. Empirically, however, we see a persistent concern with states' reputations for reliability in these cases. It is hypothesized that the variation in reputational concerns is not only a function of the social-structural background but also of domestic politics. This is illustrated by analyzing concerns about reliability in German-American relations during detente/Ostpolitik (1969-73).

**Griffiths, Ryan – Ryan.griffiths @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*The Virtuous Liberal Politics of Sentimentalism*

The publicity article in *Perpetual Peace*, offers what Kant believes is a negative test for maxims: If my maxim is such that making it public guarantees its practical failure, then the end at which it aimed is not worthy of pursuit. For a sentimentalist like Adam Smith, Kant's rationalism must rest on a noble lie about reason that does not stand up to publicity.

Kant was painfully aware of the empirical misfit of morals and politics. He insisted that compliance with rationalist moral principles was nearly always heteronomously done (e.g. out of aversion to opprobrium). Such action would satisfy the doctrine of right, but not the doctrine of virtue (because not autonomous). Seen in this way, even rightful action is an example of partial compliance, albeit not rightly punishable. This renders the Kantian principle of toleration unstable. Bare legal toleration (non-punishment) of rightful action cannot pass the publicity test if the standard for principled toleration (acknowledgement of virtue) is reason-based autonomy.

Smith's account, which the contemporary literature on passions has tended to ignore, of how we come to know and apply moral law (which comprehends a doctrine of right), because of its robust and realistic psychology, is far more able to offer principled toleration to actors whose motive is given by something other than pure practical reason (where principled toleration is understood as the acknowledgement of right and virtue). Moreover, it is able to accomplish this without abandoning the family of institutions liberalism has often relied on rationalism to justify.

**Grondin, David – dgrondin @ uottawa.ca**

*Conservatisme, moralité et politique aux États-Unis: Que reste-t-il des "guerres culturelles" à l'ère Obama?*

En 1992, l'ultraconservateur Pat Buchanan affirmait qu'une « guerre culturelle » (culture war) fait rage aux États-Unis. Décrite par Buchanan comme un combat pour définir l'identité nationale américaine, la guerre culturelle a été le cheval de bataille de multiples acteurs conservateurs moraux et religieux depuis les années 1970 (groupes pro-vie, leaders

d'églises évangéliques dénonçant l'érosion des valeurs familiales traditionnelles, législateurs contre le mariage gai, etc.). Tandis que les premiers mois de la présidence de Barack Obama illustrent que les guerres culturelles continuent à battre leur plein aux États-Unis (adoption d'une proposition visant à interdire le mariage gai en Californie le soir de l'élection d'Obama, assassinat d'un médecin pratiquant des avortements tardifs par un militant pro-vie en mai 2009; etc.), cette table ronde vise à mieux cerner le phénomène des guerres culturelles et leur importance au sein de la société américaine. Les participants évalueront, entre autres, l'impact de divers "guerriers culturels" et de leurs discours (par exemple: Bill O'Reilly, Glenn Beck, blogueurs qui s'insurgent contre la nudité dans la culture populaire, organisations antiféministes, etc.) sur les débats politiques.

**Gross, Andrew – andrew.gross @ utoronto.ca**

*Homer and Plato on the Role of Nobility in Politics*

This paper raises important questions for current liberal theory as to the role of nobility in politics, by comparing two figures in ancient Greek thought. First, Homer's Achilles argues it is just that he be honored by the political community for his noble actions in battle. Denied honor, he is enraged and turns against the Achaeans, which does grave harm to them. Yet, after suffering much himself, Achilles learns his limits as a mortal and the meaning of compassion. Second, while Plato recognizes Homer's invention of Greek tragedy, he presents a fundamental alternative in Socrates' erotic quest to know what virtue or nobility is. Socrates converses with youths who are ambitious to prove their nobility by ruling in Athens, and so to merit honor. On his quest, Socrates shows the potential leader, Alcibiades, that in his understanding of nobility he is blind to the problems to which honor-seeking often gives rise; and that political rule needs an account of justice based on knowledge of what is good for the human soul. In short, the philosopher's approach to nobility would help the ambitious not to exceed the tragic limits outlined by Homer – precisely by beginning to engage in the positive ethic of self-knowledge at which he so nobly excels. The paper shows how the comparison of Plato and Homer raises such important matters for liberal theory as: the motives for warfare, the problems and promises of ambition in democracies, and the role of philosophy in educating potential political leaders.

**Grundy, John – grundy @ yorku.ca**

*Bureau-Professionalism and Therapeutic Authority in the Canadian Employment Service*

This paper examines the politics of service delivery in the Canadian Employment Service over the 1970s and 1980s. The first section explores how employment service delivery became a site of struggle as feminist and anti-poverty activists began to contest the formal rules and forms of bureaucratic discretion that reinforced inequalities within the labour market. It demonstrates how such equity-seeking interventions opened up fundamental conflict over the purpose of employment service provision. The second section of the paper links this conflict to a series of service delivery 'improvement' initiatives undertaken by Employment Service administrators in the late seventies and eighties. Drawing upon Canada Employment and Immigration Commission records, the paper traces the conscription of authoritative psychological discourses and techniques into frontline service delivery procedures in order to buttress the contested discretionary capacity of Employment Service staff. It demonstrates the way in which this mode of 'psychologization' served to reconfigure politicized demands for labour market access among equity-seeking groups into an anti-politics of individual 'employability' administrable through a therapeutic case-management framework. While this therapeutic turn in employment service provision was subsequently displaced by the entrenchment of managerial reforms in the early nineties, it remains an important yet unexplored development in the history of the contemporary employability model in Canadian labour market policy. The paper concludes with more general observations on the importance of street-level service provision as a critical site of both political struggle and public policy analysis.

**Grundy, John – grundy @ yorku.ca and Smith, Miriam – mcsmith @ yorku.ca**

*Evidence and Equity: Struggles over Federal Employment Equity Policy in Canada in the 1990s*

The paper traces policy debates over federal employment equity policy in Canada in the 1990s, focussing specifically on the role of economic and social science evidence in the making of policy. While the demand for evidence-based policy has been linked to the shift to new public management, the rise of neo-liberalism, and the weakening of the influence of non-governmental organizations in public policy, this paper explores the flip side of these dynamics, namely, the ways in which social scientific evidence, especially statistics, have been exploited by the women's movement and by trade unions in support of their preferred policy options. By exploring policy debates in the mid to late 1990s – the first main wave of reform of the policy following its establishment – the paper shows how social science evidence (especially statistics) became the object of political struggle among the main stakeholders in the federal policy. Based on a review of government documents and grey literature, as well as selected interviews with stakeholder organizations, the paper demonstrates that non-governmental organizations exploited the evidence-based policy movement to argue for more expansive implementation of employment equity. The paper concludes by considering the implications of this case study for the broader comparative debate on the role of evidence-based methods in policy-making.

**Gupta, Madhvi – madhvi\_gupta @ excite.com**

*Ethnic Diversity and The Quality of Democracy: The Case of India*

Studies on the relationship between diversity and democracy have thrown up two different set of conclusions. The conventional view is that in countries where ethnicity is the primary organizing device in politics, political instability or even civil conflict becomes routine. Ethnic differences divide society in a manner that makes compromise difficult and democracy unworkable. Others contend that diversity has little or no impact on democracy. Less attention has been given to the impact of ethnic diversity on the quality of democracy. The goal of this paper is to examine the impact of diversity on

the nature of popular struggles, which often are crucial for the expansion of citizenship rights and improvements in the quality of democracy. Diverse societies appear less likely to experience broad and inclusive popular struggles. The experience of many multiethnic societies suggests that distinct social groups mobilize for particularistic rather than universal ends. It is particularly problematic to build multiethnic coalitions that seek the same goals. However, a variety of popular struggles—whether independence movements in former colonies or popular struggles for political, social and economic rights—have transcended ethnic differences. While diversity may be divisive, it has been transcended. Based on extensive research in low-income communities in the city of New Delhi, and drawing on other studies on India, this paper seeks to understand the impact of diversity on the nature of popular struggles. Do ethnic and other differences—whether based on caste, religion or language—impede collective action for broad class-based demands? What are the conditions under which multiethnic coalitions emerge for the goal of improving the quality of democracy along class lines?

**Guven, Ali Burak – [aliguven @ ku.edu.tr](mailto:aliguven@ku.edu.tr)**

*The IMF, World Bank, and the Global Financial Crisis: The Paradox of Paradigm Continuity*

Disruptions to world economic order during the last quarter of the twentieth century provoked strong ideational responses from international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The oil and debt crises of the 1970s and the early 1980s strengthened the orthodox neoliberal turn already under way in these agencies, while the Asian Crisis of 1997 and its contagion helped consolidate a more revisionist neoliberalism that highlighted the significance of institutional and macro-regulatory reforms. By contrast, the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 has so far generated little change in the way these organizations define good development policy. This paper provides evidence and a partial explanation for this paradox of paradigm continuity. The first part offers a thematic examination of all major Fund and Bank programs (Fund loans over US\$1 billion and Bank projects over US\$100 million) to identify the continuities in the IFIs' broader development policy advice. The second part argues that, among other factors, a major cause of this prescriptive continuity is the considerable divergence of developing country experiences during the past decade in terms of growth patterns and strategies of integration. Brief contrasts are drawn between Mexico, Thailand, and Turkey—three large middle-income countries that recently developed remarkably different vulnerabilities to external shocks despite their similarly bitter experience with financial globalization in the 1990s. This diversity strictly prohibits the emergence of a new, standard prescriptive core that could challenge the Fund and the Bank's existing ideational proclivities.

**Hagen, Michael G. – [michael.hagen @ temple.edu](mailto:michael.hagen@temple.edu) and Kolodny, Robin – [rkolodny @ temple.edu](mailto:rkolodny@temple.edu)**

*Targeting Voters on Television*

Perhaps the most widely noted trend in television in many countries in recent years is the fragmentation of the audience. Regardless of its social consequences, fragmentation is a boon to commercial advertisers who aim to reach a specialized audience—golfers on the Golf Channel, gardeners on Home & Garden TV, gourmets on the Food Network. To the extent that television viewers similarly sort themselves into politically distinctive groups, political advertisers ought to find fragmentation advantageous in the same way. Moreover, just as horizontally integrated firms can advertise golf clubs on one channel and food processors on another, fragmentation may allow political campaigns to deliver messages tailored to particular audiences on television much as they do through other microtargeted means.

Our question in this paper is: do they? Do political campaigns exploit the fragmentation of the television audience to focus on some voters but not others and to convey different messages to different segments of the voters on which they do focus? We explore these questions by examining television advertising sponsored by candidates and parties and aired in the Philadelphia media market during the 2006 and 2008 election campaigns. Our analysis will rely on our detailed information about each appearance of every political ad on the major broadcast stations and on the Comcast cable network during the 2006 general-election campaigns for governor of Pennsylvania, the U.S. Senate, and the three hard-fought races for the U.S.

House, and during the 2008 presidential primary campaign.

**Haggart, Blayne – [bhaggart @ gmail.com](mailto:bhaggart@gmail.com)**

*North American Digital Copyright, Regional Governance and the Persistence of Variation*

Copyright and intellectual property are increasingly at the heart of the American political economy. The copyright rules in the North American Free Trade Agreement were seen as the latest step toward a harmonization in the three countries' intellectual property regimes. However, the priority the U.S. government and its powerful content industries have placed on this issue in subsequent years has not been matched by commensurate harmonization in Canadian, Mexican and American copyright regimes. Instead, domestic factors continue to be at least as significant as U.S.-based pressures for harmonization in the making of copyright policy.

This paper, based on the author's dissertation research, uses the implementation of two U.S.-backed digital copyright treaties, the World Intellectual Property Organization Copyright and Performances and Phonograms Treaties, in the three North American countries as a critical case that can be used to better understand both the development of the North American copyright regimes and the processes, limits and possibilities of North American regional integration. It adopts an historical institutionalist approach to explain the differential implementation of the treaties by the three countries as being the result of the legalistic nature of North American institutional development and the persistence of domestic copyright and parliamentary institutions. Historical institutionalism's emphasis on historical contingency and institutional persistence make it more useful for understanding the development of non-European regional-integration projects than "grand" integration theories such as neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. It also allows for a fuller appreciation of copyright as a regional and domestic, and not just global, issue.

**Hagmann, Jonas – hagmann @ sipo.gess.ethz.ch**

*Hegemonies and parochialisms in US and European IR teaching*

The International Relations discipline is often portrayed as a series of grand debates. Yet rather little systematic inquiry has sought to address the simultaneous interpenetration of different theoretical IR approaches in that global science. This paper looks into the ways in which doctoral students are being trained in leading schools in the United States and in Europe today. Mapping hegemonies in theoretical teaching and depicting nationalist biases in disciplinary training, it discusses the implications of the discipline's inner pedagogical structuring onto the ability of scholars to engage in fruitful dialogue. The paper concludes with a call for more pluralism and diversity in the pedagogical reproduction of the discipline.

**Haji-Yousefi, Amir M. – am-yousefi @ sbu.ac.ir**

*Teaching International Relations in Iran: Challenges and Prospects*

It is now more than a century that International Relations (IR), mainly as a subfield of Political Science, is being taught in Iran. At least since the last two decades, IR has been accepted as an independent discipline and M.A. and Ph.D. programs of IR have been established in the Iranian universities. However, there is almost no research about how IR is taught in Iran. In addition, since IR university professors, like many other Iranian professors, do not have the syllabi of their courses available to public, there is no written document to find out what and how they teach IR. The only way to find out what they teach, what are the main texts they use, and how they teach IR, is to arrange some interviews with the professors, to talk with their students, and to survey the main Persian IR texts available. This paper seeks to answer the following questions: 1) what are the main IR theories taught in the Iranian universities, 2) which texts (Persian and English) are basically being used in teaching IR in Iran, and 3) what are the main ways IR is taught by the Iranian professors. By answering these questions, we can find out if other theories/approaches than the mainstream IR theories are being taught in the Iranian universities, what are the main challenges IR teaching in Iran is dealing with, and what are the prospects for IR teaching in Iran to contribute to alternative ways of teaching IR worldwide.

**Haji-Yousefi, Amir Mohammad – amyousefi @ yahoo.com**

*Iran's Foreign Policy During Ahmadinejad: From Confrontation to Accommodation*

Some scholars have observed that Iran's foreign policy has leaned toward assertiveness since Mahmood Ahmadinejad came to power in 2005. They have tried to attribute this assertiveness to some internal and external factors. After reviewing the literature, we argue that the assertiveness of Iran's foreign policy during the first period of Ahmadinejad's presidency is rooted in psychological (Ahmadinejad belief system), social (the social base of the new government), political (factional rivalries), historical (ideals of the Islamic Revolution), and external (the way Western countries treated Iran during Khatami) factors. On the contrary, it seems that Iran's foreign policy since the recent presidential election in 2009 has somehow softened and it appears to be less confrontational. This change, if real, may have significant implications for Iran's relations with the Western countries, particularly the United States. We seek to identify the main reasons for this change and explicate its main consequences for the Iranian foreign relations. This paper has four sections. First, we discuss the main features of Iran's assertive foreign policy during the first period of Ahmadinejad's presidency. Secondly, we try to explain the main origins of this assertiveness. Thirdly, the recent developments in Iran's foreign policy, especially Ahmadinejad's new moderate orientation, will be discussed and the main causes will be spelled out. Finally, the main implications of this change in Iran's foreign behavior will be discussed.

**Hale, Geoffrey – geoffrey.hale @ uleth.ca**

*Managing Bilateral Relations in an Evolving North America*

This paper explores the strategic options for managing Canada-U.S. relations in the evolving context of North America and Canada's broader international economic relations. It summarizes a spectrum of policy perspectives outlined by academics and policy practitioners in Canada, the United States, and Mexico – contrasting perspectives on “managing the relationship as it is” as opposed to “framing the relationship as it might be”. This spectrum ranges from advocates of a renewed “special relationship” between Canada and the United States as part of a broader pattern of “dual bilateralism” in relations among the three countries, the advocacy (on several fronts) of institutionalized trilateralism”, and “rejectionist” perspectives that privilege discourses emphasizing the preservation of strong state sovereignty in the pursuit of domestic political (and ideological) objectives. It concludes that none of these options are politically viable given the combination of interdependence and asymmetrical economic and power relationships which characterize bilateral relations between the United States and its neighbours. As a result, it will be necessary to develop an alternative approach that accommodates the multiple contingencies of Canada-US and North American relations in this context.

**Hallock, Emily – hallock @ ucla.edu**

*Arendtian Memory and the Philosophical Foundations of Political Thinking*

The politics of temporality have recently become the subject of dedicated metatheoretical reflection. Critiques of the metaphysical justifications that support basic political ideas highlight the difficulty of grounding political theory. Late modernity's awareness of the contextual, constructed nature of central tenets of Western political thought undermines foundational beliefs once held as objectively true. This paper traces the linkages between collective memory and political authority in Hannah Arendt's discussion of constitution and foundation to evaluate temporal reflection as the basis of an alternate theoretical justification. For Arendt, authority is established by the act of foundation, but this act cannot grant the stability that politics requires. Political stability requires collective remembrance of the action. This paper explores the

implications of her claim that political authority in the present rests on the memory of the past. Through this analysis of Arendt, I will argue that the role of memory in preserving the political authority of the founding act suggests possible resources for the philosophical foundations of political theory. But as Arendt cautions in *On Revolution*, memory is inherently ephemeral. Without some memory of the act of foundation, it is as though it never occurred. I will use the ambiguity of memory in Arendt to assess the limits of temporal thinking for theoretical justification. In other words, can we theorize politics on a foundation susceptible to failures of memory?

**Hanes, Douglas William – douglas.hanes @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*'Won't Somebody Please Think of the Children!': Children's Suffering and the Ideology of Adulthood*

2009 marked the twentieth anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the international culmination of a century's development of "child" as a unique moral category, separate from "adult." The former is characterized by a greater moral imperativeness and urgency that attaches to problems afflicting children than when they afflict adults; it has pervaded popular and academic discourse, and highlighting children's poverty and suffering can pass without further comment. The development of childhood as a separate moral and cultural category arose with the ideas of children's psychological innocence and development. However, this paper contends that "childhood innocence" is also constituted by an ideology of adulthood based on the liberal ideals of moral autonomy and freedom—as—agency. This lies in tension with what motivates many concerns about children: the important structural components of freedom and global poverty that affect people throughout their lives and across generations. Impoverished adults, then, are simultaneously cast as both victims of a failed childhood and freely agentic makers of their own world—and their children's. By emphasizing adult agency and constraining the problem of unfreedom to a certain life—stage, the ideology of Children's Rights more deeply entrenches the liberal vestment of freedom in the individual and occludes attempts to resolve the structural problems of world poverty and global inequality. Beginning instead with suffering as a universal, equalizing phenomenon and freedom as originating in society recasts children's moral status to address the structural problems that perpetuate poverty, suffering, and unfreedom for persons of all ages.

**Hanniman, Kyle – hanniman @ wisc.edu**

*Financial Markets and Subnational Welfare States: How Severe Are the Constraints?*

A sizeable literature examines the effects of mobile financial capital on national social spending. These studies reveal a great deal about governments' 'room to manoeuvre' in global capital markets. But few studies explore the constraints capital markets impose on Canadian provinces, American states and other subnational governments. And no study, to my knowledge, explores constraints imposed by bond markets. This gap is curious. Subnationals play critical roles in financing welfare policies. They also pose greater debt rescheduling risk, likely exposing their budgets to tighter market scrutiny and constraint. This paper examines whether constraints are stiffer at the subnational than national level. It also examines whether these constraints are offset or exacerbated by fiscal relations between national and subnational governments. I test these possibilities on an original panel dataset of quarterly provincial—national bond spreads in Canada from 1992 to 2007. I find no evidence of markets punishing provinces for healthcare, education or other specific categories of spending. I also find no significant relationship between interest rates and intergovernmental fiscal relations. The evidence suggests governments retain considerable room to move vis—à—vis capital markets, even if spending is devolved to the more fiscally unstable subnational level. But results should be read with caution. They are based on a single—country study and do not account for national differences in intergovernmental fiscal relations. I conclude with a discussion of plans for future research, including extending the dataset to subnationals in other federations and surveying institutional investors with large subnational debt holdings.

**Hanvelt, Marc – marc\_hanvelt @ carleton.ca**

*Pluralism, Politeness, and the Public Sphere: Hume on Freedom of the Press*

David Hume's views on freedom of the press hold important lessons for contemporary liberal theorists interested in the conditions of moral and political discourse in modern pluralist liberal democracies. Initially, Hume supported freedom of the press quite forcefully, arguing that it is important for the preservation of republican government. However, the Wilkes and Liberty affair led him to rethink his position. This paper will explore Hume's conflicted relationship with, what is considered today, one of the most significant democratic freedoms.

Hume's views on freedom of the press are informed by a conception of the public sphere that he developed in response to his belief that faction was the principal danger to the British constitution because it threatened the very capacity of individuals to make moral judgments by steeling their hearts against the social sympathy that makes moral evaluation possible. In formulating his conception of the public sphere, Hume sought to balance his beliefs that, on the one hand, the open opposition of interests was one of the primary supports of Britain's mixed constitution and, on the other hand, that moral judgment relies upon an extensive sympathy that can be refined through polite conversation. Hume envisaged a public sphere in which political power was dispersed so as to allow a polite public discourse through which competing conceptions of the public good could be contested openly and honestly without irreparably rupturing the fabric of the political community. His views on freedom of the press shed light upon his understanding of the relationship between politeness, judgment, and public discourse.

**Haque, S M Shajedul – palashea @ yahoo.com**

*Gender Position in Governance System and Nature of Governance: Autocratic or Democratic*

Linkage between 'presence of women in organizational governance' and 'gender friendly policy making and implementation' is indubitably accepted by the academician and practitioner. In this perspective, an equal and effective

participation of women is indispensable for any governing system. This paper aims to identify the status of women's participation in decision making process of non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh. The study team collected both primary and secondary (content review of NGO documents) data to support the specific arguments. To collect the primary data, head of the organizations and senior staff of seven local NGOs were interviewed.

The study found that 36 percent of the executive committee's members are female and three organizations are found as headed by female among the seven selected local NGOs. There is also correlation exist that female head organizations have higher number of women executive committee members compare to male headed organizations where average women participation is 34.69 percent and 45.02 percent in the female headed organization and average participant in the male headed organization is 29.95 percent. In male headed organizations average 80 percent of decisions are taken by head of the organization, contrary in female headed organizations average 90 percent of decisions are taken by the head. In case of male headed organization, head use to take support from male senior management team and in female headed organization, head usually rely on relatives.

Above mention findings depicted that gender position determines the representation but real democratic participations depends on ground reality which shapes the gender role.

**Harell, Allison – harell @ queensu.ca and Panagos, Dimitrios – dpanagos @ gmail.com**

*Aboriginal Women, the Gender Gap and Electoral Participation in Canada*

Social-welfare indicators place Aboriginal women at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, making them one of the most marginalized groups in Canada (NWA, 2006). A unique combination of colonialism, racism and sexism is the principal cause of Aboriginal women's marginal status (Green, 2001). It should not be surprising that these intersecting forms of oppression have led many Aboriginal women to believe that their interests differ substantially from the interests of non-Aboriginal women (Udel, 2001). Along the same lines, Aboriginal women contend that the Canadian state and Aboriginal institutions are both obstacles to and facilitators for the pursuit of their interests (Green, 2001). Yet, little is known about how Aboriginal women participate in such governing institutions, or whether their participation differs fundamentally from non-Aboriginal women. This paper examines how Aboriginal women participate in electoral politics in Canada. What do they share with non-Aboriginal women and how do they differ in their electoral behaviour? Drawing on the gender and politics literature and literature on Aboriginal politics, we assess the extent to which gender gaps are found between Aboriginal women and men, and compare these to the gender gaps found in the non-Aboriginal population. For the analysis, we draw on the Canadian Election Study and a unique subsample of Aboriginal people in the Equality, Security, Community (ESC) Survey. While overall turnout levels are lower among both Aboriginal men and women, the evidence suggests that gender gaps among Aboriginal peoples in Canada tend to reproduce trends in gendered electoral participation found in non-Aboriginal populations.

**Harell, Allison – harell @ queensu.ca**

*Gendered Political Engagement and Its Institutional Foundations: Canada in Comparative Perspective*

The study of women's political behaviour in Canada has been strongly influenced by the comparative literature on gender and politics. Like many industrialized democracies, Canadian women are less involved in party politics, run for office and are elected less often than men, and are less knowledgeable and engaged in many conventional forms of political participation. At the same time, Canadian women also engage disproportionately in volunteering activities, and vote at similar levels as men (although often with a distinctive voice).

What causes such gender differences? Clearly, the comparative reality of gender gaps suggests that gender socialization and gendered barriers to participation share a common root in patriarchal practices and structures across countries. At the same time, Canadian institutions structure these experiences, and can often lead to different outcomes, as has been witnessed in the comparative literature on women's representation in elected bodies. This paper asks how different institutional arrangements impact the size and direction of gender gaps in political engagement.

Drawing on comparative election studies in Europe and North America, this paper presents a cross-national, hierarchical analysis of the country-level factors that explain differences in gender gaps in conventional and extra-parliamentary forms of participation. While highlighting how individual-level resources impact political participation in Canada in similar ways as other countries, this paper will present a unique analysis of the role that institutional factors like the electoral system, women's formal representation, and the system of government play in explaining the size and nature of gender gaps in Canada.

**Harrison, Kathryn – kharrison @ exchange.ubc.ca**

*Climate change policy in Canada and United States*

In recent years, the importance of the interplay between United States and Canadian climate change policy has increased greatly. First, the Canadian government explicitly states it will harmonize Canadian policy with that of the United States. Second, policy in some provinces and States is being influenced as much by their cross-border alliances (WCI, New England/Atlantic) as by federal-provincial/State policy making. Thirdly, some important players, such as the Alberta oil sands industry, appear to be influenced more by developments in United States policy than by Canadian. Questions addressed by the roundtable include: who are the most influential actors in climate change policy in each country and is there a difference between US and Canada? What is the impact of change in the executive branch on climate change policy? Did new diplomatic initiative or international negotiation have a determinant role to play in the development of domestic climate change policy? What evaluation can we made of the efforts accomplished so far in Canada and United States at the sub-federal or federal level? Why have States and provinces been relatively more active than federal

governments so far? To what extent has policy, in Canada and United States, been influenced by the will to harmonize policy between the two countries (or between sub-federal jurisdictions)?

**Harty, Siobhan – sharty @ rogers.com**

*Reforming Citizenship Policy: The Role of Policy Disruptions*

The post-9/11 security environment is a policy disruption that has impacted policy change across a range of domains and states. Using citizenship policy as a case study, this paper considers the late 20th century public and scholarly debates around multicultural and universalist approaches for managing cultural diversity and considers the impact of policy disruptions arising from security threats on movements for policy change. A scan of recent policy reforms in the citizenship sphere across industrialized states points to a range of outcomes: in some cases, citizenship policy has been liberalized (Spain, Sweden), in others it has been made more restrictive (United Kingdom), while in still others reforms have been marginal (Canada). To explain this variation, the paper applies theoretical assumptions from the literature on the sources of policy change, such as incrementalism, punctuated equilibrium and advocacy coalitions, to empirical evidence of how political and bureaucratic actors respond to disruptions by drawing on the literature on agenda setting and policy subsystems. The policymaking literature identifies subsystems as areas of policymaking characterised by relatively stable actors and interests. Disruptions can bring new information, ideas and concerns that will draw policymakers' attention and create volatility in the system, although the impact can vary across subsystems. At the same time, politicians have important agenda setting tools that can put pressure for change on bureaucracies. By examining the strategies different actors use to support or resist change the paper will advance our understanding of the policy-making process.

**Hausman, Melissa – melissa\_hausman @ carleton.ca**

*CEDAW as a Potential Tool to Undo US Reproductive Rights Restrictions*

This paper will argue how CEDAW ratification at the national level could be used as a powerful tool against arbitrary and unjust restrictions on women's reproductive rights that exist in the US, such that the US has the highest unintended pregnancy rate of any industrialized country (Guttmacher). Heartening evidence for this potential is found in that CEDAW was used successfully as an instrument to litigate against the prohibition of abortion in Colombia in 2006, to stop discrimination against HIV-positive women in South Africa in 2000, and to stop forced virginity exams on schoolgirls in Turkey.

**He, Yicong – 5yh5 @ queensu.ca**

*The Territory and the Body: Politics and Subject in the Works of R.B.J. Walker and Michel Foucault*

What kind of critical practice is needed to meaningfully and seriously engage Foucault on questions of state sovereignty, individualities, and emancipation etc. in the study of international politics? This paper, an examination of R.B.J Walker's Foucauldian critique of the principle of state sovereignty, seeks to shed light on these questions. It shows that not only does Walker open the possibility for thinking about international politics differently, but that his critique contributes to a better understanding of the emergence of political subjects (both individuals and the state) in a discursive field. Specifically, in defending Walker against Jen Selby's charges (Selby, 2007), I argue that Walker's deconstruction reads the sovereign state as the discourse of a specific modern spatiotemporality, a site on which sovereign political subjectivities/individualities emerge, determining the possibilities and the limitations for individuals and/or groups of individuals to be or become who/what they are. This complements rather than undermines Foucault's own analysis of the complex relationship between individual subjects and governmentality and the state, in which the state is surprisingly rather narrowly presented as a juridical-political institution, whose power is enabled by disciplinary techniques.

**Healy, Teresa – thealy @ clc-ctc.ca**

*Carrying the Weight of the World on their Shoulders: Unemployment and Economic Crisis in Campbell River, British Columbia*

"We've lost our fishing. We've lost our logging. We've lost our mill. We've lost our mine. What more can one town lose?" asks miner and CAW Local 3019 president Brian Clark.

As a result of the economic crisis, Canada lost 486,000 full-time jobs between October 2008 and August 2009. Many communities across the country have been devastated. The town of Campbell River, located on the north-eastern coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, is one of these.

Since March 2008, 300 CAW members have been on revolving, two-month layoff notices from NVI mines. TimberWest announced a permanent closure of its sawmill in May 2008 and the end of 257 jobs for United Steelworkers. There were 1,100 unionized employees at the Catalyst pulp and paper mill not too long ago. In February 2009, these Communications Energy and Paperworkers members were put on extended-layoff, and the Elk Falls mill was indefinitely shut down. The lack of a secure supply of sawdust and wood chips, as well as the high Canadian dollar and U.S. subsidies were cited as the reasons. Now Catalyst has said it will only pay \$1.5 million of its \$4.6 million annual tax bill, forcing the city into a very difficult situation and lay-offs for members of the British Columbia General Employees and Canadian Union of Public Employees unions.

The economic crisis has devastated good unionized jobs and, by extension, the community that depended upon them. Joblessness has dramatically changed the gendered dynamics of the family for both women and men. Based on in-depth interviews with workers, this paper will seek explanations for these upheavals from the workers who are directly affected. It will also explore the character and impact of economic crisis and economic integration with the United States for workers and their communities.

**Heidrich, Pablo – pheidrich @ nsi-ins.ca**

*Canadian Banks Abroad. Political Economy of their Expansion and Exposure in Times of a Global Crisis*

Banking is one of the most internationalized sectors of the Canadian economy, whereby the 5 biggest institutions have large assets abroad, and operate extensive retail banking networks in the US, Latin America and the Caribbean. This paper looks at the linkages between the Canadian government, as a regulator and promoter of Canadian investment abroad, and these five banks, seeking to answer whether that relationship has increased or reduced the possibilities of crisis contagion from expanding abroad.

The relevance of the paper is that many recent international surveys mention the Canadian banking system as a model in order to avoid a financial crisis as the one happening in the US since 2008. Much of that recommendation is made out of the role of prudent state regulation and also banks' individually cautious behaviour. However, not much is said about the relations between these private institutions and the Bank of Canada, Finance Canada, as well as the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions.

This paper looks therefore at this relationship in the specific issue area of expansion abroad and exposure to financial crisis. Such area is critical given that, in several countries with similar banking industries to Canada's, such as Sweden and Austria, this crisis was imported by domestic banks exposed through their expansion abroad.

**Helbig, Bettina – bettina.helbig @ fernuni-hagen.de**

*Federal dynamics in divided societies. Comparing Belgium and Canada*

The necessity to accommodate demands for recognition and self-government in heterogeneous contexts is generally acknowledged in liberal democracies. However, federal studies are divided between those attesting federalism some potential in appeasing ethnic conflicts and those fearing to fuel the conflict when granting more autonomy to sub-state authorities justified by ethnic, cultural or linguistic distinctiveness.

Based on Elazar's characterization of federalism as structure and process the paper analyses the relation between federal structure and processes of constitutional change. Comparing Belgium and Canada, the paper argues that disintegration is more likely to occur if not only the federal structure but also the procedures of institutional change are adapted to the generative conflict. While in Belgium, a bipolar logic has been incorporated into the federal structure as well as into patterns of negotiation, regional authority in Canada has been increased without adapting the procedures for federal changes to the generative conflict. The generative cleavage is a catalyser for federal and/or constitutional reform in both cases but only in Belgium has it become the main feature of structure and process.

Applying the framework of comparative historical analysis and tracing elements of the federal structure and rules of procedures over time, interactions between different types of changes and underlying mechanisms are revealed causing federal dynamics. In identifying these mechanisms and interactions the paper contributes to the core question of federal studies: which elements of a federal structure induce centrifugal dynamics and which seem more capable of hindering a disintegrative spiral.

**Hellstrom, Mikael – mikaelh @ ualberta.ca**

*The impact of labour market policy on immigrant agency in Canada and Sweden*

This paper discusses the impact of welfare regimes on immigrant agency by comparing labour market policy in Canada and Sweden, two countries that are traditionally regarded as different types of welfare states. The comparison employs Cultural theory and Organizational theory, particularly as presented by Hood's typology of administrative models. This analytical framework is helpful for identifying the inherent properties of the different modes of governance, including their implications for power relations and inherent strengths and weaknesses, such as effectiveness and sensitivity to client needs.

Labour market politics is of fundamental importance for immigrant groups that face socio-economic challenges like unemployment, under employment and potential discrimination. The paper applies the framework to this area in an effort to problematize the state by making an assessment of how the policy field have been organized historically. This is followed by a discussion on how the relations between the state and the immigrant communities have been shaped by those organizational choices, particularly in terms of opportunity structures for immigrant NGOs. The approach can reveal much about how different policy models can facilitate or obstruct bottom's up impulses by opening up or closing down spaces for social action and offer a new understanding for how administrative solutions can empower or disempower minorities.

**Hendershot, Chris – hender @ yorku.ca**

*Shoot First, Answer Questions Later': A Critique of the Collision of Personal Security Details, the Production of Threat and 'Gun-culture' in United States and Canada*

The actions of contractor staffed personal security details (PSDs) operating in Iraq and Afghanistan, particularly those of Xe (formerly Blackwater Security), have received much politico-legal and moral scrutiny. However, little to no consideration has been given to how the preparation for, confirmation of and engagement with 'threats' to 'the principal' PSDs are tasked with protecting affect how 'threats' are identified, engaged and/or prepared for in times and spaces not bound by the situational contexts of Baghdad or Kabul. Through an investigation of a series of journalistic exposés and autobiographies this paper asserts that the popularization of the operating procedures of PSDs represents a troubling reaffirmation of the socio-cultural and politico-economic forces in the United States and, to a lesser extent, Canada that sustain firearms and the attendant training to wield firearms 'more effectively' as the commonsense, if not morally righteous, solution to situations in which personal security is perceived to be threatened.

**Henderson, Ailsa – ailsa.henderson @ utoronto.ca and White, Graham – gwhite @ chass.utoronto.ca**  
*Managing the Political Moraine: Institutional Legacies, Political Cultures and the Struggle for Meaningful Political Change in Nunavut*

**Hendrix, Burke – burke.hendrix @ fandm.edu**  
*Where Should Non-ideal Theory Expect Moral Failure?*

Exercises of non-ideal theory are always subject to the objection that they have unduly compromised with the conditions of an unjust world. In planning for existing or future moral failures, the argument goes, non-ideal theory makes those very moral failures more readily tolerated and “justified”, and deprives us of the critical leverage needed to recognize and bring about necessary social and political reforms. If moral argument has the power to create change in some locations, one can object, why believe that it does not have that power in others? Advocates of non-ideal theory will obviously be on stronger ground if they are able to explain why they expect failures in specific areas of social life rather than others. Because these expectations are often difficult to articulate in the abstract or to predict fully in advance, however, this essay proceeds by way of examples or “test cases”, to outline three different sets of expectations for moral failure that one might have when evaluating regimes of Aboriginal rights. The essay then draws on these these divergent examples to try to formulate general lessons about how to most effectively choose our expectations for locations of moral failure, in regard to Aboriginal rights and more broadly.

**Henstra, Daniel – dhenstra @ uwindsor.ca**  
*Explaining Local Public Policy: An Analysis of Municipal Emergency Management in Ontario*

Emergency management policy is a course of action chosen by public authorities to address unforeseen, urgent situations that pose a serious risk to people’s life, health, or property. Although the Canadian federal and provincial governments play an important role in policy development, primary functional responsibility for emergency management is delegated to municipal governments. All communities face potential emergencies—ice storms, floods, train derailments, industrial accidents, and so on—so municipal governments must have plans and protocols to ensure that response resources can be mobilized swiftly and effectively. What factors are conducive to good municipal emergency management policy? Why do some communities undertake comprehensive emergency planning, while others implement only basic emergency measures? This paper examines how and why the problem of emergencies is added to the local decision agenda and the process by which alternative policy solutions are formulated and selected. Evidence is drawn from comparative case studies of two Ontario cities.

**Hepburn, Eve – eve.hepburn @ ed.ac.uk**  
*A Comparative Analysis of Island Region Autonomy in Canada and Europe*

Islands have developed some of the most innovative forms of sovereignty in the world. Being typically small and insular, islands have repeatedly rejected outright independence in favour of developing unique status arrangements with larger state or supranational bodies. As such, the experience of small islands offers important lessons for stateless nations and regions seeking unique forms of autonomy in partnership with states. This paper will investigate the diverse manifestations of jurisdictional autonomy enjoyed by island regions operating in unitary, decentralised and federal states. It asks: how do island regions negotiate and exercise their autonomy within larger political structures? The paper will construct three cases studies – Sardinia (Italy), Åland Islands (Finland) and Prince Edward Island (Canada) – identifying the constraints and opportunities for islands to exercise autonomy in larger political structures. In particular, the paper explores five variables influencing island region autonomy in each of the cases: (1) the distinctiveness of the party system; (2) strength of identity; (3) economic resources; (4) external relations with state and supranational bodies; and (5) factors associated with ‘islandness’, in order to identify patterns of island region governance.

**Heritz, Joanne – heritzjm @ mcmaster.ca**  
*Urban Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Beyond the Statistics*

Does ‘urban Aboriginal peoples’ capture the spatial experiences of Aboriginal peoples in urban centres in Canada? The lens that focuses on Aboriginal peoples has a tendency to quantify them by assessing the statistics that contribute to low socio-economic indicators experienced by most of them in urban centres. Social scientists and government officials describe the migration of Aboriginal peoples between urban centres and rural areas or reserves as ‘churn’. While social scientists may argue that high migration rates to and from urban centres create gaps in the continuity of education and social services, an Aboriginal outlook on this movement may not delineate these urban/rural/reserve boundaries and services. I suggest going beyond the quantifiable aspects and deliberate on other aspects of the urban Aboriginal experience. In this respect, based on Aboriginal testimonials, this paper asks whether ‘churn’ respects the lived experiences of Aboriginal peoples. Looking at the urban experience through an Aboriginal lens allows us to reconsider the notion of ‘churn’ in our deliberations of the urban Aboriginal experience in Canada.

**Heuton, Robert – rheuton @ uwindsor.ca and Girard, Brienne – mbgirard @ uchicago.edu**  
*Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation: A Comparative Assessment of Canadian Municipalities*

How has the fiscal condition of Canadian and U.S. local governments shifted in recent decades? Our research report discusses a national survey of Canadian municipal administrators conducted in late 2008 and early 2009, comparing survey results acquired in the 1980s. The surveys have been facilitated by the International Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation Project based at the University of Chicago. The project focuses on salient local government problems,

spending priorities, activity and impact of multiple local groups, and major policy and management practices. We find a general decline in both Canada and the U.S. in the activities and impact of local administrators and elected officials, and a rise in multiple local participants on matters of fiscal austerity and urban innovation at the local government level. Impacts of global issues are clearly affecting local government fiscal conditions.

**Hibbert, Neil – neil.hibbert @ usask.ca**

*Global Justice and Institutional Scope*

This paper addresses the question of the scope of institutions in theories of global justice. It contrasts the institutional demands of moral cosmopolitan, associative and civic conceptions of global justice. It suggests that different theories of moral cosmopolitanism share the basic idea that global justice makes demands for the creation of institutions with global scope for the promotion of its principles. In this respect it principally theorizes institutions as 'mechanisms' for global justice (i.e., the realization of cosmopolitan moral duties). Moral cosmopolitanism contrasts with associative theories of justice, which posit it as virtue of particular ethical relationships (often those of nationality) and thus do not support justice-promoting institutions with global scope. The argument of the paper suggests that a civic conception of global justice is both a plausible and attractive middle position on the question of institutional scope. The civic conception of global justice, in contrast to the two other positions, does not make necessary prescriptive claims on the question of institutional scope as required by principles of justice; institutional formation, and the presence of cooperative benefits and burdens, are theorized as triggering demands of justice, leaving the question of scope open to political development. In treating institutions as the subject of principles of justice (as opposed to primarily mechanisms), the civic conception is closer in line with political practice and the fact that most institutions are mechanisms for non-justice related, though socially beneficial, purposes (particularly securing cooperative benefits). The civic conception is not hostile to cosmopolitan norms, and seeks to understand their political function in, and processes of extension to, sites of governance.

**Hiebert, Janet – hiebertj @ queensu.ca**

*Parliamentary Bills of Rights: Challenging Assumptions about how or why a Bill of Rights Works*

Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and two sub-national Australian jurisdictions (Victoria and Australian Capital Territory) have adopted bills of rights that not only set aside previous assumptions about whether a bill of rights is compatible with Westminster-based parliamentary systems, but also challenge conventional wisdom about institutional roles when interpreting rights and determining remedies when rights have been infringed. These bills of rights conceive of rights protection as being more complex than reliance either on judicial judgment alone or on parliamentary judgment, and instead imagine discourse and judgment as involving the perspectives of various actors, differentially situated relative to the rights dispute.

This paper examines the juxtaposition of political and judicial responsibility for determining the legitimacy of legislation that implicates rights adversely, and explores the following three issues. First, the introduction of bills of rights with qualified or weak forms of judicial review has forced political actors and scholars to rethink the function of bills of rights when protecting rights. Second, these bills of rights conceive of rights protection as being more broadly construed than in traditional bills of rights that emphasize judicial review as the principal remedial mechanism for protecting rights, which compels political actors and scholars to reassess the role of legislatures in terms of rights protection. Third, the ability for legislative judgment to prevail over judicial judgment has encouraged the focus on empirical and normative questions about the relationship between legislative and judicial judgment in cases of inter-institutional disagreements (often expressed by various uses of the metaphor of constitutional dialogue).

**Hinz, Bronwyn – bhinz @ unimelb.edu.au**

*Ethnic Associations, Networks and the Construction of Australian Multiculturalism*

This paper argues that Australia's quick and harmonious transformation from a largely white, mono-cultural society to a culturally and linguistically diverse society is attributable in large part to the role played by migrant and ethnic communities in shaping Australia's multicultural policies and programs. It is based upon a two-year study of Australia's oldest federation of migrant, refugee and multicultural groups, the Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria. It is the first comprehensive study of the united ethnic movement in Australia and thus provides a new perspective and critical new information on Australia's multicultural history and politics. Primary sources included unexplored government, organizational and personal archives, and interviews with key leaders within and beyond the united ethnic movement. Data was qualitatively analyzed, drawing upon network theory, within a participatory-policy framework. In uncovering the ECCV's quick transition from a grass-roots group of outsiders to a central advocate and player in the policy-process, it offers new insights on the role played by ethnic communities in settler societies and lessons for governments and communities around the world negotiating an increase in migrants and refugees from non-traditional sources.

**Hinz, Bronwyn – bhinz @ unimelb.edu.au**

*Australian Federalism and School Funding Arrangements: An Examination of Competing Models and Recurrent Critiques*

Australian federalism and school funding arrangements have transformed significantly over the last 30 years. There is now an unprecedented level of federal activity in state policy domains, especially education, resulting in highly complex and contested intergovernmental relations. Yet, there has been no rigorous academic analysis of federalism in relation to school funding arrangements, either from a political science or education perspective, and consequently, the nature and influence of federalism on school funding is not understood. This paper draws together these disparate debates and examines how federalism affects school funding policies and processes. It is based on a detailed study of the Victorian government's 'Schools of the Future' reforms (1992-1999), which devolved 90% of the state's public education budget to

individual schools, and is described by supporters and detractors alike as the most radical Australian education reform in the last century. It explores competing models of intergovernmental relations and tests the accuracy of recurrent critiques of Australian federalism. It finds that SOTF best corresponds with the coordinate view of federalism, driven first and foremost by the Victorian government's immediate political objectives and ideological principles, with minimal attention to federal processes, other Australian governments or intergovernmental agreements. It argues that federalism should be understood as a complex and dynamic system of processes and institutions, embedded in, and interacting with society. The study was based upon data and documents from key government and non-government bodies, complemented by interviews with key policy actors, and analysed qualitatively in conceptual frame drawing upon new institutionalism and Hecló's 'issue networks'.

**Hoogenboom, David – dhoogenb @ uwo.ca**

*Moving Ideas: Examining the Impact of Diaspora Communities on Transitional Justice*

The field of transitional justice examines the moral, legal, and political challenges when rebuilding the political and social fabric of post-conflict societies. Often, these conflicts produce a large outflow of migrants and, as a result, this population displacement has generated large diaspora communities throughout the world. While a great deal of literature in transitional justice has concentrated on the role of the international community and the ideas it imposes on the peacebuilding process, there is a paucity of research on the role of diaspora communities. Traditionally, it was believed that emigration from a country resulted in the severance of ties beyond familial relations. However, for many diaspora communities, the political ties are stronger to their homeland than previously believed. As a consequence, the resolution of such violent conflicts often requires addressing an audience beyond the immediate geographic boundaries of the conflict. Using the Haitian diaspora as a preliminary case study, this paper examines the increasing role of the diaspora on the peacebuilding process in their homeland. While President Aristide established the Commission nationale de vérité et de justice, the idea of a truth commission was promoted from the outside by the Haitian diaspora in Montreal working with support from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Indeed, the Haitian diaspora in North America is an interesting case because it played such an integral role in the establishment of the truth commission in Haiti.

**Horak, Martin – mhorak @ uwo.ca**

*From Agenda to Action: Civic Capacity and Neighborhood Revitalization in Toronto*

This paper examines recent efforts to target public resources towards improving living conditions and resident opportunities in 13 designated "Priority Neighborhoods" in Toronto. The paper argues that while societal actors were instrumental in placing the revitalization of poor neighborhoods on the citywide policy agenda, the coordinated deployment of institutional resources from multiple agents, both local and provincial, is necessary to translate this agenda into effective action. A detailed comparison of revitalization efforts in the Regent Park and Jane / Finch neighborhoods reveals the key importance of resource coordination, and suggests some important prerequisites for such coordination. The paper uses evidence from Toronto to critique and refine Stone's (1998) conception of 'civic capacity', which he defines as the ability of state and societal agents to coalesce resources necessary for addressing complex policy problems. The Toronto evidence suggests that in the case of policies targeted at specific neighborhoods, civic capacity, which Stone conceives of as a citywide variable, may in fact vary significantly across geographical locations within one city.

**Hossein, Caroline – carolinehossein @ yahoo.com**

*Partisan Politics and Tribalism in Microfinance: The Jamaican Case*

Microfinance's mantra of "inclusive finance" is complicated by political parties and tribalism in downtown Kingston. And this tool which strives for economic and social empowerment does not operate the same in all contexts, and very poor consumers may be at risk. Interviews with 233 hustlas across six marginalized garrison communities in downtown Kingston shows that a quiet resistance emerges from Jamaican hustlas. This study finds 61% of the hustlas interviewed (n=233) are not accessing microfinance. Contrary to public opinion, the Jamaican hustla is not as "politically tribal" as the elites managing these microfinance programs. Unbeknownst to elites in microfinance, poor people know that politicians use constituency development funds to capitalize microfinance retailers. And poor people also know that dons either assist microfinance programs or compete with them to offer low cost micro loans. And when microfinance programs seemingly collude with political parties or informal leaders this confuses the social empowerment aspect of microfinance. Data shows that the hustla avoids being manipulated politically by microfinance and self excludes herself if she perceives these micro loans are linked to partisan politics or "don" politics. Despite politicized microfinance, the democratization of microfinance may still occur because of the tenacity of the hustla.

**Hossein, Caroline – carolinehossein @ yahoo.com**

*Topsy Turvy Microfinance: Rethinking Gender and Identity in Downtown Kingston*

Microfinance's potential to reach scale and to increase household incomes for the very poor and to do so on a sustainable basis, has earned this development tool many supporters. But in downtown Kingston, Jamaica microfinance is topsy turvy because it is not reaching the enterprising poor people who could benefit from micro loans. Resource allocations, such as microfinance is often a misused tool to control the urban poor. Empirical evidence suggests that identity politics in Jamaican microfinance acts against poor Black inner city hustlas, especially poor men. Microfinance's mantra of "inclusive finance" is complicated by identity cleavages in downtown Kingston. This study finds 61% of the micro businesspersons (n=233) interviewed in Kingston, especially the men, are not accessing microfinance. About 45% of the women

interviewed had a micro loan and less than 10% of the men had one. Imported female-focused models of microfinance don't quite fit and gender in Jamaica is an important identity to examine as it offers a different perspective from mainstream microfinance. Leaving "poor Black males from the inner city" out of microfinance contributes to intra and inter-group conflicts and complicates relations between men and women from the same group. In fact, traditional microfinance has a women disempowering effect on the very women it intends to help. Identity politics such as (political) tribalism, class and female exclusivity impedes microfinance development in some developing countries. Within the Jamaican context, the most "unbankable" businessperson may be poor Black men from the marginalized downtown ghettos, and rethinking gender may be necessary given this context.

**Houle, David – david.houle @ utoronto.ca**

*Climate Change Policy in Canada and United States*

In recent years, the importance of the interplay between United States and Canadian climate change policy has increased greatly. First, the Canadian government explicitly states it will harmonize Canadian policy with that of the United States. Second, policy in some provinces and States is being influenced as much by their cross-border alliances (WCI, New England/Atlantic) as by federal-provincial/State policy making. Thirdly, some important players, such as the Alberta oil sands industry, appear to be influenced more by developments in United States policy than by Canadian. Questions addressed by the roundtable include: who are the most influential actors in climate change policy in each country and is there a difference between US and Canada? What is the impact of change in the executive branch on climate change policy? Did new diplomatic initiative or international negotiation have a determinant role to play in the development of domestic climate change policy? What evaluation can we make of the efforts accomplished so far in Canada and United States at the sub-federal or federal level? Why have States and provinces been relatively more active than federal governments so far? To what extent has policy, in Canada and United States, been influenced by the will to harmonize policy between the two countries (or between sub-federal jurisdictions)?

**Hove, Jennifer – j.hove @ utoronto.ca and Fletcher, Joseph F. – josephf @ chass.utoronto.ca**

*Emotional Determinants of Support for the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan*

Canada's military engagement in Afghanistan continues to figure highly in the public consciousness, spurring debate on perceived progress, Canada's schedule for withdrawal, and our willingness to bear casualties. Despite the many political considerations at play, there is an emotional core to the issue that is often overlooked in both academic and policy circles. In an earlier paper based on the analysis of national survey data we found that declining public support for the Afghanistan mission was due to the interplay of three factors: attitudes regarding Canada's appropriate military role, cognitive evaluations of available information, and emotive responses (Fletcher, Bastedo and Hove, 2009). In drawing attention to the centrality of emotion in public judgments regarding military engagement, our analysis was restricted by the limited number of emotional indicators in the data. In this paper, we seek to investigate a broader range of emotional influences on attitudes toward the Afghan mission through the use of open ended questions and experimental framing of emotional cues with student samples. When compared with studies conducted in the US (Gartner, 2008; Huddy, Feldman and Cassese, 2007) our findings suggest some of the ways in which Canadians and Americans form distinct emotional communities (Rosenwein, 2007) in support for and reactions to war.

**Howard, Dana – Dana\_Howard @ brown.edu**

*The Scoundrel and the Visionary: Rawls on Reasonable Hope*

Rawls asserts that political philosophy ought to be realistically utopian; it ought to extend what we ordinarily take to be "the limits of practical political possibility." Once we are supplied with a realistic utopian understanding of justice, Rawls claims, "no longer simply longing, our hope becomes reasonable hope." Though somewhat elusive, the relationship between reasonable hope and political philosophy is a common theme in Rawls's theory. The relationship seems to be symbiotic. Rawls argues that political philosophy is a non-starter without the support of a reasonable faith in the possibility of justice or in the moral nature of mankind. At the same time, the right kind of political philosophy will foster reasonable hope in us. But what makes hope reasonable? And what sorts of theories of justice are best suited to foster reasonable hope in us? To answer these questions, this paper consists of two parts. First, I investigate Rawls's conception of reasonability in general. Second, I analyze a specific critique that Rawls makes of a kind of political philosophy that doesn't foster the right kind of hope – namely Marx's Communism. The paper argues that together, these analyses show how political liberalism can function as a form of critique by exposing the unreasonable nature of certain hopes we intuitively hold. Sometimes it is unreasonable to hope to remedy certain conditions we take to be social ills even when to do so is both possible and practicable. This is because the hope betrays a moral or epistemic unreasonableness on our part.

**Howell, Alison – alisonr.howell @ manchester.ac.uk**

*Mental Health Sector Reform in Iraq: A Case Study in the Medicalization of Security*

Through an examination of mental health sector reform in post-liberation Iraq, this paper argues that psychiatry has been used as a technology of security in the context of war. Drawing on Foucault and Foucauldian work on the history and sociology of medicine, the paper begins by tracing how, from the nineteenth Century onwards, psychiatry has instantiated its authority through a claim to provide social security within national spaces, both through methods of sovereign confinement and through liberation and governance. In order to argue that medicine is increasingly used as a technology of international security, the article illustrates this process by examining psychiatric practice in Iraq, where those incarcerated in Baghdad's Al Rashad psychiatric institution were accidentally liberated by American marines in 2003.

Iraq's 'mentally ill' were at first considered a manageable security threat and thus subject to liberal community governance efforts. Yet after the so-called suicide bombing of two pet markets in 2008, reportedly by former Al Rashad patients, the mad and those associated with them were rounded up and subject to sovereign confinement, marking a failure in liberal governance. This paper thus seeks to explore some of the complex lines connecting sovereignty, security, and psychiatry in post-'liberation' Iraq, and also in global politics more generally.

**Howell, Graham – grhowell @ connect.carleton.ca**

*God-like ruler and the Mortal God: Julius Caesar and Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan*

The proposed paper will interpret the meaning of Hobbes' account of the State of Nature through the fate of Julius Caesar. I will argue that the three chapters leading up to Hobbes' account of the state of nature in Leviathan make it clear that the threat of the state of the nature is as much meant to teach a political lesson to a Caesar as it is to the subject of the meanest capacity.

There are two clues which suggest Caesar's importance for understanding Hobbes' political philosophy. The first is in the role which Caesar's death plays in the later half of chapter 11 of Leviathan, There Hobbes lays out a number of types of ignorance which have political meaning. Caesar's death is raised in the importance of understanding the difference between "the many actions of a number of Senators" and the "one action of all the Senators." The second is in Hobbes' explicit reference to conspiracy in the discussion of the equality of the body. The paper intends to work out what Hobbes' political philosophy would have taught a Caesar, an adored hero and god-like figure in Roman politics, about politics.

**Howlett, Catherine – c.howlett @ griffith.edu.au and MacCallum, Diana – D.MacCallum @ griffith.edu.au**

*The State, Mineral Development and Indigenous People: Convergences and Divergences in Canada and Australia*

There have been suggestions in recent Canadian literature that neoliberalism and globalisation present positive opportunities for Indigenous communities engaging in resource development projects on their traditional lands. This literature emphasises the need for the state to provide unimpeded access to resources in a globalised world, and how this dynamic has facilitated rapid change in the relationship between Indigenous communities and the state. This paper will present evidence from emerging research on the changing role of the state in such an Indigenous community in Northern Australia – Weipa Nth Queensland. Initial findings indicate that the state's role has indeed diminished in this community in relation to Indigenous development and service provision, yet it appears to have devolved these responsibilities to the mining company. Thus state responsibility to Indigenous people has been given to the private sector. This paper examines the implications of this voluntary devolution of responsibility for Indigenous development and questions whether this represents a positive opportunity for Indigenous people in the region.

**Hudon, Pierre-André – pierre-andre.hudon @ uottawa.ca and Zaato, Joshua Jebuntie – jzat040 @ uottawa.ca**

*Lessons from Failed Public-Private Partnerships in the Ottawa Region: The Fate of Lansdowne Park*

After many years of hesitation, the City of Ottawa is undertaking public consultation in order to get the approval for a project to renovate Lansdowne Park, a sports and fare complex just south of the city centre. According to the current proposal, the project will be undertaken as a public-private partnership (PPP). Under the proposed agreement, a municipal corporation and a private promoter would enter into an agreement to renovate the complex (including a football stadium, a hockey arena and a parking lot) and build new retail, office and residential space.

However, given the history of PPP failures in the Ottawa region and the strong opposition from citizens and business owners, it seems relevant to critically analyze this endeavour. In this paper, we propose to study two failed PPPs, the Ottawa Light Rail Transit Plan and Gatineau's Robert-Guertin Arena, and draw lessons from their failed experimentations with this mode of procurement that could apply to Lansdowne Park.

The paper will be structured as follows. First, we will review the theory regarding PPPs and democratic municipal governance. Second, we will propose a normative framework of good governance in the municipal sector, tailor-made to infrastructure matters. Third, we will critically analyze the decision-making process and contractual agreements involved in the failure of Ottawa Light Rail Transit Plan and Gatineau's Robert-Guertin Arena in order to identify key issues regarding infrastructure PPPs in municipalities. Finally, we will use this knowledge to draw lessons that could be relevant to the future of the Lansdowne Park project.

**Huey, Laura – lhuey @ uwo.ca and Hryniewicz, Danielle – daniellehryniewicz @ gmail.com**

*When Is a Spade not a Spade? Voluntary Police Associations and Interest Group Work*

The police, like other groups in civil society, have a vested interest in the outcome of government policy deliberations. Collectively, they often attempt to advance policy agendas through a number of lobbying techniques that suggest that their voluntary associations could be properly understood as 'interest groups'. And yet, there is often ambivalence or a deep reluctance on the part of police organizations to characterize their 'politicking' as interest group work. Within the present paper, I employ interest group literature to properly situate police organizational activities in federal public policy domains. Then I draw on interviews, media reports and various other materials to explain police reluctance to be seen as overtly 'political', as well as to elucidate some of the rhetorical strategies used to recast police interest group work. The overall goal of this paper is to contribute to a surprisingly thin literature on the 'politics of the police'.

**Hughes, Michael – michael.hughes @ queensu.ca**

*The Violence of Legitimacy, The Illegitimacy of Violence: A Critical Examination of "Tests" of Legitimacy in Humanitarian Intervention*

Much scholarship has been written since the late 1990s and in particular after the publication of the 2001 ICISS Report *The Responsibility to Protect*, on humanitarian intervention, justification through just war theory, and legitimacy. Within the theorizing on intervention itself, an important debate has centred on different conceptions or “tests” of justness and legitimacy, and the different forms they take in the international system, principally in the scholarship on the operationalizability and applicability of intervention. This paper begins by bringing together theorizing on both just war and legitimacy in order to systematize these approaches so as to generate a typology of theoretical tests used in the calculations related to humanitarian intervention. The paper then interrogates these categories of tests, their interconnectedness, contradictions, and hierarchies. It is argued that a model of “legitimacy” or “justness” for humanitarian intervention cannot withstand critical interrogations of the individual tests themselves, or of the interrelation dynamics between these types of tests. In the final section, the paper critically examines just war and legitimacy in humanitarian intervention by reading together Hannah Arendt’s distinction between justification and legitimacy and their relationship to violence and power, and Slavoj Žižek’s typology of violence. Here, two arguments are advanced. First, that Arendt’s power and violence, and their enablers legitimacy and justification, represent different modes of violence once violence is theorized beyond what Žižek terms its subjective form. Second, and as a result, when theorized beyond their own terms, humanitarian intervention’s constructed tests, and intervention itself, represent different modes of violence and as such as both illegitimate and unjust. The paper concludes by briefly charting an approach to theorizing humanitarian intervention beyond legitimacy.

**Hurrelmann, Achim – achim\_hurrelmann @ carleton.ca**

*Legitimizing the Euro-polity with the Help of State Concepts: Evidence from Public Discourse*

In the late 1990s, Philippe Schmitter suggested that new theoretical concepts – not “stato” or “(con)federatio”, but “consortio” and “condominio” – might be needed to conceptualize the medium-term future of the EU, and that new ideas should be developed to provide for the democratic legitimation of this type of entity. Public discourse about the EU and its legitimacy, however, seems to be greatly less creative: Both positive and negative evaluations of the EU tend to be based on state models, and are usually framed in the language of state-based democratic politics.

Yet while new concepts of democratic legitimacy have been slow to develop, it is possible that the application of state-based concepts to the EU, and the various kinds of relationship that are established between the legitimacy of the EU and that of its member states (derivation, analogy, complementarity, etc.), amount to shifts in meaning that are no less fundamental than the ones Schmitter had in mind.

To test whether such conceptual transformations have indeed occurred, this paper takes a look at the role that references to the state, or to state-based forms of democratic politics, play in the discursive legitimation of the EU. The paper is based on a comprehensive study of media debates about the EU in four countries (United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Austria) between 2000 and 2008. It traces the importance of state concepts in legitimating (or delegitimizing) the EU, and analyzes whether these concepts themselves are changing through their application to the EU.

**Huscroft, Grant – grant.huscroft @ uwo.ca**

*The Reference Power Revisited*

The ability of governments to refer questions to the courts for their “advice” is a longstanding feature of Canadian law, and the Supreme Court of Canada has participated in many of key constitutional law moments – everything from division of powers questions to patriation of the Canadian constitution and Québec separation. The Court has also been involved in Charter disputes including same sex marriage and will soon be involved in the polygamy debate as well.

The reference procedure does not exist in Canada’s closest constitutional relatives – England, Australia, or New Zealand – nor does it exist in the United States. Its existence in Canada has a distorting effect on our political processes: it places the Court at the centre of leading political controversies, and it should come as no surprise that the Court has acted politically as a result.

In this paper I will argue that governments should take responsibility for articulating their own constitutional positions rather than seeking the prior approval of the courts through the reference procedure. This is the best means of rehabilitating the democratic aspect of our constitutional order. It is also the best means of having a meaningful dialogue between legislators and courts.

**Aitken, Rob – raitken @ ualberta.ca and Ilcan, Suzan – silcan @ uwindsor.ca**

*Postwar Development, Governmentalities, and Genealogies of World Order*

The notion of world order remains important both to the theory and the practice of Development and International Relations (IR). The notion of world order is, as Mitchell Dean notes, a ‘political mythology’ that enables certain forms of ‘global’ political action. This paper contributes to recent attempts, like Dean’s, to situate this political mythology in a more complicated critical context. It advances the argument that a liberal governing rationality of rule, as one of the genealogical lines of world order, informed various institutional sites and ‘development’ debates and practices during the interwar and postwar period. Based on archival and historical research, the paper examines the United Nations (UN) institutions and their postwar development efforts which, among other things, shaped the notion of world order and targeted and administered particular populations. In this context, the paper analyzes the ways in which certain populations were conceived, marked, and administered through liberal and authoritarian governing techniques initiated by two key UN organizations, namely, the United Nations Information Office and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and their postwar development plans. The management of these populations involved advancing ideas of the relations between human life and the new world order, making links between the war-torn past and the future of vital populations, and engaging in governmental strategies that aimed to ‘improve’ populations. Early postwar development

attempts by the UN are, as we argue, moments in which a new set of language and practices of world order is made visible.

**Inwood, Greg – ginwood @ ryerson.ca**

*Of Leaps of Faith and Policy Change: The Macdonald Royal Commission*

Occasionally, broad-based programmatic commissions of inquiry profoundly influence policy agendas for generations of Canadians. But these idea-generating bodies remain vastly under-studied. This paper examines the 1985 Macdonald Royal Commission's key role in facilitating a "transformative moment" in the trajectory of Canadian public policy through a neo-institutional framework of ideas, institutions, actors and relations. The Commission influenced the federal government to reverse 100 years of economic development policy by recommending a "leap of faith" into free trade with the US. In so doing, it temporarily supplanted the larger set of institutions of the Canadian political economy (parties, parliament, first ministers, courts, etc.) through which policy contestation is normally reflected. The Commission was the largest, most expensive, most far-reaching inquiry in Canadian history as implied by one observer's summation of its marching orders – "The universe is in trouble – please advise." It was given an absurdly broad mandate, launched ignominiously/prematurely by a leak, and greeted with scepticism as a hobby-horse for the chairperson's political ambitions. But it nonetheless offered an institutional forum for contending ideas and interests. The signature recommendation of the Commission was adopted by the government and ushered in profound policy change. On the basis of archival research, interviews with key Commission actors and a survey of literature by and about the Macdonald Commission, this paper explains how this policy change was realized, and whether any broader lessons can be learned about Commissions and policy change.

**Islam, Akm – akmkhair @ siu.edu**

*Sino-India Relations: Protracted Conflict or Growing Cooperation*

Asian China and India are rapidly growing states and ascending powers in the global politics. Both countries have great power ambition and potentiality. They have more than one billion people, a huge a rapidly growing economy, and rising military, industrial and scientific capabilities. China's and India's large geographic size and geo-strategic locations also make them key actors in Asian politics. Realist scholars are pessimistic about future harmonious relations. They argue that security dilemma and struggle for regional dominance inhibit long-term and cordial Sino-Indian relations. However, despite gloomy predictions, both countries have improved their relations a lot in recent years. The questions are: how these two countries have been engaging with one another since the end of the Cold War? What factors are shaping their relations? The paper discusses these two questions. The paper is divided into the following sections: section one looks at the brief history of their relationship; section two discusses positive aspects of their relationship; section three examines negative aspects of their relationship; and the last section synthesizes the paper and makes a conclusion.

Key Words: China, India, Sino-India relations, Asian Balance of Power

**Jacob, Bev – bkjacobs @ ucalgary.ca**

*Environmental Racism and Indigenous Peoples Territories*

Social scientists and environmental activists (including Indigenous Peoples) have highlighted arguments of environmental racism around the world. The term "environmental racism refers to intentional or unintentional racial discrimination in the enforcement of environmental rules and regulations or the intentional or unintentional targeting of minority communities in siting polluting industries"<sup>1</sup>. Environmental justice movements have responded to environmental racism. But has this been highlighted in Canada? And why hasn't it? Is it because we are still living within white settler mythologies and that European conquest and colonization<sup>2</sup> are consistently and most recently denied by PM Stephen Harper?

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the intersectionality of racism, class and the lands of Indigenous peoples; about the relationship between people of colour and exposure to environmental hazards. It will highlight the underreportedness of environmental injustices occurring within and around Indigenous peoples' territories globally and more specifically, in Canada. It will also provide various examples of environmental racism occurring on Indigenous peoples' territories (ie Lubicon, Kashechewan, Walpole Island) and make suggestions to respond with a more universal and unifying environmental justice movement by Indigenous peoples and their allies.

<sup>1</sup> Chavis, Jr., Benjamin F. and Lee, Charles Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, 1987

<sup>2</sup> Sherene H. Razack, "When Place Becomes Race" in Sherene Razack (ed.) Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society. Publisher: Between The Lines, 2002 at p. 2

**Jarvey, Paul – paul.jarvey @ gmail.com**

*Canada's and Mexico's Role in Constructing (or Constraining) US Power: A Political-Economy Overview*

Through their consumer markets and investment opportunities, their abundant mineral and petroleum resources, and their continuing supplies of skilled and unskilled labour, Canada and Mexico have proven the most important foreign material sources of US economic strength.

In border security matters, outlaw civil society organizations in Canada and Mexico present the greatest threat to the United States as producers and suppliers of illegal narcotics and as possible conduits for US-destined terrorists. At the same time, the two peripheral states provide crucial anti-terrorist border security to the United States, making the Canadian and Mexican governments Washington's most important allies in its wars on drugs and terror.

In the international arena, Canada and Mexico's roles vis-à-vis the United States are inconsistent. On the one hand, they construct US power by spreading the norms that buttress US global economic hegemony when they negotiate their

own free-trade and investment treaties with other states. On the other hand, Canada has supported US resistance to the multilateral Kyoto protocol, while Mexico has defiantly thwarted US foreign policy in Central America.

Our analysis leads to a puzzling conclusion. Although Canada and Mexico have occasionally succeeded in leveraging their assets into effective action, they have historically exerted less influence on the United States than their actual contribution to its wealth and security would seem to warrant.

**Jarvis, Douglas – djarvis2 @ connect.carleton.ca**

*The Family As The Embryonic Foundation of Political Rule in Western Philosophy: A Comparative Analysis of Aristotle's Politics and Hegel's Philosophy of Right*

As major transitions occur in contemporary family life and sexual morality, it is essential to re-examine the historical relationship that has existed between the family and the political community with political philosophy. This paper argues that despite the almost incomparable differences in the historical context of their times, along with their very different approaches to the question of the 'family', both Aristotle and Hegel share a common stance on this institution. Besides the 'natural' (in Aristotelian terms), or 'rational' (in Hegelian terms) divisions of labor in gender terms that many feminists have critically noted in their philosophies, along with the implications this circumstance holds for the 'domesticated' wife during Western history, there is a more purely political connection. The principle that both thinkers share is that the family is the particularized foundation in which the universalized rule of law is validated according to the political structure of the 'Polis' or 'State' itself, as defined by the specific philosophy of each thinker. This composite whole or structure of society (Ancient Polis/Modern State) is the political 'end' of humanity for both philosophers, which in turn finds its primordial 'beginning' in the family. For Aristotle, it is in the 'Kingly' rule of the household that the property based distinction of citizenship is set for the aristocratic rule of his ideal Polis. For Hegel, it is in the spiritual love affirmed through caring affection within the modern nuclear family that the dialectical framework for the individualized freedom of civil society, and the rational unity of a final congregational "spirit" in the State, finds its 'spiritual' foundation. For both Aristotle and Hegel, their concept of the family sets the legal and moral base for a political theory that defines citizenship in a manner that transcends the particularities of kin bonds.

**Jedwab, Jack – jack.jedwab @ acs-aec.ca**

*Roundtable 1: Tracking Federalism: The State of the Canadian Union in the 21st Century*

In the 1990's, national polling firms introduced a series of survey questions that permitted tracking of attitudes towards Canadians' attitudes towards federalism. One of the better known tracks was the "Portraits of Canada" commissioned by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada. Over the period, 1998–2005, the focus of the "Portraits of Canada" was to examine how the population of Canada evaluated the state of federal–provincial relations, the division of powers, the degree of attachment to Canada and other related subjects. In 2008, the Association for Canadian Studies, restored much of the track by commissioning two consecutive national surveys (2008 and 2009) with several of the questions that appeared in the "Portraits of Canada". The results of the surveys point towards a growing sense of regional discontent, especially amongst Ontarians, as well as a re-envisioning of Canada where only a minority of Canadian respondents see the Federation as characterized by ten equal provinces.

Hence, our roundtable participants will offer their input on the questions below:

- Is there a growing sense of grievance on the part of the provinces around their relationship with the federal government and to what might such grievance be attributable?
- In addition to region, how important are language, age, and education in influencing views on federal–provincial relations?
- How does the level of support for multiculturalism relate to opinion on the idea of Canada as a country with several nations?
- What is the relationship between strong federal identification and views on Canada's role internationally?

**Jeffrey, Brooke – b.jeffrey @ rogers.com**

*Accountability and Officers of Parliament: The Case of the PBO*

In opposition, the Conservative Party strongly supported the creation of a PBO. In power, one of the first acts of the Harper government was to introduce wide-ranging accountability legislation ( FAA) which led to the creation of the PBO, a move originally supported by all opposition parties. Yet since its inception the PBO has proven highly controversial. Originally the subject of a pitched internal battle within the bureaucracy, the mandate, independence and resources of the Office and its embattled leader, former federal ADM Kevin Paige, have now been publicly disputed by senior bureaucrats and parliamentarians, despite widespread agreement that its early work has been both competent and insightful. The report of a parliamentary committee tasked with resolving the problem has instead added to the controversy, which threatens to undermine the credibility of the Office and the government. Using an empirical method involving interviews with principal actors, public statements and internal working documents, as well as a comparison of the PBO structure with that of similar posts, this paper will attempt to determine whether the mandate of the PBO is fatally flawed, as some critics have claimed, or whether a combination of unique mandate, political ambivalence and opportunism and vested interests have combined to hamper the functioning of Canada's most recent parliamentary watchdog.

**Jeffrey, Brooke – b.jeffrey @ rogers.com**

*Stephen Harper's Open Federalism and the Quebec Conundrum: Political Opportunism or Something More?*

As a policy adviser to Reform leader Preston Manning and a Reform MP who served as his party's intergovernmental affairs critic, Stephen Harper consistently advocated a more decentralized federal system. He claimed 'distengagement',

or the withdrawal of the federal government's involvement in a wide range of policy areas under provincial jurisdiction, would restore balance to federal–provincial relations, and lead to greater national unity.

Harper's view of Quebec's place in the federation was also consistent, exemplified by his opposition to the recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society" in the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords.

However once in power the Harper Conservatives quickly adopted a number of apparently contradictory positions vis a vis Quebec. From his parliamentary resolution recognizing Quebec as a nation and offer of a seat at UNESCO, to his willingness to let the province have a say on the criminal code, Harper's special treatment of Quebec seemed to fly in the face of the principles of open federalism. Similarly Harper's reduction in equalization payments for the province, cuts to cultural programs and determination to pursue a single national securities regulator in the face of concerted opposition from the Quebec government, have led many to question his political judgement.

Many observers have argued the government's seemingly erratic Quebec agenda has been driven by political opportunism and incompetence. While these factors have played a part, this paper argues Harper's underlying commitment to neoliberal ideology provides a more complete explanation of the motivation behind his government's approach towards Quebec, an approach more consistent and coherent than previously recognized.

**Johns, Carolyn – cjohns @ ryerson.ca**

*The Walkerton Inquiry: An Analysis of Policy Change Ten Years after the Tragedy*

The Walkerton Inquiry has been characterized by some analysts as one of the most extensively covered and successful public inquiries in recent years. The Walkerton tragedy was a classic policy 'focusing event' for Ontarians and Canadians. This paper documents and explains the extent of policy change using a neo–institutional approach, with a particular emphasis on the role of ideas in the problem definition, framing and agenda setting process. Through a pre and post inquiry analysis, it is argued in this paper that almost 10 years after the Walkerton tragedy in May 2000, some very tangible, observable policy and public administration changes are evident. All of the recommendations made by Justice O'Connor in his 2002 reports were adopted by the government of Ontario and a significant reinvestment was made to implement new water policies in the province. While arguably some of the policy changes would have likely occurred in the absence of the inquiry, this paper analyzes the inquiry as an important, yet temporary, institutional venue which significantly altered the ideas, institutions and constellation of actors engaged in water policy in Ontario and to some degree other provinces. It also argues that despite evidence of significant policy change, when examined more broadly from a comparative and environmental perspective policy change has been much more limited.

**Johns, Michael – mjohns @ laurentian.ca**

*The Question of Social Cohesion in the European Union: Blurring the line between "new" and "old" minorities*

This paper will explore the long–term ramifications of the European Union's inability and/or unwillingness to engage in issues surrounding social integration. Within the EU's territory there remain unresolved issues surrounding established national minorities and transitory minorities such as the Roma, and migrants from outside and inside the EU. This last group is of particular interest as they are a group unique to the EU and its free movement of people. These migrants, mostly from Eastern Europe will soon have free movement throughout the EU. This combination of old and "new" minorities represents potential security threats to both the state and the region as a whole. Having helped create some of these problems and been wilfully absent in addressing others, the EU must begin the process of implementing a security policy in relation to social cohesion.

The paper will rely primarily on elite–level interviews conducted throughout Europe in the summer of 2009 to provide a full picture of the role International Organizations can and potentially, must play in conflict prevention. The paper will argue that as we become an ever more globalized world, it is impossible for states alone to be responsible for the security issues associated with the movement of people and minority protection. Moreover, the paper argues that the divide between issues concerning national minorities and migrant groups is growing increasingly blurred. The paper argues that the need for the EU to address both of these issues in terms of social cohesion illustrates this new reality.

**Johnson, Candace – cajohnso @ uoguelph.ca**

*Constructions of Mother Virtue and Maternal Citizenship*

This paper will explore various conceptions of virtue in relation to motherhood. In countries with sharp public/ private distinctions, such as Canada and the United States, virtues that maintain the division of private and public life are of paramount importance. Accordingly, I argue that modesty (defined as regard for social and/ or cultural boundaries for behaviour; reservedness) is a predominant and high priority virtue of mothering. It appears that the practice of maternal activities is expected to occur in the private sphere of the home, family, community, and not in the public sphere of work or other formal political or social obligations. This understanding of virtue follows the pre–modern (primarily Aristotelian) formulation of virtue as supreme, transcendent, aspiration of the divine. It is virtue that defines how things ought to be, rather than things as they are (the Rousseauian variant). Both interpretations of virtue purportedly represent and honour "the natural". The former identifies nature as divine and the latter as distinctly human.

In order to demonstrate the centrality of the "supreme" virtue of modesty, as well as resistance to it, I will begin with a discussion of feminist virtue ethics. In the second section I will expand this discussion, examine virtues that are particularly relevant to the experiences of conception, pregnancy and childbirth, and consider the tension between Ancient and Rousseauian conceptions of virtue. In the third section of the paper I will consider the implications of feminist virtue ethics for maternal citizenship. How do virtues, as practices aimed at securing the Good Life (living in accordance with the natural human condition), shape and change the relationship between (maternal) citizens and the state? The fourth

and final section examines competing frames (nature/ virtue vs. rights/ justice) that define the politics of maternal citizenship.

**Johnson, Genevieve Fuji – genevieve\_johnson @ sfu.ca**

*Deliberative Democracy: Assessing the State of Practice*

This presentation will take a critical perspective on the most recent literature concerning theories and practices of deliberative democracy. The emphasis will be on the latter. Indeed, there has been a recent proliferation of writings on deliberative democratic policy practices. Are these cases of deliberative democracy? Do they, in other words, fulfill the criteria of inclusion, procedural equality, access to information, public reason, general agreement, and deliberative empowerment? What contributions can they make to reforming policy processes? What contributions can they make to understanding the possibilities and limitations of the deliberative democratic ideal? These are the central questions animating this paper.

**Johnson, Heather L. – johnsohl @ mcmaster.ca**

*Estrangement, Encampment and Power*

The UNHCR has long considered voluntary repatriation as the “only” durable solution for the “refugee problem.” This assumption that forced migrants must return home is mirrored in increased practices of deportation at Western borders. In the space of time between arrival and repatriation or deportation, the daily lives of migrants are characterized strongly by a sense of permanent temporariness, of insecurity and of exclusion. It is a time of estrangement, contained within and marked by encampment. Theorists following the tradition of Agamben have taken note of this, and investigated the space of the camp as abject, exclusionary and disempowering as sovereign power imposes itself. Here, I take up these claims and challenge them through an examination of camp zones in both Tanzania and Morocco. Building upon empirical research conducted in 2008, I assess the space of the camp in Tanzania as a space designed explicitly to create abject conditions. In contrast, the spontaneous camps in Morocco represent a demand and assertion of power on the part of the migrants. Recognizing this reveals fissures in the sovereign power that seems to be so omnipotent in the Tanzanian camps, and demands a re-evaluation of our understanding of the space of the camp.

**Johnson, James – jd.johnson @ rochester.edu**

*Pragmatism & Political Economy: “Institutional Imagination” from Dewey to Unger.*

A neglected feature of pragmatist political thought is the central role that it accords to institutions. Too often, political theorists interpret the pragmatist commitment to robust democracy as an amorphous commitment to democracy as a ‘way of life.’ I will argue that that interpretation is misguided and suggest an alternative reading in which political-economic institutions and their reform emerge as a central concern. In particular I will argue that the very notion of political ideals is, on a pragmatist account, incoherent absent attention to the means of their institutional realization. The paper will draw inspiration from pragmatists from John Dewey through Roberto Unger. But it will focus on the analysis of institutions, how they emerge, operate and change. My aim will be to establish how inquiry into those processes is essential to our ability to imagine and propose alternative institutional arrangements.

**Johnson, Juliet – juliet.johnson @ mcgill.ca**

*The Power of Symbolic Capital: Public Participation in Post-Communist Memorialization*

The fall of Communist governments across East Europe in 1989 and the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought difficult questions of state-building to the fore. As in earlier national movements, cultivating a public sense of the sacred by reframing history and manipulating historical artifacts has been central to asserting the legitimacy of post-communist regimes. Our study investigates how post-communist political actors have attempted to use the “symbolic capital” of monuments and memorials to legitimize their claims on power. In doing so, we ask how does the relative openness of the process affect the development of public memory and regime legitimacy? We investigate this question through the development and analysis of a broad cross-national database on monument creation, alteration, and destruction in post-communist capital cities. Our analysis suggests that more open regimes have more participatory memorialization practices, but that the increasing ability of private actors to participate in creating a state’s symbolic landscape does not necessarily contribute to an increased representation of political openness and ethnic tolerance in monuments and memorials.

**Johnstone, Rachael – 5regj @ queensu.ca**

*Framing Reproductive Rights: The Politics of Abortion Access and Citizenship in a post-Morgentaler Era*

The balance between women’s health and human rights in Canada has become precarious as it relates to reproduction. While once categorized as a criminal offence and a matter of federal jurisdiction, abortion now falls under the rubric of provincial healthcare, but its treatment by politicians and the public is not demonstrative of such a black and white divide. Multiple framings of the issue continue to operate, often in conflict, across Canada. The result of these contested framings of reproductive rights is to limit universal access to a procedure recognized as necessary to women’s health and freedom. This paper will argue that there is a need to move beyond present framings of abortion. It is apparent that the accepted language used to discuss abortion has not evolved with societal changes resulting from its legalization. The world women now inhabit poses different challenges, and, while earlier framings may have had strategic value for specific interests, they are no longer useful to articulate real-world experiences and concerns.

This paper will begin by looking at the multiple framings of abortion rights during and immediately following the Morgentaler cases (1976; 1988) and the rationale for them. Next, it will discuss how reproductive freedom has impacted

the lives of Canadian women in the decades that followed. Finally, it will suggest a reframing of abortion in the political sphere as a fundamental issue of citizenship, and demonstrate how this framing has the potential to satisfy concerns from multiple theoretical camps.

**Jusko, Karen – kljusko @ stanford.edu**

*The Partisan Representation of the Poor: Electoral Geography, Strategic Mobilization, and Implications for Voter Turnout*

How do electoral rules affect the poor? When do parties have an incentive to stand as the party of low-income citizens? When will parties mobilize the electoral support of low-income voters? This discussion presents evidence that rates of turnout among low-income citizens reflect legislators' electoral incentives to be responsive to the poor, and that these electoral incentives are determined by electoral geography — the joint geographic distribution of legislative seats and low-income voters across electoral districts. Further, this discussion demonstrates that under SMD electoral rules (using CES and other post-election studies), low-income voters are more likely to vote in those electoral districts in which they are likely to be pivotal. By presenting a strategic mobilization account of voter turnout, this discussion breaks with current accounts of voter turnout that emphasize facilitative and motivational factors. Instead, this discussion argues that low-income voters' turnout decisions, in fact, reflect parties' electoral incentives to cultivate and mobilize a low-income constituency.

**K.C., Khadga – lovepeace96 @ gmail.com**

*Challenges to Democracy Building in Nepal: Rhetoric and Realities*

Nepal is today in one of the most important and challenging moments in its history. With the abolition of the two centuries old institution of monarchy, Nepal stands at a crossroads from where it has to decide its future course. A key element of this new course would be the nature of the state. Traditionally the Nepali state has been based on agro-military relations backed by the Hindu religion. The beneficiaries of the state privileges were high-caste hill Hindu males who had monopolized the state. The state established clientele relations between the rulers and the ruled. This meant that one had to be close to those in power to benefit from the state. However, with the restoration of democracy in 1990, the basis of the state's legitimacy changed. The agro-military basis was replaced by the constitution, making citizens the source of sovereignty, although it continued to be a declared Hindu state. The current challenges facing Nepal in this context. macro social variables such as ethnicity, territory, religion, culture, language and caste would not be sufficient for understanding Nepali politics. The geopolitical problems “entrenched in local power struggle” is a major factor impinging on the process of state vis a vis. democracy building in Nepal.

With the success of the popular movement 2006, a new vision and concept have evolved in Nepal that has ensured a genuinely inclusive democracy in which all ethnic, lingual and cultural communities have equitable share in the state affairs. This is the process of completing the state building in Nepal.

**Kalie, Merom – merom.kalie @ utoronto.ca**

*The Problem of Ethical Boundaries in the Thought of Martin Buber*

In this paper I examine Martin Buber's approach to ethical boundaries in the context of his call for human connectedness. Martin Buber's main concern was the problem of alienation in the modern world. He saw human connectedness as a fundamental condition of human beings, which has been neglected in modern era and should be restored. Thus he encouraged what he called an “I-You” mode of relationship (in which the subject and the entities to which it relates exist in mutual and spontaneous dialogue), as opposed to the “I-It” mode of relationship (in which the subject puts oneself at the centre and perceives others as separate objects). These ideas also had clear political and social implications; indeed, Buber supported social frameworks that encouraged spontaneous dialogical relationships such as the Hassidic community and the Israeli Kibbutz, and came close to anarchistic and utopian political ideas.

While his thought reflected a deep concern for understanding through dialogue, and despite the emphasis on moral behaviour in his writings, Buber found it difficult to take into account those ethical boundaries that would protect people from one another and that are necessary to cope with actual political and social conflicts. This problem becomes especially interesting in light of Buber's involvement in the political events of his time. The paper examines the way in which Buber chose to develop moral account based on dialogue rather than boundaries between people, and the problems that this account entails.

**Kataoka, Serena – skataoka @ uvic.ca**

*Politicizing Civil Cities: Bridgeview Community Building Initiatives*

There is a movement underway to rebrand Canada as an urban nation. Scholars, journalists and policy makers alike are taking up Jane Jacobs' urbanism in drawing attention to the “diversity” of Canadian cities. By focusing on the multicultural public realm, this approach imposes a vision of what ought to be on the complexity of everyday life, and so is, by definition, romantic. Whatever exceeds (and thereby belies) that vision is relegated to the private realm, which combined with our civility (i.e. respect for privacy), means that we are continually surprised by what seems to erupt from there. An obvious reaction would be to suggest getting over urban romanticism. But since we all have a little romantic inside us, the broader research project from which this paper will be drawn addresses the question: How can romantic urbanism be rendered useful for becoming more critically familiar with our ways of living together? James C. Scott politicizes the private realm and thereby grounds urban romanticism in his famous work *Seeing Like a State*. This paper will show how his use of the metaphor of “seeing” from on high and below distracts from the important conceptual work behind his politicization of everyday life. It will then mobilize his implicit political structure in an analysis of community building

initiatives in Bridgeview, a self-built suburb of Vancouver, which will draw attention to some of the pernicious conditions and implications of his typically 'progressive' approach.

**Katchanovski, Ivan – ikatchan @ fas.harvard.edu**

*Terrorists or Heroes? Politics of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine*

This study analyzes political attitudes concerning the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) after the "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine. The issue of the judicial and political rehabilitation of the OUN and the UPA became one of central political issues in this post-Soviet state. However, academic studies of attitudes towards the OUN-UPA are lacking. Historical studies show that the OUN relied on terrorism and collaborated with Nazi Germany in the mass murder of Jews, other civilians, and POWs, in the beginning of World War Two. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was established by the OUN in 1943, masterminded a campaign of ethnic cleansing of Poles and mounted an anti-Soviet terror campaign after the war. The question is which factors determine attitudes concerning the OUN and the UPA in modern Ukraine. The hypothesis is that regional factors, such as distinct regional political cultures, are the main determinants of the attitudes concerning the OUN and the UPA. This study uses data from a national survey that was commissioned by the author and conducted in Ukraine by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in June 2009. It employs comparative and regression analyses to determine effects of regional factors, compared to other factors, such as ethnicity, language, education, and age, on public attitudes towards the OUN and the UPA. The paper shows that that regional factors and perceptions of the involvement of the OUN and the UPA in mass murder are strongest predictors of views concerning these militant nationalist organizations.

**Katchanovski, Ivan – ikatchan @ fas.harvard.edu**

*Politics of Canadian Television Coverage of Post-Communist Countries: A Comparative Perspective*

This study analyzes the television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada. It is one of the first academic studies of this issue which has policy-relevance since media coverage affects foreign policy agendas and public attitudes towards other countries. The research question is whether there are significant differences in the extent and the content of coverage of post-communist countries on television news programs in Canada. The hypothesis is that post-Soviet countries, with the exception of Russia, receive a smaller amount of coverage than comparable post-communist countries in East Central Europe. Another question is whether political factors affect the coverage of these countries. The hypothesis is that Canadian allies are likely to receive more positive coverage than its adversaries and non-allies not only in the areas of relations between these countries and Canada but also on non-political issues. The final question is whether there are significant differences in the content of the coverage of post-communist countries by American and Canadian television. The respective hypothesis states that political topics occupy a greater proportion of Canadian television reports concerning post-communist countries compared to American television reports. A keyword search of transcripts in the Lexis-Nexis database is employed to identify specific evening news programs that dealt with post-communist countries and were broadcast by major television networks in Canada (CTV and CBC) and the US (ABC, CBS, and NBC) from 2002-2009. This paper uses comparative and content analyses of coded programs to test the hypotheses concerning the politics of Canadian television coverage of post-communist countries.

**Kates, Michael – mjk416 @ nyu.edu**

*Justice in Nonideal Theory*

What is the just way in which to meet injustice? To answer this question, I introduce a distinction between monist as opposed to dualist conceptions of justice. Monist conceptions of justice—of which Rawls' conception of justice as fairness is the paradigmatic example—claim that one set of normative principles apply to both ideal and nonideal circumstances, either because of the identity between both sets of principles or, more generally, because the latter can be derived only from the former. Dualist conceptions of justice, by contrast, maintain that the two practical problems of ideal and nonideal theory require two different sets of normative principle: one set of principles for ideal circumstances and one set of principles for nonideal circumstances. My aim in this paper is to examine the difficulties posed by monist conceptions of justice and thereby to lay the groundwork for a novel account of nonideal theory.

**Kauai, Willy – kauai @ hawaii.edu**

*The Continuity of Hawaiian Citizenship Amid US Occupation*

In 1890, three years prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the last official census recorded a total population of 89,990 residents of Hawaii. Of the total population 48,107 were Hawaiian citizens that included denizens, naturalized foreigners, and those born in the islands of foreign parentage. Accordingly nearly half the population was considered aliens and maintained their respective foreign nationalities. The United States illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom Government, on January 16, 1893, disrupted the municipal basis of Hawaiian citizenship and concealed the international basis of Hawaiian nationality. Considering the status of Hawaii at the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian government as a "co-equal sovereign alongside the United States" (*Kahawaiolaa v. Norton*), and considering the Hawaiian citizenry a legal extension of that sovereignty, this presentation focuses on the question: How did the overthrow and the subsequent occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom government affect Hawaiian citizenship and nationality? And to what extent has law transformed the legal-political identity of Hawaiians? A discursive analysis suggests potential ramifications that bear legal and societal weight in the contemporary issues relating to identity in Hawaii despite a 115 year prolonged occupation.

**Kavalski, Emilian – e.kavalski @ uws.edu.au**

*India and Central Asia: The 'Look North' Policy and the Lack of Influence of a Rising Power*

The growing focus on India's role in global politics attests to the ongoing transformations in the study and practice of international relations. At the same time, the re-emergence of Central Asia as a site of international contestation is another crucial feature of the turbulence in world affairs. By bringing these two dynamics together, this paper illuminates the changing patterns of security governance both in global politics and in New Delhi's international agency. Central Asia, therefore, becomes a prism for teasing out both the underpinnings of New Delhi's external strategies. The narrative process—tracing of the 'Look North' policy illuminates the process and strategies through which the reformulations of national identity in the wake of India's 1998 nuclear tests have provided a platform for the discursive mythmaking of New Delhi's extended influence in Asia and beyond. The currency of this myth derives from (i) a belief in a geopolitical trouncing of the India's perceived international weakness; (ii) an ideology of national strength, which not actively reinterprets the past to fit a national template, but also offers discursive modes for overcoming the uncertainty of globalization through the social production of foreign policy; (iii) the convergence of diverse political interests around (iv) a prevailing narrative of self-aggrandizement.

The paper suggests that India's international agency lacks the power to influence others—that is, it lacks the ability to affect the decision-making of other actors through the capacity to make some policy choices more attractive than others (but without recourse to force or the threat of force). In other words, India still has not been able to establish itself as a model in global politics. Thus, the absence of a readily available Indian vision of global politics—a Pax Indica, if you will—prevents New Delhi from living up to the expectations generated by such narratives.

**Kedrowski, Karen M. – kedrowskik @ winthrop.edu**

*Women's Health Activism in Canada: The Cases of Breast Cancer and Breastfeeding*

My research agenda over the last decade has focused on women's health activism and its impact on media coverage, public opinion and public policy in the United States (US). Specifically, I have focused on the development of breastfeeding and breast cancer activist movements (Kedrowski and Sarow 2007; Kedrowski and Lipscomb 2008). The US breast cancer and breastfeeding movements are similar. Similarities include overcoming the sexual connotations of the breast in Western culture, and advocating for women's interests in the male-dominated cultures of the media, medicine and the scientific establishment. In addition, both advocacy movements attempted to export themselves to other countries. One of the few countries where both movements have taken hold is in Canada.

In this paper, I will describe and analyze the breastfeeding and breast cancer movements in Canada. –My methodology includes interviews with Canadian women's health activists, members of parliament and other agency personnel and other health activists; analysis of Canadian media coverage; and examining government documents and other archival materials. I will pay special attention to the activists' efforts to reach out to French speaking, Indigenous and immigrants women.

Specifically, this project examines the Canadian activist movements' histories; how well they reach out to and integrate diverse groups; the activists' agendas, as compared to those of US activists; and how effectively Canadian activists have gained attention of the media and legislators.

This project will contribute to the growing literature on Canadian politics and the Canadian women's movements, which highlights the distinctiveness of Canadian culture and politics.

**Kellogg, Paul – paulkellogg @ trentu.ca**

*Hollowing Out? Canadian Capitalism in Comparative Context*

A recurring theme of Canadian political economy has been the dependence of Canada's capitalist class. In the 1960s and 1970s the focus of the discussion was on foreign ownership and foreign direct investment – both seen as indicators of an unusual degree of dependence. In recent years, the debate has taken a new form, with a focus on the purchase of long-standing corporate symbols of Canadian capitalism by non-Canadian capitalists. The Canadian economy is being "hollowed out," the argument goes, with dangerous consequences for sovereignty and for social and economic development.

This paper will examine both the empirical and theoretical underpinnings of this argument. It will argue that empirically, the hollowing-out thesis is impossible to sustain. Both in terms of number of acquisitions and value of acquisitions, Canadian corporations are more visible as acquirers of foreign holdings, than as sellers. Theoretically, the paper will challenge the notion that the term "comprador" can be applied to Canada's capitalist class. This is an idea that was current in the 1970's political economy debates, and has returned as a recurring theme in contemporary analyses of Canadian capitalism. The term comprador is best reserved for use with the really dependent economies of sections of the Global South. Canada's capitalist class is increasingly displaying all the signs of an independent class – economically, politically and militarily – in an alliance with the U.S., but as a "relatively autonomous" actor in its own right.

**Kelly, James – james.kelly @ concordia.ca**

*The Constitutional and Political Origins of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act, 1990*

The paper will explore the political and constitutional origins of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act (NZBORA) as part of a broader project of parliamentary reform in reaction to the prime ministership of Robert Muldoon (1975–1984). Unlike the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that was linked to the issue of national unity, the origins of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act were far more modest: the reassertion of parliamentary control over prime ministerial power in a unicameral institution. While the introduction of bills of rights are typically associated with the desire to protect individual rights against arbitrary state power, their origins in Westminster systems based on the principle of parliamentary supremacy may speak more to parliamentary rights vis-à-vis the executive than the rights of citizens vis-à-vis the state. In the case of New Zealand, the serious constraints placed on judicial review and the absence of judicial remedies for

rights violations suggest a weak form of judicial review. This conclusion is misguided as it assumes that strong constitutionalism requires strong form judicial review. The New Zealand example demonstrates strong constitutionalism can be achieved through statutory bills of rights with a specific constitutional purpose: re-establish the principles of parliamentary democracy through a parliamentary–judicial nexus to control the political executive.

**Kempa, Michael – michael.kempa @ uottawa.ca**

*Connections Between Policing and Political Economy: The Case of the RCMP in Hispaniola*

In this paper, I investigate connections between policing and political economy. I develop the ways in which policing can be interpreted as instrumentally, structurally, and conceptually connected to Western capitalist markets, through the test case of RCMP involvement in international policing reform in Hispaniola. The background history and ongoing involvement of the RCMP in the region are critically appraised through participant observation data. I argue that reflexive engagement in international policing reform informed by Foucauldian genealogies of the policing concept can serve as "the thin edge of the wedge" towards the development of innovative political economies that do not speak in terms of, or aspire to, the long-term objectives of Western capitalism, providing highlights for future debate about sustainable markets as the basis for human security.

**Kennedy, Geoff – g.kennedy @ ulster.ac.uk**

*Free-men, Free Labour and neo-Roman Conceptions of Liberty in Early Modern England*

While neo-Roman and republican theorists are correct to highlight the importance of 'independence' to English conceptions of liberty, the contention that this tradition primarily owes its existence to Roman notions of *libertas* must be challenged. Viewed from the top down, it may be the case that the works of Roman writers contributed to the development of English conceptions of liberty. Viewed from the bottom up, however, we need not look to the influence of Rome as a source of liberty and freedom. Through an analysis of the primary literature of the period – including the accounts of Chroniclers and anonymous pamphleteers – this paper seeks to establish a tradition of discourse that defines freedom as a form of independence that is understood in the context of the tenuous relationship between status and tenure experienced by peasants in the relationship to their lords. Whereas the neo-Roman tradition emphasizes the status of the freeman and employs it in the protection of the 'lives, liberties and estates' of the individual against arbitrary power, the tradition discussed here emphasizes the importance of freedom in terms of 'Estates and Persons and Labours.' In this sense, freedom requires not only freedom of one's property and person, but also freedom in terms of one's labour, which in turn necessitates freedom from relations of class exploitation. While neo-Roman conceptions of liberty are ostensibly used to protect the rights of property, this alternative discourse of liberty is ostensibly used to attack the rights of property in the name of the freedom to protect one's labour from the power of landlords.

**Kerby, Matthew – kerbym @ mun.ca**

*Ministerial Resignations and Non-Resignations in Australia*

The paper provides descriptive statistics on the calls for resignation and forced exits in the Australian national (Commonwealth) government 1949–2007). It demonstrates an increasing number of calls for resignation on both personal and policy grounds. It argues that the increasing number of calls is a result of both institutional changes in government and new culture of media reporting.

**Kerby, Matthew – kerbym @ mun.ca**

*The Patterns and Effects of Subnational Political Experience on Federal Level Career Paths in Canada: 1867–2008.*

Canada provides a unique case with which to study the intralevel movement of political elites. Unlike many other political systems Canadian politics lack a clear linear progression of political promotion which starts at the lowest level of political life and then moves on to the highest level. When combined with the observation that Canadian federal politics are further characterized by high levels voluntary turnover, especially among political amateurs who lack political experience, the relationship (or lack of relationship) between federal and subnational level political experience is even more puzzling. This paper proposes takes a closer look at the effects of municipal and provincial level political experience on federal level ministerial career paths. Subnational political experience is used as an independent variable to explore variation in rates of ministerial appointment as well as the hazard of cabinet departure. Particular focus is paid to those ministers who choose to "leave" the federal cabinet to take up a new career at the provincial level of government.

**Kerby, Matthew – kerbym @ mun.ca**

*Chief Ministers and the National Cabinet: The Politics of Vertical Executive Mobility in India, 1952–2004*

As a parliamentary federation, India provides multiple opportunities for the political elite to pursue and occupy executive office. Sometimes a career in the sub-national executive, the state cabinet, serves as a training ground that prepares individual politicians for executive office at the national level. On other occasions, sub-national experience is actually a hindrance that prevents an individual from moving up into the national executive. Moreover, individual ministers may also start their career at the national level before assuming executive office in a state.

This paper studies the issue of vertical executive mobility across the national–subnational divide through the specific examination of the career paths of Chief Ministers, heads of the sub-national governments. The paper looks at both the upward (from state government to the national cabinet) and downward (from national cabinet to the state government) movement in Chief Ministers' careers. The temporal scope of the paper extends from the first free elections after Independence to the present (1952–2004) and it includes the Chief Ministers of the 16 largest states of the Indian Union. The specific questions that the paper seeks to answer are the following: i) under what conditions are Chief Ministers more,

or less, likely, to enter national executive, or legislative, office after they finish their term at the helm of the state executive? ii) under what conditions does national cabinet experience promote the likelihood that an individual minister becomes the Chief Minister of a state?

**Kerby, Matthew – kerbym @ mun.ca**

*Explaining Changes in Elite Turnover: The Case of National and Provincial Legislative Assemblies in Pakistan*

Elite turnover measured since 1985 to 2008 in both national and provincial levels of government in Pakistan has been observed to be consistently low, while elite continuity has been consistently high. The one anomaly to this trend is observed in 2002, when the military regime under General Musharraf holds the general election. Interestingly enough the increase in elite turnover at the national level is less than that at the provincial level.

By examining turnover rates for those members of the National Assembly (NA) elected from the province of Punjab (approx 55% of the NA) and for members of the Provincial Assembly of Punjab (371 members), this paper contends that the consistently low turnover rates are explained, contrary to the existent scholarship, by the criteria used for candidate–selection and not the nature of the electorate. The main finding is that the level of party identification in the constituencies is the main determinant of selection criteria and hence a crucial party prerogative– control over the access a candidate has to the party label and ballot.

Moreover, the paper suggests that the difference in the turnover rate experience at the national and provincial level in 2002 is explained by the variable, additive, impact of changes made to the political system (introduction of the local government ordinance, change in the eligibility criteria of who qualifies to contest an election, increasing the number of constituencies through redistricting and change in the party system through the creation of a faction of the Pakistan Muslim League) by the military regime on the candidate–selection criteria for the two levels of government

**Kerby, Matthew – kerbym @ mun.ca**

*The Electoral Consequences of Ministerial Exit in Canada: 1867–2008*

This research examines the electoral consequence of ministerial exit from the Canadian federal cabinet for the period 1867–2008. Studies of ministerial careers typically examine the determinants of appointment, exit or duration. Rarely do they consider the consequence of such career shocks on electoral success or failure. The first objective of this paper is to provide a topographic overview of electoral ascent, descent or failure of ex–ministers in the general election that follows their cabinet exit. The second objective is to identify and test a number of conditions and variables which are hypothesized to impact the electoral success or failure of ex–ministers. The data used to study this phenomenon consist of the population of ex–ministers and their electoral fortunes. Insights shed specific light on the Canadian case and provide insight for future research in other Westminster parliamentary democracies.

**Kern, Kristine – kristine.kern @ wur.nl Bidinorva, Asya – asya.bidinorva @ utoronto.ca, Gordon, David – david.gordon @ utoronto.ca, Hayden, Anders – anders.hayden @ gmail.com, Scheiner, Stefan – s.scheiner @ iwar.tu-darmstadt.de and Macdonald, Douglas – douglas.macdonald @ utoronto.ca**

*Climate Governance in Federated Systems*

Climate change, because it requires fundamental societal transformation, engendering highly motivated political conflict, is one of the most difficult issues facing governments today. The proposed paper will argue this challenge is magnified in the case of federated systems such as Canada, the US, Germany and the EU. In such systems, the existence of subfederal governments (Canadian provinces, US states, German Länder and EU member states) motivated to protect their own economic interests as they bargain or act unilaterally within their federated policy making system makes policy co–ordination (already an enormous challenge for climate change, given the multitude of actors whose behaviour must change) much more complex.

The proposed paper will provide comparative analysis of policy making since 1992 within those four federated systems. The analytical focus will be upon the reciprocal interplay of interests and institutions and associated dynamics which impede or facilitate co–ordination of policy amongst federal and subfederal governments. Beyond that analytical focus, the paper will identify incremental institutional changes which can be implemented by governments to facilitate development of effective and legitimate climate policy. The theoretical perspective will draw upon current academic understanding of federalism and intergovernmental relations and climate change policy in multi–level systems. The analysis will be of value to scholars of federalism and to professional climate–change policy makers. The authors have researched and written extensively upon climate change policy making in the four federated systems and are presently collaborating upon SSHRC–funded analysis of this issue.

**Kershaw, Paul – paul.kershaw @ ubc.ca**

*Social Care for Young Children in 20 OECD Countries: Innovations in Feminist Comparative Policy Research*

Every industrial country has a package of tax allowances, cash benefits, exemptions from charges, subsidies and services in kind, which support parents with the costs of raising their children. Previous work by Bradshaw (1993, 2002, 2007) calculates this benefit package for the purpose of comparative research, advancing to new heights cross–national analyses of social care policy for young children by examining taxation, income and social policy simultaneously.

Notwithstanding this accomplishment, the Bradshaw methodology pays insufficient attention to the gender division of care that remains at the heart of social care practices internationally, in large part because his treatment of child care service and caregiving leave data is inadequate. This article corrects the problem, adapting the benefit package methodology to provide robust cross–national measures of the degree to which states financially induce the commodification of women

(Orloff 1993); support defamilialization (Lister 1994); and promote the decommodification of men in order to oblige equal sharing of child care between the sexes (Kershaw 2005). These concepts have been central to gendering of welfare regime scholarship since the 1990s, but comprehensive, quantitative cross-national metrics have remained elusive until now. In response, the author reports on these concepts for 20 OECD countries, including Canada. The resulting cross-national comparisons have important implications for the literature about welfare regime typologies.

**Kershaw, Paul – paul.kershaw @ ubc.ca and Anderson, Lynell – lynell.anderson @ ubc.ca**

*40 years after the Royal Commission on the Status of Women: A Pan-Canada Benefit/Cost Analysis of Family Policy Changes Required to Promote Gender Equality and Early Child Development in Canada.*

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended family policy innovation because the gender division of caregiving is a primary source of inequality for women. In celebration of the report's legacy, this article conducts a detailed benefit/cost analysis for family policy designed to promote gender equality in Canada, while also addressing the country's regrettably high rates of child vulnerability. Building on Carefair (Kershaw, 2005), the authors recommend investing in:

Time:

\$4.5 billion to build on maternity/parental leave to enrich the benefit value, and to extend the total duration from 12 to 18 months, reserving the additional months for fathers (when present).

Build on existing employment standards to redefine full-time employment norms.

Resources

\$6.2 billion to build on income support policies to mitigate poverty among families with children.

Services

\$723 million to build on pregnancy, women's health, parenting supports, children's screening and Early Child

Development coalitions to ensure monthly developmental monitoring opportunities for children from birth through age 18 months.

\$10.5 billion to build on early education and care services to provide a seamless transition back to employment for mothers and fathers as the parental leave period ends while making quality services for children age 19 months to kindergarten affordable and available.

The pan-Canadian cost of the framework is \$22 billion annually, with returns recouped over the short- and long-term.

Over 60 years, the annual investment will accelerate GDP growth by 20%. The net present value of this growth is over \$3 trillion plus interest.

**Khan, Shusmita – shusmitaea @ yahoo.com**

*Gender Position in Governance System and Nature of Governance: Autocratic or Democratic*

Linkage between 'presence of women in organizational governance' and 'gender friendly policy making and implementation' is indubitably accepted by the academicians and practitioners. In this perspective, an equal and effective participation of women is indispensable for any governing system. This paper aims to identify the status of women's participation in decision making process of non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh. The study team collected both primary and secondary (content review of NGO documents) data to support the specific arguments. To collect the primary data, head of the organizations and senior staff of seven local NGOs were interviewed.

The study found that 36 percent of the executive committee's members are female and three organizations are found as headed by female among the seven selected local NGOs. There is also correlation that female head organizations have higher number of women executive committee members compare to male headed organizations where average women participation is 34.69 percent and 45.02 percent in the female headed organization and average participant in the male headed organization is 29.95 percent. In male headed organizations average 80 percent of decisions are taken by head of the organization, contrary in female headed organizations average 90 percent of decisions are taken by the head. In case of male headed organization, head use to take support from male senior management team and in female headed organization, head usually rely on relatives.

Above mention findings depicted that gender position determines the representation but real democratic participations depends on ground reality which shapes the gender role.

**Khraplyva, Yuliya – yuliakh @ yorku.ca**

*How Different Are They: Comparisons of Standing and Select Committees*

Legislative concerns play an important role in linking public concerns and policy development. However they differ substantially depending on their type, standing versus select, and the specialized matters that come before them. The atmosphere in a committee can affect the way in which it handles its business. One hypothesis is that standing committees have a more partisan nature which makes compromise difficult and which overshadows individual member characteristics in favour of a predetermined partisan orientation. In each type of committee, how do the members balance their partisan affiliations with their own unique attitudes, skills and knowledge? In the Ontario Legislative Assembly, have these attempts in balancing partisan and individual characteristics been changing over time.

A special case study will compare the Select Committee on Mental Health and Addictions with the nine Standing Committees. Personal observation techniques will be supplemented by interviews with members, especially those who have served on both types of committees and with legislative staff, especially past and present committee clerks.

**King, Loren – lking @ wlu.ca**

*Rawlsian Self-Respect: A Socratic Reconstruction*

Debate over Rawls's understanding of self-respect has tended to emphasize the distinction between a Kantian understanding of self-respect, on the one hand, and self-esteem, on the other. The former involves a sense of our own moral dignity; the latter, our confidence in our life plans, and in our ability to pursue them. This has been a constructive and occasionally spirited debate. Yet by focusing on the distinction between dignity and esteem, I believe we may have overlooked a fruitful (if much older) way to understand Rawls's own marriage of these two senses of self-respect. I will argue that this marriage is Socratic in spirit, drawing our attention to how we find a life that is worth living, and the sort of moral agents we must be for such discoveries to be both possible and desirable to us.

**King, Loren – lking @ wlu.ca**

*Is all Theory (Non)ideal?*

In recent philosophy of science, the distinction between theory and experiment has been scrutinized, most notably by Evelyn Keller and Ian Hacking. To their way of seeing things, we've put too much emphasis on a model of science derived from (a certain view of) physics, in which theorists theorize (mostly with mathematics), and then experimentalists test. Philosophers have tended to worry about theory; the particulars of testing were something of an afterthought. Yet in most of the sciences (arguably including physics) the distinction between conceptual theorizing and experimental practice is messy, and understanding the complex interplay between these activities gives us a richer understanding of how science (and scientists) work. Has a similar dynamic been at work of late in political thought? and would analogous scrutiny — devoted to how political philosophers and theorists actually theorize — reveal a similar richness and reciprocity between so-called 'ideal' and 'nonideal' theorizing? Much of the philosophical analysis of this distinction is motivated by Rawls; this is unfortunate, because the practice of reflective equilibrium, and the ways in which institutional features fall out of Rawls's own theory, both suggest that the distinction between ideal and nonideal theorizing may, in spite of much recent work, obscure more than it clarifies about how political theorists (ought to) construct useful claims about justice, legitimacy, and the like.

**Kirton, John – john.kirton @ utoronto.ca**

*The Soft Law Approach to North American Governance*

What approach has dominated North American cooperation, coordination and convergence since the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the 1990s? Three general approaches have been used within the North American framework: classic hard law arbitration based on international law; traditional soft law using negotiations which lead to diplomatic agreements and understandings; and a newer soft law based on pragmatic problem solving in individual issue areas as they arise. Many assumed that the Canada-US Agreement of 1988, following by the North American Free Trade Agreement of 1994 would inaugurate a new era of hard law arbitration. However, with 'soft' issues, such as health, pandemic influenza, and climate change, demanding North Americans' attention and the formation of an annual North American summit, this paper will show and explain why soft law has become the dominant approach, both for managing individual issues and for comprehensive, coherent governance as a whole.

**Kitchen, Veronica – vkitchen @ uwaterloo.ca**

*Security at the Vancouver Olympics – In Retrospect*

The Vancouver Olympics in February 2010 will be the largest domestic security operation in Canadian history, comprising 7000 police officers, 4000 members of the Canadian Forces, 5000 security contractors and costing nearly a billion dollars. With the benefit of hindsight this paper will analyse Olympic security outcomes as they compare to Olympic security preparations. What seems to have gone well or poorly, and were the threat predictions borne out? More importantly, what are the legacies of the Vancouver Olympics for the City of Vancouver, the Pacific Northwest Region, and Canada? What can we learn about the city as a site of global and local security and about municipal actors in global and local security? Drawing on literature from the Paris School about the bureaucratization of security, this paper will examine the integration of police, military, intelligence and emergency management functions at the local level and as part of the global governance of security.

**Knight, Jack – jk150 @ duke.edu**

*Can Institutional Analysis Really Support Non-Ideal Normative Theory?*

The recent conceptual/methodological debates over ideal and non-ideal theory have suggested (explicitly and implicitly) an array of differing roles for social and political institutions in normative political theory. Many of these accounts are best read as locating institutional analysis on the ideal theory side of the debate. Among these I would include the work of Rawls and Habermas (and most of their followers), theories of deliberative democracy (excluding some of their critics), social and public choice theory and law and economic analysis of law types. A careful reading of most of this literature raises significant questions about what role if any institutional analysis might play in non-ideal normative analysis. In this paper I will assess these varying approaches and consider whether these concerns are actually warranted. In doing so I will highlight three distinct tasks of any normative political theory that focuses on social institutions: analytical, explanatory and justificatory. Much of the confusion and disagreement that presently characterizes the debate over ideal versus non-ideal theory rests, or so I will argue, on a failure to adequately distinguish the requirements of these three tasks. I will argue that if we carefully attend to the different requirements of the three tasks, we can identify and thus avoid errors that follow from conflation and defend an alternative conception of institutional analysis that melds nicely with non-ideal theory.

**Knight, Lindsay – lindsayk @ uchicago.edu**

*Away from Utopias: Cicero's Fellowship of Men and the Centrality of the Middle Duties in Good Government*

In Cicero's *Laws* 1.58–62 man is drawn back from philosophy toward the city, and the civic responsibilities that await him in political life; yet looking at this text alone, it is unclear why man comes to the realization that "he is born for civil society." On the premise that Cicero sees philosophy, and philosophical men, as foundational tenets of good government, why then does he remain vague about the private justifications that led to man's turn from pure philosophy to a life of politics? To clarify Cicero's ambiguity in this central passage, this paper will supplement his argument with those from *On Duties* and *The Republic*. From *On Duties*, we see that it is the justice inherent in the fellowship of men that drives man to turn away from a solitary life toward a civic one. This text also illustrates how — inherent in the turn from pure philosophical engagement — complete understanding and absolute virtues become unattainable goods, and thus lend weight to the role the middle duties as model must play in Cicero's theory. Finally, *The Republic* provides proofs of how Cicero's ideal government is not a utopian vision, but one that has tangible and practicable lessons for republican political engagement, whether ancient or modern.

**Koop, Royce – royce.koop @ me.com and Bittner, Amanda – abittner @ mun.ca**

*Are "Parachuted" Candidates More Active Legislators?*

To get to Parliament, prospective MPs must first gain a party nomination. Most will win this through a local nomination contest or acclamation, but an increasing number are awarded a nomination by the party leader. These appointments have sparked normative debates regarding, for example, the role of women and politics and the democratic vitality of Canadian parties, but there has been little empirical examination of the consequences of "parachuting" candidates into ridings. We ask whether these two types of MPs differ in their legislative activities. In particular, following findings from studies of list and constituency MPs elected under mixed-member proportional electoral systems (Mcleay & Vowles 2004), we ask whether appointed candidates are more active legislators than their counterparts who won local nominations. Since their primary loyalty is to the prime minister and not their local organizations, we expect parachuted members to focus their efforts on legislative activities in Ottawa rather than representational activities in their ridings. This paper examines a number of legislative activities of MPs—including appointments, questions raised in question period, committee memberships and chairmanships, first readings of private members' business, attendance in the House of Commons, and attendance at legislative votes—in order to develop a profile of MPs based on the nomination process. We explore whether a dichotomous model of MPs such as that which has been posited with respect to constituency versus list MPs applies to representatives within an SMP electoral system.

**Koop, Royce – royce.koop @ me.com**

*Devolution and Constituency Party Adaptation in the UK*

Following UK devolution, a growing literature has sought to specify how the national parties have adapted their organizations to the challenge of competing for power at the national and regional levels. In contrast, the parties' post-devolution constituency organizations have, with some important exceptions, been neglected. Following the 'revisionist school', which emphasizes the continuing importance of local party organizations, and recent research on constituency organizations in other federations, this paper explores (1) the roles played by constituency organizations in the parties' adaptations to devolution, and (2) how those organizations themselves have changed in response to devolution. The paper also examines whether devolution has altered the roles of these constituency organizations within the overall structures of the parties.

**Krebs, Andreas – akreb092 @ uottawa.ca**

*The Good Ol' Hockey Game: Sports and Colonialism in the Canadian Context*

Political science literature dealing with colonialism in Canada 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 subjectivity. The formation of subjectivity occurs through daily processes whereby certain norms and perspectives are inculcated and reinforced in a given population. With sports, these norms and perspectives are literally embodied—performed through play and internalized through spectacle. Given hockey's importance for Canada, this paper will examine how colonial subjectivity is reproduced by Canadians' interaction with academic and popular literature and media on hockey. Much of both academic and popular work on hockey and its relation to Canadian history, identity and culture effects a performative iteration of certain values, such as the importance of hard work, loyalty to one's team mates, and stories about how Canada and hockey grew up together, with hardy, pioneering men requiring a rough sport to pass the long winters. The relationship between this pioneer mythos and the discourse of hockey will be explored, as well as how each of these necessitates the effacement of prior peoples and alternative narratives. This paper will show that through engagement with hockey's omnipresent discourse the dominant, colonial subjectivity is produced and reproduced.

**Kropp, Sabine – kropp @ dhv-speyer.de**

*Strategies of MPs in European policy-making: Heuristics, opportunities and constraints*

Studies on national parliaments in the EU have shown that the assumption of an ongoing decline of parliaments is problematic. Parliaments have responded to the increasing Europeanization of powers and the extension of executive governance. However, we still lack empirical evidence of how parliaments "fight back" (Raunio/ Hix), how they participate in Europeanized policies, and how they control their governments.

This paper contributes to answering these questions. Based on an ongoing empirical study, it examines changing roles and strategies of members of national parliaments in European policy-making. By adding the explanatory power of 'belief systems' and of 'heuristics' to theories of new institutionalism, the study looks at members of parliament specializing in European affairs. It aims at finding out whether and in which way they deal with problems typical for multilevel policy-making like information overload or conflicts between party ideologies, national interests and European issues. Accordingly, the paper introduces a new perspective on discussion of parliaments by focusing on actors and strategies, without ignoring their opportunities and constraints in different parliamentary systems. The institutional dimension will be covered by comparing parliaments in Germany, Hungary and (depending on the availability of results) Sweden.

**Kroqi, Dorian – dkroqi @ connect.carleton.ca and Wagner, Andrea – awagner3 @ connect.carleton.ca**

*The European Public Spheres and the State*

Liberal intergovernmentalism in the study of the EU has emphasized the primary role of the state in the process of integration. In fact, it may be argued that hard bargaining in the Council (motivated by entrenched national interests) is one of the factors that have contributed to its incremental pace. While systemic dimensions based on market relations and elite politics have merged successfully, efforts to harmonize and integrate the social and cultural domains (what Habermas defines as the lifeworld) have lagged behind.

The debates on a European public sphere or the Europeanization of national public spheres aim at creating the conditions for social and cultural aspects to transcend the state boundaries. The question that our paper seeks to answer is the following: To what extent are the member states encouraging the formation of a European public sphere or the Europeanization of national public spheres, and what are the motives behind this project?

In order to answer this question, we will compare legislative and executive initiatives in the two most important European countries, France and Germany, in the last four years since the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty. Our intent is to question the conventional wisdom that state elites are conservative preservers of national public spheres. Rather we argue that (interested) state elites in both the legislative and executive branches seek creative ways to fuse the national spheres with constructed ideals of "Europeanness", thus providing an incentive for other actors to deepen such a trend even further.

**Kubal, Mary Rose – mkubal @ sbu.edu**

*'Democratic Policing' Paradigms in Practice: Less-Than-Democratic Outcomes in Argentina and Chile*

This paper looks at the role of transnational actors such as the United Nations (UN), the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC), the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and private consultants and academics in creating public security paradigms and the implications for the role of the police in countries where they are adopted. Based on three months of field research and extensive document review, the main elements of the community policing model associated with the IDB and the crime prevention model associated with the UN are set out and their influence in Argentina and Chile is discussed. While policies and programs inspired by these two paradigms are inclusive in theory, in practice poor and marginalized sectors are often excluded and the police take on a predominant role. This is in part because of the pressure to generate significant and "measurable" results in terms of crime reduction and in part due to police resistance to external accountability mechanisms.

**Kukucha, Chris – christopher.kukucha @ uleth.ca**

*Provincial Pitfalls: Barriers to a Comprehensive Canada-EU Trade Agreement*

Considerable political will and economic motivation exists on both sides of the Atlantic to negotiate a comprehensive trade agreement between Canada and the European Union (EU). For Europe, the current negotiations offer a potential entry-point into the North American market. An agreement would also serve as a template for other possible deals outside of the stalled Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO). For Canada, Europe has long served as an attractive counter-balance to American trade dependence. A new framework could also limit future trade disputes, which have previously damaged Canadian-EU trade relations. This paper will argue, however, that a Canada-EU trade agreement, at least one that moves beyond existing trade commitments, is unlikely due to the diverging interests of Canadian provinces. Provincial priorities have de-railed previous negotiations with Europe, most recently the Trade and Investment Enhancement Agreement (TIEA). Although Stockwell Day, Canada's Minister of International Trade, and Quebec Premier Jean Charest have both promised to "deliver" the provinces for this round of talks, significant sub-federal barriers remain, especially in terms of services, investment, procurement, sanitary standards, regulatory frameworks, and other technical barriers.

**Kulicki, Michael – mkulicki @ ualberta.ca**

*Transcendental and Comparative Theories of Justice: A Critique of Sen*

In his recent work *The Idea of Justice*, Amartya Sen argues that it is possible to develop a feasible comparative theory of justice (a non-ideal theory that allows us to determine whether political institutions are becoming 'more' or 'less' just) without having to develop a prior transcendental theory of justice (an ideal theory that enables us to identify 'perfectly just' political institutions.) In Sen's view, transcendental theory ('T-theory') is neither necessary nor sufficient for developing a feasible comparative theory ('C-theory.') In this paper, I argue that while T-theory is insufficient for developing a feasible C-theory, it is nonetheless necessary. In defending this argument, I examine Sen's characterization of the theoretical aims of T-theory and C-theory and suggest that Sen does not take into account that an essential aim of T-theory is to determine the best philosophical approach for identifying principles of justice. I then argue that because any C-theory must take some stance on how we should identify principles of justice, C-theory cannot be pursued independently from

T–theory. To illustrate the argument, I examine a key claim that informs Sen's C–theory – that there may be a plurality of principles of distributive justice – and suggest that Sen's defence of this claim is insufficient and that defending it requires us to engage in T–theory. I conclude that Sen's C–theory is not feasible and that while we have good reason to believe that T–theory underdetermines how we should act to make our institutions more just, it is nonetheless necessary.

**Kumar, Paritosh – Paritosh.Kumar @ Queensu.ca**

*Understanding Religion and Political Transformation: Some Lessons From an Indian Case Study*

Religion has had considerable impact upon politics in many regions of the world over the last few decades. The underlying assumption of much of the Marxist (and non–Marxist) analysis was that the societies would inevitably secularize as they modernized; urbanization, industrialization would lead to rationalization of previously 'irrational' views, such as religious beliefs. This has not been well–founded. Technological development and other aspects of modernization have, in fact, led to growing awareness about religious identity. One result has been growth in institutionalized religion that has worked in very close alliance with secular political and economic elites of the country, in an attempt to re–define the national identity in an authoritarian fashion. At the same time, there has been a rise in popular religiosity that has been poor oriented. It has taken up issues of poverty, environmental degradation, hunger, disease. This paper tries to explain and analyze these apparently unconnected developments, largely ignored in political analysis: how do religious values, norms, beliefs stimulate and effect political developments and vice versa. Using a case study of the rise of Hindu fundamentalism in India, this paper will demonstrate that we can grasp this contradictory dialectic of liberation and oppression in religion, if we consider religion in a dynamic fashion: having its own contradictions and reflecting contradictory social arrangements of the social formations that they seek to legitimize and uphold.

**Kuokkanen, Rauna – rauna.kuokkanen @ utoronto.ca**

*Gendering Self–Determination, Human Rights and the Violence Against Women*

In the past several years, there has been an exponential growth of research on various aspects of indigenous peoples and self–determination, including the scope, implementation, capacity–building and a range of self–government arrangements. However, very few studies examine these issues from a gendered perspective or apply a gender–based analysis but instead, present the project of indigenous self–determination as a phenomenon outside of gendered political structures and relations of power or processes of gendering in society in general. This paper is a first step of a larger research project seeking to provide a gendered account of indigenous self–determination. It offers a preliminary theoretical discussion explaining the need for and the process of mapping of the gender power dynamics of the existing self–governance institutions, cultures and discourses.

**Labbé St–Vincent, Simon – simon.labbe.st–vincent @ umontreal.ca**

*Voter Preferences, Electoral Systems and the Number of Political Parties – An Experimental Study*

In this article, we examine the impact of electoral systems and social heterogeneity on the number of political parties and on the level of strategic voting. The study is based on experiments conducted with groups of 21 participants. The experiments consist of a series of elections which involve four candidates. Two different treatments have been applied. First, we designed four different kinds of voter distributions by modifying the number of subjects at the same political position. Second, there were two kinds of electoral systems, plurality rules and proportional representation rules, under which the subjects voted. Subject's gains were determined by the winning political party under the plurality rules and by the winning coalition of political parties under the proportional rules. Our objective is to test the theory on the interaction of social and electoral structures and their impact on the number of political parties. We also examine if the level of strategic voting is conditioned by the heterogeneity of voter preferences and if it is greater under a plurality system than under a proportional system.

**Labelle, Micheline – labelle.m @ uqam.ca**

*L'État québécois et les ONG face au racisme et à l'antiracisme. Les mots pour le dire.*

La conjoncture internationale et nationale requiert un réexamen des approches théoriques du racisme, mais également du discours de l'État et des acteurs sociaux qui visent à l'éradiquer. Car trop souvent, la documentation gouvernementale contribue à la reproduction de l'idée de «race», tout en prétendant nier sa substance. Les textes ministériels confondent les questions qui relèvent de l'ethnicité et celles qui relèvent du racisme. Les définitions du racisme varient de par leur extension; on amalgame préjugés et actes de discrimination. La recherche (CRSH) menée depuis 2006 propose une remise en question des termes mêmes dans lesquels le discours antiraciste de l'État et des ONG se structure et se diffuse au sein de la société civile.

Cette communication présente une analyse de contenu du discours de l'État québécois, tel qu'il se livre dans les documents de divers ministères portant sur le racisme, tout en le comparant au discours de l'État canadien. Elle se penche également sur les mémoires que diverses ONG et associations à identité ethnique et racisée ont soumis lors de la consultation tenue en 2006 par le ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec, en vue de l'implantation d'une politique gouvernementale de lutte contre le racisme et la discrimination. L'analyse aborde les thèmes suivants : la terminologie utilisée et la définition du racisme; les causes, les manifestations, les cibles et les conséquences du racisme; l'antiracisme. Il s'agit de scruter les convergences et les divergences qui ressortent des positions prises par les acteurs sociaux et les décideurs politiques, les apports et les lacunes.

**Laforest, Rachel – laforest @ queensu.ca**

*Investment and Divestment Dynamics : The "Social Investment Perspective" at play in Canada and the UK*

In both Canada and the UK, many commentators have observed that a new paradigm centered around 'social investment' began to take shape in the late 1990s (Lister 2003, Jenson and Saint–Martin 2006, Banting 2006). This new frame for social policy thinking involves a complex shift in the political terrain and in the parameters of policy debates. In Canada, investments and restriction of funding toward projects centered on evidence and data gathering under the social investment perspective has not only shaped and channeled how issues, ideas and interests are framed; it has also made research based strategies within the voluntary sector more feasible (Saint–Martin 2007, Laforest and Orsini 2005). This trend, which began under neo–liberalism, has been maintained in the social investment era. In the UK, however, voluntary organizations have been more successful at mitigating the effects of this shift. Whereas Thatcher made same efforts to strip voluntary sector of the power in the 1990s, the move toward a social investment paradigm has been accompanied by a trend towards reinvestment in the sector. The emphasis on 'investment' has translated into proactive capacity building initiatives and a commitment toward supporting infrastructure within the voluntary sector (Macmillan 2006).

This paper will explore the significance of these patterns for policy making. Of central concern to the project are the ways in which voluntary organizations have gained access to decision making processes and other ways of participating in the political arena.

**Lajoie, Andrée – andree.lajoie @ umontreal.ca**

*Réformer le processus de nomination des juges de la Cour suprême?*

Je crois qu'il n'y a aucun intérêt à modifier le mode de nomination des juges de la Cour suprême, qui ne n'apparait pas du tout affecté d'un déficit démocratique. En effet, il ressort clairement de mes travaux antérieurs sur les décisions de la Cour (Jugements de Valeurs, Presses universitaires de France, 1997) que ce sont les valeurs dominantes dans la société canadienne au moment où intervient une décision de la Cour en cette matière qui la surdéterminent, même si les juges –on l'aurait deviné– invoquent pour la justifier d'autres motifs, généralement déductifs, positivisme obligeant. Dès lors, peu importe que ce soit l'exécutif en privé ou un comité de la législature exerçant ses pouvoirs en public qui effectue la nomination des juges, ceux-ci une fois en place –surtout lorsque, comme en Cour suprême du Canada, leur nomination est permanente– ne sont pas liés par les valeurs de ceux qui les ont nommés, ni même par celles qu'ils ont eux-même professées dans le passé, mais plutôt soucieux de justifier leur crédibilité en suivant l'évolution des valeurs dominantes de la société canadienne à laquelle ils adressent leurs décisions. Quant à savoir si la Cour peut induire un déficit de fédéralisme, il faudrait pour cela que la constitution canadienne soit fédérale, ce qui n'est pas le cas puisqu'elle autorise six façons différentes pour les autorités fédérales de modifier unilatéralement le partage des compétences, ce qui fait du Canada un pays unitaire où le terme «fédéralisme» constitue un vocable idéologique visant à faire paraître vraiment fédérale une constitution qui ne l'est pas.

**Latimer, Trevor – tlatimer @ ucla.edu**

*The Illusion of Contract*

In the fourth footnote of A Theory of Justice, John Rawls suggests that "[f]or all of its greatness, Hobbes's Leviathan" is not "definitive of the contract tradition." Here and perhaps nowhere else, Rawls remains in the minority. Though I do not seek a Rawlsian answer, I do ask why Hobbes might not qualify as a contractarian thinker. Dworkinian objections aside, even in their weakest (hypothetical) form, contract theories definitionally involve contracts in some form. Through an analysis of "Dominion Paternal" and "Dominion Despotical" in all three of Hobbes's major political works, The Elements of Law, De Cive, and Leviathan, I argue that in some key places in the Hobbesian corpus, contract goes missing. Contract, I claim, must be artificial and not natural. Thus only artificial (or constructed) political relationships can be contractual. The task, then, is to show that some Hobbesian political relationships are in fact natural. I reveal Hobbes's contractual window–dressing in Leviathan and expose the naturalness of certain Hobbesian political relationships through a developmental look at all three texts. Hopefully, my analysis will contribute to an enhanced understanding of consent in the Hobbesian corpus.

**Lawford–Smith, Holly – holly @ coombs.anu.edu.au**

*Preventing Deterioration in International Cooperation for Global Justice*

Experimental economics and several other disciplines have collected a wealth of information about cooperation both in the lab and in the field, and under many different experimental conditions. Their public goods experiments offer a wealth of information about the conditions under which individual contributions to the provision of a public good are likely to be higher, and more stable across time. The experiments have invariably taken adult humans as their subjects, most commonly in groups of four. If (and it's a big if, admittedly) the experimental results generalize to cooperation between other kinds of agents, most importantly for this paper to cooperation between collective agents, in particular states, then the experiments themselves constitute an invaluable and underutilized tool in understanding, predicting, and encouraging international cooperation. My focus in this short paper will be on what cooperation problems the results predict, and whether some of the more promising 'solutions' to those problems should be expected to work equally well for states.

**Lawlor, Andrea – andrea.lawlor @ mail.mcgill.ca and Bélanger, Éric – eric.belanger3 @ mcgill.ca**

*The ADQ–Conservative Alliance and the Emergence of an électoralat bleu in Québec*

The rapid rise and subsequent decline of the Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ) from 2006 to 2008 proved to be an anomaly in what was otherwise a relatively stable provincial party system. The ADQ, however, were not alone in their success. At the federal level, the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) also made significant inroads in the Quebec electorate sparking debate as to whether the two parties shared the same electorate.

This paper poses the following questions: First, is there a “blue” electorate in Quebec that emerged in 2006 to support both the ADQ and CPC for the subsequent two provincial and federal elections? Second, what features characterise the link between the provincial ADQ and the federal Conservative parties? Finally, what implications does this connection have on the broader issue of partisanship consistency in a multi-level party system where party systems are not necessarily congruent?

Our study focuses on three dimensions of the link between the ADQ and CPC: 1) Shared ideas and issue stances as indicated by similarities in party platforms; 2) Perceived personal relationships between the two parties via their leaders and staff organisations as covered in the media; 3) The socio-demographic and attitudinal similarities between the electoral clientele measured through two rounds of quantitative survey data.

This paper addresses issues surrounding the electoral dynamics of Quebec in the context of the Canadian federation. More broadly, it provides additional empirical support for the multi-level partisanship literature and contributes to the study of cross-level partisanship in non-congruent systems.

**Lawlor, Andrea – andrea.lawlor @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Partisan Identity Crisis: Canadian Voters and Left-Right Self-Placement*

In recent years, the concept of the political “left” and “right” has gained renewed prominence in the media’s discourse on Canadian federal politics. Indeed, mention of left or right often serves as an ideological cue for voters, alleviating much of the cognitive work associated with selecting the party that best suits their ideological preferences (Klingemann & Ingelhart 1976). But how consistent are voters when it comes to left-right self-placement with respect to their party identification and vote choice?

This paper reengages the debate on left-right assessment in the Canadian context, looking at how accurately voters’ assess themselves on the left-right self-placement scale in the complex partisan environment of the post-1993 Canadian party system (Carty, Cross & Young 2002). In accordance with the existing literature on Canadian partisanship, I acknowledge the limitations of using left-right self-assessments in predicting party identification, instead advancing the use of new tools to measure left-right placement. Using the 2004 and 2008 Canadian Election Studies, I compare conventional survey left-right self-placement techniques with independently constructed issue-based scales composed of respondents’ answers to survey questions on issues of policy and attitudes toward state and society. Strong partisans, weak partisans, and those with no party affiliation are examined separately, as are voters who declare high or low levels of political interest. Finally, I test for stability over time by running a separate analysis on the approximately 1300 panel respondents in both the 2004 and 2008 studies.

**Leadbetter, Aine – leadbeak @ mcmaster.ca**

*Security Threat or Desired Labour? The Role of Power and Framing in Policy Responses to Non-Status Workers*

Two of the more complex and controversial governance issues facing western nations in the climate of globalization are border security and labour migration. These policy areas intersect in the example of non-status workers who are desired for their labour yet their very presence signifies the failure of the state to adequately secure their borders. While the federal government in both Canada and the United States holds jurisdiction over immigration and security policies, the implications of this phenomenon are more apparent in local communities where those without status live and work. As such, despite overarching national responsibility, the implementation of policies differs both within and between nations and we are increasingly seeing the development of local “grassroots” policy responses to better fit the local effects of national problems.

This paper will employ a power resources approach and frame analysis to understand differing policy outcomes from three similar events in Toronto Ontario, Portland Oregon, and Farmingville New York during the period of 2001–2006. Based on this research, I argue that not only are immigration and security policies increasingly being located on the local scale, but that policy responses to undocumented workers are determined by how the issues are framed and who has the power to frame. As such, we can expect policy responses to non-status workers to vary between communities. This paper not only explores the role of power and framing in the policy making process, but highlights the ability of local communities to create custom responses to areas of national concern.

**Lecours, André – alecours @ uottawa.ca**

*Nationalism in Canada and Spain*

Lucien Bouchard once said that Canada was not a ‘normal’ country. In the language of social sciences, this means that Canada is a multinational country insofar as a non-negligible percentage of its citizens either rejects the nation projected the state or shares its loyalty and allegiance between that nation and another one within the state. Politics in multinational countries are different from politics in mononational ones since the former always involves issues of national unity that are absent in the latter. Developing a full understanding of Canadian politics is therefore helped by a comparison with similar ‘peculiar’ countries such as Spain. When it comes to nationalism in Canadian politics, the comparison with Spain can be helpful in at least two ways. First, it can ‘problematize’ Québécois nationalism in new ways, as placing Québec in a comparative perspective suggests asking, for example, why the Québécois nationalist movement has such a strong secessionist branch and why it is such a potent force in Canadian politics. Second, the Canada-Spain comparison begs the question of approaches to the management of nationalist movements, which in turn puts the spotlight on the respective state nationalisms.

This paper will look to explain key differences between nationalism in Canada and in Spain. At the sub-state level, the analysis will focus on explaining the strength of the secessionist option within Québécois nationalism compared to Catalan and Basque nationalisms, and its peaceful nature in comparison to Basque nationalism. At the state level, the

paper will offer an explanation for the different types of responses to nationalist movements in the two countries (the acceptance of their legitimacy in Canada and their portrayal as illegitimate forces in Spain) centered in the distinct foundations for Spanish and Canadian nationalism.

**Leddy, Neven**

*Epicurean Novelists and Philosophers in Eighteenth-century France and the Scottish Enlightenment*

**Lee, Hyunji – lhyunji @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*The Compromise of Embedded Liberalism and Government Credibility*

According to the embedded liberalism thesis, economic openness and welfare are mutually reinforcing. The existing literature exploring the micro-foundation of the openness-welfare nexus suggests that individuals' perceptions of economic insecurity lie at the core of the thesis – i.e., openness creates economic insecurities that in turn inspire demand for welfare policy as compensation. This argument is, however, only half the story of the nexus: demand side. For openness and welfare to be mutually reinforcing, it needs to be ensured that welfare will effectively maintain public support for trade liberalization policies. By focusing on this supply side of openness-welfare nexus, this paper provides a micro-level test of the embedded liberalism thesis. More specifically, this paper introduces a new micro-level intervening variable – government credibility – that links welfare to public support for trade, thereby demonstrating that public support for trade liberalization depends on the public's trust in its government's desire and ability to cushion trade-induced insecurity and inequality. Unless the government were perceived to be credible, the welfare spending increase would not be sustainable because people lacking trust in their government would more likely vote for protectionism than for welfare compensation. By using the Asia-Europe survey that covers 18 countries across Europe and Asia, this paper also demonstrates that this new intervening variable explains the divergence of welfare-spending increase between developed countries and less developed countries since 1970s – i.e., why in the face of the similar pressure of globalization, welfare spending has risen in developed countries but declined in less developed countries.

**Lee, Hyunji – lhyunji @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*The Determinants of Individual Preferences over Trade Liberalization: Effects of Income Growth vs. Effects of Income Distribution*

This paper provides new evidence on non-material determinants of individual preferences over trade liberalization, by examining how individual perceptions of distributive consequences of trade influence individual preferences over trade policy. There is a widespread consensus among mainstream economists that globalization is good for national economic welfare; economists thus argue that the prevailing protectionism amongst the public is nothing but a mere reflection of ignorance or irrationality of voters. This paper basically argues that this is not the case. Distributive effect of trade liberalization is in fact "socially" costless: people do care who gains less and who gains more and it is not a matter of indifference. Moreover, as modern behavioural economists find, an individual's state of well-being is affected by changes of other people's income, and people tend to prefer equalizing welfare gains than maximizing total welfare gains. Based on these findings, I hypothesize that even if (hypothetically) no one is made worse off in absolute terms by introducing liberal trade policy, redistributive consequences of the policy could make people feel worse off, thereby sliding them toward protectionism. I test this hypothesis by conducting a survey experiment.

**Leigh, Darcy – d.m.leigh @ sms.ed.ac.uk**

*Inside and Out: Ambivalence, Indigeneity and Sovereignty in Canada's Arctic*

Indigeneity has played a central and constituent role in the emergence of modern state sovereignty, often constructed as the paradoxically excluded but essential 'outside' against which to demarcate the sovereign 'inside'. In Canada, Indigeneity and Indigenous peoples have occupied specific, varied and sometimes conflicting positions in relation to this boundary, playing key roles in the practices and articulation of Canadian state sovereignty and of state sovereignties more broadly.

The paper takes a genealogical approach: it explores the constitution of sovereignty with reference to the historical roles of the bodies, actions and representations of Inuit in Canada's Arctic. Inuit have embodied specific versions of the Indigenous 'other' constructed through, for example, Arctic art and anthropology. At times, Canadian state activity, such as military testing or resource extraction, has been legitimised through the denial of the presence of human life in the Arctic. Having been erased, however, Inuit have then been written back into the Arctic and the Canadian inside in assertions of Canadian state sovereignty, such as Inuit relocation during the Cold War and Canada's claims in today's 'race for the Arctic'.

The paper provides a historical and discursive context from which to consider current Indigenous engagement with international organisations such as the United Nations, and transnational groups such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, which can be seen to utilise, negotiate and challenge the authority of the Canadian state and of state sovereignty more broadly.

**Levesque, Mario – coxlev @ quadro.net**

*"Build it...if you can!": Discretion, Building Inspectors and Part 8 of the Ontario Building Code – Sewage Systems*

In 2006, the Ontario Building Code was transformed into an objective-based format providing increased flexibility for Code interpretation in order to promote innovation and increase competition. The aim of this paper is to assess how this broadening of discretionary power was embraced by building inspectors—Street-Level Bureaucrats—and how this has affected the Code's implementation. Its focus is on the "transitional period", that is, the first few years immediately

following the change, given the importance of this period in setting the tone for future implementation. Theories of policy implementation, whether they be top down, bottom up or hybrid forms, have not, to date, examined this period. Rather, they focus on stable situational settings for discerning the influence of Street–Level Bureaucrats. Moreover, hybrid forms of implementation seem satisfied with how the nature of a good dictates the implementation structure yet remain blind to the discretion possessed by those who implement the policy—Street Level Bureaucrats. When such individuals are considered, conventional conceptions of implementation structures are challenged thus calling for improved models of policy implementation. Semi–structured interviews with building officials in Southwestern Ontario are used to discern the embracement of the broader discretionary powers afforded officials as applied to Part 8 of the Ontario Building Code – Sewage Systems (Onsite Wastewater Systems). The paper is part of a larger project probing policy change and implementation structures in relation to the sustainable use of water resources.

**Levine, Renan – renan.levine @ utoronto.ca**

*Competitive Framing in the Multi–Party Context*

Estimating the external validity of framing effects can be difficult because in the real world, many citizens are exposed to competing views.

Chong and Druckman (APSR 2008) experimented with this competitive context, providing subjects with arguments for and against each position

– and often more than one argument for and/or against (see also Sniderman and Theriault (2004); Brewer and Gross (2005). Druckman found that receiving more than one frame from one position–side, especially a "good" strong frame, could often "tip" the scale in favor of that stance. In Chong and Druckman's work, these frames were attributed to newspapers or competing local candidates. What this research does not do is speak to a long–standing and growing literature on party cues. In the U.S. context, this extension may not be very important because the two–party system readily lends itself to dichotomous support/oppose dynamics on issues.

In an experiment, I extend Chong and Druckman's work by testing the effect on citizen opinions of competing frames with party labels in Canada. By extending the study to the multi–party system in Canada, I take advantage of issues like handgun control and a carbon tax where two parties may take the same view, but those parties with similar views are not always the same. For example, on handgun control, recent initiatives were supported by Conservatives and the NDP but not the Liberals but on a carbon tax, the Liberals and the NDP supported recent proposals. I test to see whether the strength of two arguments continues to be more persuasive with partisan identifiers or whether the party cues trump the sheer number of frames that Chong and Druckman found to be so powerful.

**Levitov, Alex – alevitov @ princeton.edu**

*Legitimacy beyond Consent?*

The "consent theory" tradition in political theory has been widely criticized as an account of political authority (and thus of individualized political obligations), and has been invoked with even less frequency as a grounds for political legitimacy, conceived as the moral permissibility of the state to exercise coercive power over its citizens. Yet, as I argue, the consent model underlies a much broader range of contemporary approaches to legitimacy than has often been recognized, infecting the thought of several proceduralist and "democratic dualist" accounts of legitimacy (such as those of Jeremy Waldron and Bruce Ackerman, respectively), often eroding the normative foundations of political practices those selfsame theorists wish to endorse. Once their tacit reliance on consent theory is uncovered, I contend, we can assess with greater clarity whether these approaches have further resources to contribute to a theory of political legitimacy, ultimately suggesting that non–consensual accounts must choose between the model of abstract or hypothetical justification and a more particularist, historically–rooted view of legitimacy, as developed by theorists as diverse as Bernard Williams, Charles Taylor, Robert Brandom, and (perhaps more controversially) John Rawls. While I argue that the historicist approach to legitimacy has the most promise, I conclude with some skeptical observations about the capacity for this account to answer the concerns of "permanent minorities" — concerns which motivated consent theories of legitimacy in the first place. If the status of minorities cannot be adequately addressed under a non–consensual theory of legitimacy, we must ask whether there is anything to recommend such an approach at all, and thus whether we must become skeptics about legitimacy.

**Levy, Aviva – avivadblevy @ gmail.com**

*At a Disadvantage? An Analysis of the Orientation for Newly Elected MPPs in Ontario's By–Elections*

An orientation to any new job is a crucial part of learning the ropes.

Introductions to co–workers, office tours, and meetings with bosses are fundamental aspects of integrating into a new and often unfamiliar work culture. Whether this new job is as a secretary or Member of a Provincial Parliament (MPP) is irrelevant; orienting an individual to any new profession is an essential aspect of their future performance.

With this in mind we can ask how the orientation of MPPs elected in by–elections versus MPPs elected in general elections affects their legislative work. The main hypothesis is that MPPs elected in by–elections are at a disadvantage compared to their counterparts elected in general elections. We expect that MPPs elected in by–elections find it difficult to navigate the provincial legislature for a longer period of time compared to general election entrants. The research methods will include observation of these two types of MPPs as well as selected interviews of both types.

**Lewis, J.P. – jlewis3 @ connect.carleton.ca**

*The Global Recession and Policy Theory: What Policy Implementation Theory Can Tell Us About How the American and Canadian Governments Responded to the Economic Crisis*

In 2009, most liberal democracies responded to the global economic recession with unprecedented policy action and government intervention. Canada and the United States were not spared the downturn and active in response. In January 2009, the Canadian federal government introduced the Economic Action Plan that included \$30 billion in spending on infrastructure, tax cuts and funding for skills and training. A month later in the United States, the congress passed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act that included \$787 billion in tax cuts, expansion of benefits and increasing in spending. These recent policy actions of the American and Canadian national governments will be analyzed using the theoretical framework of three classic contributions to the field of policy literature: 1) Hood's *The Tools of Government*, 2) Pressman and Wildadavsky's *Implementation* and 3) Mazmanian and Sabatier's *Implementation and Public Policy*. Starting with Hood, we can adopt his ideas on the government tool kit to consider the various policy mechanisms the Americans and Canadians selected in response and those they chose to ignore. Secondly, Mazmanian and Sabatier's six conditions of effective implementation will be applied to the Canadian and American policies. Finally, with reference to other historical economic stimulus policy action, Pressman and Wildadavsky's arguments on learning from experience will be reviewed. While each policy theory identified for this paper is over twenty years old, this research can offer insight on how the theories have maintained their worth as explanatory tools and possibly forecast the viability and effectiveness of the chosen policy paths.

**Lewis, J.P. – jlewis3 @ connect.carleton.ca**

*"If we could all be Bill Davis" – Provincial Premiers and Their Legacies, 1967–2007*

Hannah Arendt argued, "what goes on between mortals directly...would never outlast the moment of their realization, would never leave any trace without the help of remembrance." The memory of retired politicians is influenced by a variety of factors after they have left office. Once unpopular policies, once uninspiring leaders, once stale direction can gradually become entrenched and accepted policies, steady leadership and effective governance. The discourse of biographers, historians, the media and the individuals themselves construct a much more significant characterization of the politicians' impact on society and history. As David Greenberg argued in his book *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image* "I believe that history consists not only in what important people did and said but equally in what they symbolized – what they meant – to their publics." The central research questions of this paper are as follows: What has become of the legacies of two-term (and plus) provincial premiers and how have those legacies been shaped? Using the 1967 Confederation of Tomorrow (and its importance to the national profile of a number of premiers) and 2007 (the year after Ralph Klein's retirement) as a forty-year time frame, this analysis will consider the legacies of thirty-three premiers from Bill Bennett to Brian Tobin. The methodology will be a qualitative historical approach, using newspapers and biographies as the central sources for construction of changes in discourse over time and any other related secondary sources as part of a more comprehensive literature review on the premiers' political impacts.

**Lewis, J.P. – jlewis3 @ connect.carleton.ca and Thomas, Paul – paul.thomas @ utoronto.ca**

*A Tale of Two Leaders (and a Recession): Leadership Performance and Public Perception During the Recent Global Economic Crisis*

Conventional wisdom holds that economic crises will reduce the popularity of incumbent politicians. However, reason would dictate that this tendency may be moderated by 1) the extent to which the crisis is seen to be the result of factors external to the country (e.g. as the ripple effect of a crisis originating in another jurisdiction); and 2) the extent to which the incumbent politicians act to slow the downturn and protect jobs. This paper proposes to explore whether, when measuring the effect of an economic crisis, citizens evaluate the performance of their leaders based on: A) the country's absolute economic performance; B) the relative hardship being experienced in their country as compared to others; or C) the perception that their leaders are able to improve the economy through new programs and interventions. To compare the experiences of two leaders and their own respective recessions we focus on British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper. The countries differed somewhat in the identification of the recession, the period of the UK beginning in October 2008 and in Canada in January 2009. Using Ekos in Canada and an aggregate poll tracker in the United Kingdom we will focus on the relative change in support for both leaders in relation to the financial news of the day. Our analysis hopes to capture the effectiveness of leadership strategies and certain policy announcements in light of a hyperbolized and heavily covered global economic downturn.

**Lindsay, Peter – polpl @ langate.gsu.edu**

*What is (Really) the Problem with Alienation?*

In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, Marx discusses four types of alienation that occur during the productive process: alienation from the object of production, from the process of production, from our "species being" and from all others with whom we share the productive process. In subsequent works, little mention is made of these forms of alienation. Marx moves instead – from about 1848 on – to increasingly economic examinations of the labour process; examinations where the more measurable and less philosophical concepts of exploitation and immiseration come to replace alienation. These economic examinations culminate in his analysis of surplus extraction in *Capital*, Volume 1. As a result of this shift of focus, Marx never provided his readers with much more than provocative assertions regarding the manner in which these four forms of alienation present themselves and the concrete effect they have on the alienated individuals. More significantly, he provided no argument as to why alienation was normatively problematic. This latter observation is not surprising, as Marx eschewed claims about the justice of social relations, given that justice, in his mind, was itself a bourgeois construct.

In this paper I shall pick up where Marx left off, and, in some sense, go where he would not have gone. First, I shall provide a brief overview of Marx's claims about each form of alienation. Second, I shall extend his analysis in order to see,

concretely, how these forms of alienation occur and how they manifest themselves – what, in other words, the problem is for individuals experiencing them. Finally, I shall argue that, if we keep the basic tenets of democratic theory in mind, alienation does indeed present a normative problem with respect to economic justice.

**Lister, Andrew – [andrew.lister @ queensu.ca](mailto:andrew.lister@queensu.ca)**

*Justice and Reciprocity*

This paper explores the relationship between justice and reciprocity. Rawls focused on "ideal theory" because he thought that even under the best conditions people would not generally be willing to comply with just rules without reasonable assurance of compliance on the part of others. A feasible conception of justice had to be such that most people would be motivated to act upon it, in a just society. The real question is whether this reciprocity condition makes the theory too realistic. Rawls has been criticized for failing to identify the duties of justice that we have to the disabled and to foreigners, as well as the personal duties of justice we have within the scope provided by just institutions. Each of these criticisms emerges from a rejection of Rawls's limitation of justice by reciprocity. This paper argues that reciprocity is not a de facto limit of human nature, but an intrinsic feature of justice. Our duties of distributive justice are conditional on reciprocity and thus limited (though not non-existent) where institutions securing reciprocity do not exist, because the point of distributive justice is to constitute a relationship of mutual recognition as equals, not to eliminate arbitrary inequalities as such. This normative interpretation of the reciprocity condition as part of a relational account of justice clarifies and renders more plausible the Rawlsian positions on disability, global justice, and market incentives. It also helps explain Rawls's otherwise puzzling arguments for "congruence" and "overlapping consensus."

**Livingston, Alex – [alex.livingston @ utoronto.ca](mailto:alex.livingston@utoronto.ca)**

*Docility in America: James, Tocqueville, and Individuality*

Theorists seeking to reconstruct a political theory from William James's writings typically disregard his early psychological writings as technical treatise disconnected from his increasing social and political involvement during the period of the American-Spanish war. This essay suggests that James' major work, *The Principles of Psychology*, provides a capacious moral psychology of moral and political agency that underwrites his later critical writings. Focusing on the interdependent themes of habit and will, I argue that James' moral psychology provides a counter-narrative to the heroic and elitist conception of willful agency he develops in his moral writings. The interdependence of passivity and activity in James' psychology provides an untapped perspective for thinking about the fragility of democratic agency and liberal sociality.

**Locas, Marie Chantal – [mloca072 @ uottawa.ca](mailto:mloca072@uottawa.ca)**

*On Frontier(s) of Biometrics: Between Control and Resistance*

Recent literature on borders describe the border as a space of exception where the sovereign power draws the line between "us" and "them". In some cases, it is also analyzed in terms of a camp where migrants are reduced to bare life and wait in the hope of being granted the right to be(come) political. For others, the border is a place where biopolitical discipline operates and attempts to normalize the conduct of the individual through its examination. The border is thus a complex space where different types of power are simultaneously exercised. Through an analysis of the growing use of biometric technologies for border controls between the United States and Mexico, this paper demonstrates how the biometric border is situated within the context of a biopower that creates what Gilles Deleuze calls a "society of control". This paper provides an examination of the transformations in the exercise of power in order to explore the possibilities of resistance vis-à-vis the way power now operates at the US-Mexico border in order to see how the notion of control has made modes of action at the border more complex.

**Lopes Morey, Ariana – [ariana.lopes.morey @ utoronto.ca](mailto:ariana.lopes.morey@utoronto.ca)**

*Canada's and Mexico's Role in Constructing (or Constraining) US Power: A Political-Economy Overview*

Through their consumer markets and investment opportunities, their abundant mineral and petroleum resources, and their continuing supplies of skilled and unskilled labour, Canada and Mexico have proven the most important foreign material sources of US economic strength.

In border security matters, outlaw civil society organizations in Canada and Mexico present the greatest threat to the United States as producers and suppliers of illegal narcotics and as possible conduits for US-destined terrorists. At the same time, the two peripheral states provide crucial anti-terrorist border security to the United States, making the Canadian and Mexican governments Washington's most important allies in its wars on drugs and terror.

In the international arena, Canada and Mexico's roles vis-à-vis the United States are inconsistent. On the one hand, they construct US power by spreading the norms that buttress US global economic hegemony when they negotiate their own free-trade and investment treaties with other states. On the other hand, Canada has supported US resistance to the multilateral Kyoto protocol, while Mexico has defiantly thwarted US foreign policy in Central America.

Our analysis leads to a puzzling conclusion. Although Canada and Mexico have occasionally succeeded in leveraging their assets into effective action, they have historically exerted less influence on the United States than their actual contribution to its wealth and security would seem to warrant.

**Lu, Catherine – [catherine.lu @ mcgill.ca](mailto:catherine.lu@mcgill.ca)**

*Realizing Human Rights: Problems of Nonideal Theory*

Although ideal theory has established that a well-ordered global order would be one in which human rights 'would be secured everywhere' (Rawls, *Law of Peoples*, 1999: 93), theorists have offered little guidance on how to promote movement towards this ideal. This paper will focus on the specific problems of global severe poverty and gender

discrimination in developing countries. I posit that a structural analysis is necessary to explain the widespread, pervasive and repetitive nature of human rights violations in these cases. Building on the work of Iris Marion Young, my account of structured vulnerabilities and their roots in structural injustice and structural deficiencies will have implications for devising and implementing effective remedial strategies. Instead of thinking in consequentialist terms of needing to 'protect the vulnerable' victims of human rights violations, intervening agents need to think in terms of fortifying the agency of the vulnerable or empowering them to challenge, resist and overcome structural injustice. In developing a normative theory that aims to provide guidance for action that is oriented towards the constructive reform of existing social institutions and practices, the importance of addressing questions in nonideal theory, such as feasibility, legitimacy, stability and sustainability, becomes paramount.

**Macdonald, Douglas – douglas.macdonald @ utoronto.ca**

*Climate Change Policy in Canada and United States*

In recent years, the importance of the interplay between United States and Canadian climate change policy has increased greatly. First, the Canadian government explicitly states it will harmonize Canadian policy with that of the United States. Second, policy in some provinces and States is being influenced as much by their cross-border alliances (WCI, New England/Atlantic) as by federal-provincial/State policy making. Thirdly, some important players, such as the Alberta oil sands industry, appear to be influenced more by developments in United States policy than by Canadian. Questions addressed by the roundtable include: who are the most influential actors in climate change policy in each country and is there a difference between US and Canada? What is the impact of change in the executive branch on climate change policy? Did new diplomatic initiative or international negotiation have a determinant role to play in the development of domestic climate change policy? What evaluation can we make of the efforts accomplished so far in Canada and United States at the sub-federal or federal level? Why have States and provinces been relatively more active than federal governments so far? To what extent has policy, in Canada and United States, been influenced by the will to harmonize policy between the two countries (or between sub-federal jurisdictions)?

**Macdonald, Fiona – macdonaf @ cc.umanitoba.ca**

*Democratic Multinationalism: A Political Approach to Indigenous-State Relations in Canada*

The starting point for this paper is that indigenous autonomy is a relational political practice rather than a resource to be distributed by a benevolent state. Building on this perspective, this paper situates indigenous autonomy in a robustly political model of democratic multinationalism. This approach is characterized by four central tenets: the morality of indigenous autonomy, the need for indigenous-state deliberation and political reciprocity, the permanency of conflict, and the vital role of indigenous counterpublics. Overall this paper will argue that conceiving of indigenous issues as inherently political in nature, as opposed to culturally defined and constituted, better meets the challenges of colonial legacy and context of deep difference in which indigenous-state relations take place today.

**Macdonald, Laura – Laura\_Macdonald @ carleton.ca**

*Regionalism in Flux: Politics, Economics and Security in the North American Region*

Since the 9/11 attacks, any impulse toward regionalism in North America seems to have stalled, leading to the "thickening" of land borders, the emphasis on security over enhanced trade in U.S. policy, the failure of immigration policy reform in the U.S., and increased trends toward "dual bilateralism," (U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Canada as opposed to trilateralism). As well, the financial crisis in the global economy and the rise of narco-politics in Mexico act to undermine a regional identity. I argue that these trends can best be understood from a constructivist perspective which emphasizes the role of identity, and the social construction of interests, in the ongoing evolution of the North American region. Analysts of the North American region broadly agree that theoretical approaches based on the European experience (functionalism, neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism) are inadequate for understanding the dynamics of integration in North America because of the dominance of a single actor (the United States), the primacy of business actors in driving integration, and the relative lack of institutions in this region. Theories of "new regionalism(s)" have not been applied in the North American context and the region is, in general, under-theorized. In this paper I propose that constructivism provides a useful approach to understanding the North American region, especially in the post-9/11 context.

**Macfarlane, Emmett – emacfarlane @ wcfia.harvard.edu**

*Judicial Conceptions and Legislative Capitulations: Another Foray into the Charter "Dialogue" Debate*

Understanding the relationship between courts and the other branches of government as it relates to policy issues implicated by the Charter of Rights has come to be dominated by debates about Charter review as a "dialogue." This dialogic understanding of judicial review contends that legislatures are able to respond to court decisions either by amending impugned legislation or by temporarily suspending judicial decisions through use of the Charter's notwithstanding clause. Since the initial elaboration of the dialogue metaphor (Hogg and Bushnell, 1997), a voluminous – and largely normative – debate has ensued about whether it resolves or reduces concerns about judicial supremacy. Critics argue that dialogue fails in practice because legislatures routinely treat the Supreme Court's decisions as the final word, and thus legislative responses often entail simply following the dictates of the Court.

This paper makes two contributions to understanding the inter-institutional relationships surrounding Charter review. First, drawing on research interviews with Supreme Court justices, I analyze judicial conceptions of dialogue. Until now, our understanding of how judges conceive of dialogue has been limited to what has been stated in a handful of the Court's

written reasons. Second, the paper builds on the few empirical examinations of the type of legislative responses that occur following judicial invalidation of statutes under the Charter (Manfredi and Kelly, 1999; Hennigar, 2004) to explore the extent to which “genuine” dialogue occurs. The paper concludes that both conceptually and empirically, a dialogic understanding of Charter review is inappropriate.

**MacGilvray, Eric – macgilvray.2 @ polisci.osu.edu**

*Liberalism as Radical Empiricism*

For William James the most fundamental point of philosophical disagreement does not lie between pluralists and monists, or between optimists and pessimists, but rather between those who treat their ideals as practical commitments whose vindication depends upon our efforts on their behalf, and those who regard their ideals as having a prior metaphysical sanction and guarantee. It follows that radical empiricism is the creed that we must study if we want to come to terms with the full range and depth of James’s thought. In this essay I will argue that pragmatism is, as James often insisted, the philosophical method that we must adopt if we are radical empiricists, and that liberalism is the political ideal to which the radical empiricist is necessarily committed. I will argue in particular that radical empiricism provides an attractive alternative to the Kantian foundations of much contemporary liberal theory, and thus that, as James once remarked, “the true line of philosophic progress lies...not so much through Kant as round him to the point where we now stand.”

**Maciel, Robert – rmaciel @ uwo.ca and Vine, Timothy – tvine @ uwo.ca**

*Re-Approaching Multiculturalism in Canada: Understanding the Limits of Redistribution*

This paper considers approaches to multiculturalism, more specifically those focused on redistribution and recognition. Distributive approaches to multiculturalism involve not only material redistribution, but also distribution of rights and state protections. Multicultural approaches focused on recognition involve a conscious acknowledgment of the value of particular communities in and of themselves, and their central role to the individual members. In the liberal community these approaches have generally been perceived as irreconcilable, with a preference towards the redistributive end. Some proponents of redistribution argue that recognition obscures the primary goal of material and legal equality, while some who defend recognition charge that redistribution fails to adequately address the injustices born by minorities, especially visible minorities. We begin by question this assumption and move on to discussing the role of these approaches in regards to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The Canadian state’s response, so far, to the claims of Aboriginal peoples has been skewed towards redistribution while all but denying claims of recognition. Through insights gained in this case, we attempt to show how redistribution and recognition might work in a liberal multicultural setting. Taken together redistribution and recognition could lead the Canadian state to rearticulate an effective response to the claims of Aboriginal peoples. The re-evaluation of approaches to multiculturalism in Canada requires a questioning of the bounds of liberal citizenship. However, we argue that this combined approach to multiculturalism is well within the spirit of liberalism, if not the boundaries of liberal citizenship.

**MacKay, Joseph – joseph.mackay @ utoronto.ca and Levin, Jamie – jamie.levin @ utoronto.ca**

*The Case for Hegel in International Relations Theory: Making War, Making States, and Remaking the Roots of a Discipline*

Despite his significance for political theory, Hegel has often been overlooked by the International Relations (IR) canon. We investigate why, and mount an argument that he should be read more closely by scholars and students alike: reevaluating Hegel can offer a more nuanced account of central problems in IR. Of these, we emphasize a problem central to the IR, the causes of war. In contrast to structural or other rationalist theories still dominant in security studies, Hegel offers an account based on domestic politics and national identity. This is, in turn, tied to his account of state formation. Thus, state making and war making are closely linked. Further, this account can help to account for nationalism and nationalistic war, along with the causes of imperialism, in ideational terms. We conclude with an analysis of broader theoretical implications for IR, and an argument for the inclusion of Hegel in discussions of the field’s founding texts. While no one would argue that any canonical body of theoretical work should be adopted wholly, many Hegelian methods and concepts can and should be added to IR’s theoretical toolkit.

**Mackenzie, Megan – Megan.Mackenzie @ vuw.ac.nz**

*Combat or Not?: Investigating the Origins and Implications of Canada and New Zealand’s Policies Towards Women in the Military*

This paper will investigate the origins of national military policies towards women in New Zealand, Canada and the US. In particular, it will compare policies associated with women’s participation in combat duties. There have been some initial research on women in the military in the US (Enloe), Canada (Howell), and New Zealand (Wheelwright); however, there has not been a comparison of these three countries with respect to their policies towards women in the military. As a result, the following research questions remain unanswered: why do some countries chose to restrict women from combat duties while others give them full access?; What is the policy history, and what were the challenges or obstacles, for those countries that allow women to participate in combat? This paper will highlight initial findings drawn from detailed research of the political history and evolution of policies towards women in the military in Canada, the US and New Zealand. Furthermore, it will compare the potential implications and impacts, in terms of military culture– on having women participate in full combat duties.

**MacLean, Lee – leemaclean @ rogers.com**

*Rethinking the Categorizations of Feminist Theory: the Significance of the Rise of the Market Economy*

Feminist theory is often articulated as a series of categories such as liberal feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, etc. These categories have aided the initial development of feminist thought, but their prevalence limits discussion to predictable perimeters.

At the same time, feminists often have notably divergent responses to the rise of the market economy. In particular, there is a difference of opinion about the liberating possibilities of participating in a free market economy. Some feminists emphasize that the market economy provides an opportunity for women to free themselves from gender restrictions expressed in family and kinship traditions. But many other feminists, are (from varying perspectives) skeptical that participation in the free market results in freedom for women (or other benefits to women, men or the world). The argument draws on work by Linda Nicholson and Karl Poylani to show that thinking through the historically changing relations between market, family and politics provides a thought-provoking basis for re-interpreting the main lines of feminist argument. This conceptualization can help to destabilize old categories and to recast often divisive debates (for example, over issues such as prostitution, pornography and housework).

**MacMillan, Michael – michael.macmillan @ msvu.ca**

*Engaging Citizens in Identifying Values: Natural Resource Planning in Nova Scotia*

Drawing the citizen back into public fora is an ongoing concern for governments in democratic countries around the globe, which has inspired a variety of innovative means to engage citizens in public policy decisions. . This invites the question of how citizens evaluate these engagement opportunities, a question which reveals a decided lacuna of studies regarding citizen assessments of their experiences. This study is a report from the citizen participants on the merits of a participatory model used in Nova Scotia to identify core values to shape natural resource policy development. This study examines the attitudes of the citizen participants on the responsiveness and effectiveness of this particular process, and its impact on their disposition to participate in the future. One readily apparent trend is the strong support for more transparent and collaborative decision-making practices which integrate citizen input into the structures of decision-making. It also compares the results of this engagement process on natural resources with an earlier study on heritage planning to determine if a more dialogue-focused process achieves higher participation rates and is more highly rated by participants. It concludes with an assessment of the legitimacy of such mechanisms as the “voice of the people” to citizens themselves and to government decision-makers

**Maddison, Sarah – sarah.maddison @ unsw.edu.au**

*White Parliament, Black Politics: Indigenous Parliamentarians in Australia*

Australia's parliaments remain fundamentally white institutions. Since Federation, Aboriginal people have been poorly represented—or not represented at all—in the nation's State, Territory and Commonwealth legislatures. Indeed, there have only ever been two Indigenous people in Australia's federal parliament and in the States and Territories representation is variable.

So, what does it mean to be an Indigenous parliamentarian in Australia today? From at least the 1930s Aboriginal leaders and activists have expressed a desire for greater involvement in government and representation in parliament. Today, however, there is a more ambivalent assessment of the capacity for parliamentary representation to actually deliver meaningful change. The notion of seeking representation in non-Aboriginal institutions of government can also be deeply conflictual for many Aboriginal people. On the one hand many Aboriginal people consider themselves to be members of sovereign Aboriginal nations, while on the other hand, taking a seat in parliament acknowledges their status as Australian citizens representing other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens.

This paper examines these complexities in Aboriginal parliamentary representation, drawing on original interviews with current and past parliamentarians. The paper concludes that while parliamentary representation is important in a symbolic sense, it will never be an adequate vehicle for representing Indigenous needs and concerns in the postcolonial state.

**Maddison, Sarah – sarah.maddison @ unsw.edu.au**

*Sovereign and Landless: The Politics of Land and Autonomy for Indigenous Australians*

The politics of land has always been at the centre of Australian Indigenous struggles for freedom and autonomy. Land rights and sovereignty have been and remain intrinsically tied together in Aboriginal political discourse. The land rights campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s ultimately bore fruit and the recognition of native title in the early 1990s seemed to further advance the political and legal recognition of Indigenous land rights and land ownership. In the years since, however, the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty and rights to land have come increasingly under attack: from hostile governments, from greedy industry, and from a public still determined to keep Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples at the margins of Australian society. Most recently, a set of policies known as ‘the intervention’ into Northern Territory Aboriginal communities has recast the politics of land once more, now under direction of government attempts to resume Aboriginal land ‘for their own good.’ This paper explores the current situation in Aboriginal struggles for land rights and sovereignty, and argues that until these issues regain the political legitimacy and traction they once held, Indigenous people in Australia will remain impoverished and disadvantaged.

**Mahdavi, Mojtaba – mojtaba.mahdavi @ ualberta.ca**

*Post-Islamism in Iran: Neo-Shariati's Post-liberal Discourse and Soroush's Liberal Islam*

New theories of secularization suggest that public religion is a fact of modern life. The emergence of Islamism in the Muslim world suggests that modernization contributed to the rise of religion in the public sphere. Islamism and post-Islamism represent two distinct features of public religion. Post-Islamism symbolizes the transformation of Islamism in its discourse and practice; it represents both a condition and a project embodied in a multi-dimensional movement. As a

condition, it refers to a new socio-political condition where Islamism reinvents and revises its role in a changing socio-political sphere. As a project, it refers to a radical attempt to re-conceptualize and re-interpret Islamist intellectual, social and political discourses in acknowledging secular exigencies; it is a radical call for a critical dialogue between sacred and secular, tradition and modernity, religion and reason. Post-Islamism is neither anti-Islamic nor un-Islamic; it is an analytical rather than an historical category (Bayat 2007).

This paper problematizes two post-Islamist discourses in contemporary Iran: neo-Shariati's post-liberal discourse, represented by a new generation/interpretation of Ali Shariati's thought, and Abdolkarim Soroush's liberal Islam. Iran's two post-Islamist discourses will be examined based on how each liberal and post-liberal discourse defines (a) sacred/Islam, (b) secular/public sphere, and (c) the role and legitimacy of sacred/Islam in secular/public sphere. The paper will shed light on how each discourse contributes to the 'politics of possibilities' in post-revolutionary Iran. This paper examines each discourse's contribution to transform complex socio-political and intellectual arrangements of the post-revolutionary Iran to a sustainable, authentic, and grassroots democracy.

**Mahdavi, Mojtaba – mojtaba.mahdavi @ ualberta.ca**

*Iran after June 2009: State and Society in a New Epoch?*

This paper will examine the nature and scope of the events in post-June 2009 presidential election in Iran on 'state' and 'societal' levels. I will argue that both the Islamic Republic and Iran's democratic movement have been transformed into a new phase following the June 2009 presidential election.

On the state level, the Islamic Republic has passed a threshold: the unprecedented crisis of legitimacy has challenged both the 'Islamic' and 'republican' features of the state. The rise and consolidation of Iran's 'neo-conservatives' (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and its allies) signify a profound change to the 'institutional structure' and 'political culture' of the state.

On the societal level, Iran's Green democratic movement represents an 'epistemic shift' in Iran's political culture. For the first time in Iran's century-old democratic movement people's slogan is 'where is my vote?' – it is not 'where is my gun?' The politics of non-violence engagement and changing political destiny through ballot, not bullet, indicates the beginning of a cultural paradigm shift in Iran. Moreover, Iran's Green movement symbolizes the beginning of 'post-Islamism' in contemporary Iran. Post-Islamist discourse is neither anti-Islamic nor un-Islamic. It is an attempt to re-conceptualize Islamic intellectual, social and political discourses in acknowledging secular exigencies; it is a radical call for a critical dialogue between sacred and secular, tradition and modernity, religion and reason.

The paper, in sum, will examine the 'politics of possibilities' for state and society in Iran's new epoch and if/how the current changes transform the post-revolutionary Iran into a sustainable, home grown, grassroots democracy.

**Makus, Ingrid – imakus @ brocku.ca**

*The Ethics of Ambiguity: Moral Choice and Deliberation in Resistance to War*

This paper examines the contribution of Simone De Beauvoir to 'non-ideal theory' by drawing on her account of the ambiguity of moral choice faced by actors in a situation of war and occupation by an invader. In her novels, *The Mandarins* and *The Blood of Others*, de Beauvoir depicts characters engaging in deliberation about how one acts in a situation of political uncertainty generated by the occupation of France in World War II. In her essays, *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, and *An Eye for an Eye*, she offers an account of the responsibility of individuals in judging and partaking in the punishment of 'war crimes'. In particular, de Beauvoir provides a nuanced account of the problem of punishment that aims at restitution for atrocities committed in times of war and the role of public war tribunals in attempting to institutionalize vengeance.

**Malloy, Jonathan – jonathan\_malloy @ carleton.ca**

*Not all the Same: Evangelicals within the Conservative Party of Canada*

This paper will explore the presence and impact of evangelical activism in the Conservative Party of Canada. Using evidence from interviews and public documents, it will argue that while evangelicals are uniformly conservative on issues of reproduction and sexuality, they are considerably more diverse on other economic, social and international issues. Furthermore, they vary in their degree of militancy and priority toward reproductive and sexuality issues. Particular attention will be given to the regional nature of this activism and differences between Western, Ontario and Atlantic Canadian activism and parliamentarians, and distinctions between evangelical cabinet ministers and backbenchers. Together, these variances have important implications for the construction and pursuit of different strands of conservatism within the Conservative Party.

**Maltais, Aaron – aaron.maltais @ statsvet.uu.se**

*Global Warming and International Cooperation Now: Time, Pressure, and Theories of Global Justice*

The aim of this paper is to weigh moral theorising on global justice and the threat of global warming against empirical evidence on what forms of political cooperation among states are possible over the short-term. I will argue that this kind of non-ideal consideration is categorically warranted in the case of climate change. This is because recent assessments indicate that we have less than a decade to aggressively redirect powerful trends of increasing global GHG emissions and turn them into powerful trends of decreasing global GHG emissions, if we are to avoid dangerous levels of warming (IPCC, 2007). Political theorists working on the problem of climate change often address questions like 'what obligations do we have to future generations,' or 'how should we distribute the costs of addressing global warming globally'? Some theorists appeal to global warming in arguing for global forms of government and/or democracy. The application of general theories of global and distributive justice to the issue of climate change has

generated an important body of work but at the same time there has been too little focus on what theories of justice have to say about policies over the short-term. Short-term political constraints are frequently not particularly relevant to theories of justice because these constraints are not genuine technical limitations on possible forms of social cooperation. Furthermore, there is normally no time limit for achieving justice. However in the case of global warming we do face a stark time limit which may in turn strictly limit the kind of collective action that is possible. Drawing on empirical work in political science and economics on what is and is not institutionally feasible at the international scope over the short-term this paper will address the problem of global climate justice in non-ideal conditions.

**Maltseva, Elena – elena.maltseva @ utoronto.ca**

*Health Care Crisis and Grassroots Social Initiative in Post-Communist Russia*

This paper analyzes the origins, development and outcomes of the grassroots social and policy initiatives in St. Petersburg responding to Russia's fledging post-Soviet health care crisis. The paper focuses on volunteer social work, specifically on grassroots initiatives to help families of children diagnosed with cancer to overcome the everyday psychological, legal and financial difficulties associated with treatment and to lobby the government to go forward with health care reform.

Contrary to the standard Western view of Russian civil society as being weak and shapeless, I argue that over the last few years Russian civil society has become significantly stronger and more actively engaged in public debates on social as well as political issues. This trend suggests that in contrast to the "old" civil society, formed under the Soviet regime and currently positioning itself as a force opposing the existing competitive authoritarian structure, this "new" civil society has greater opportunities for challenging the system and bringing positive change from below.

This paper is based on the author's personal experience as a participant in one of the grassroots initiatives, published materials in Russian journals and newspapers and a series of interviews with volunteers.

**Manicom, James – james.manicom @ utoronto.ca**

*Canada's Arctic Future: Lessons from East Asia*

The impact of climate change on the circumpolar north has increased the value the Arctic Ocean to coastal states and presents serious foreign policy challenges to Canada. The Arctic dispute has two distinct features for Canada; a dispute over the status of the Northwest Passage and conflicting claims with coastal states over extended continental shelf claims. Canada's response to these challenges will have a lasting effect on its relationships with neighbouring states as well as on the lives of those who inhabit the area. This paper concerns the latter challenge; overlapping extended continental shelf claims with coastal states such as Russia. Specifically, it draws comparative lessons for Canadian policymakers based on the East Asian experience responding to the overlapping jurisdictional entitlements created by UNCLOS. East Asian states have been grappling with the challenge presented by overlapping claims to resource rich seabeds since the widespread ratification of UNCLOS in 1996. In light of similar geographic conditions (a dispute over a semi-enclosed sea), alliance structures and the relative infancy of the claimant states with UNCLOS entitlements. Canada only ratified the treaty in 2003, and the United States has yet to do so; this paper sets out the case that important comparative lessons for Canada can be drawn from the East experience with regard to territorial and delimitation disputes. In light of recent cooperative advances, particular attention is paid to the East China Sea dispute between China and Japan.

**Margulis, Matias – margulm @ mcmaster.ca**

*Human Rights Beyond the Nation-State: Transnational Dimensions*

A decade has passed since Risse-Kappen, Ropp, and Sikkink published their seminal book, *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, a book that was instrumental in bringing the study of human rights into mainstream International Relations (IR). In subsequent years, IR scholars studying human rights have developed a rich literature on treaty compliance, civil society advocacy, and the role of norms in world politics. However, I suggest that this literature is characterized by a state-centric approach; most theoretical and empirical studies have been inordinately concerned with the impact of international human rights norms on national politics and policies. As such, there is a major gap in the IR literature when it comes to the study of emerging transnational dimensions of human rights law and politics. In this paper, I show the international human rights system has developed new mechanisms to promote and monitor human rights practices beyond the level of the nation-state to include multilateral organizations and transnational corporations. I argue that these new human rights mechanisms have created a new transnational political space for the promotion of human rights. I suggest ways to incorporate these novel elements into IR theory. I construct this argument by analyzing the work of the Special Rapporteur and the Human Rights Advisory Council at the UN Human Rights Council, drawing from extensive interviews with officials from the UN human rights system, states, and NGOs, and direct observation of UN Human Rights Council meetings.

**Margulis, Matias – margulm @ mcmaster.ca and Coleman, William – wdcolema @ artsservices.uwaterloo.ca**

*Global Crises/Global Solutions: International Organizations and the Transnational Politics of Crisis Management*

Implicit in contemporary global responses to crisis is the assumption of certain steps about how crises are addressed. Simply put, first there needs to be inter-state agreement/cooperation on a policy agenda and a way forward and second implementation of this agenda takes place through both relevant international organizations and states working in a coordinated way with each other and the IOs. What is missing from this analysis is the increasing likelihood that there will be several international organizations involved, perhaps termed a "regime complex", perhaps a "transnational policy space". And there is also the possibility that states will seek to realize their interests by shifting attention from one

international organization to another (regime shifting). These developments suggest that we need to understand better how co-operation or competition comes into play between international organizations. Are we to assume international organizations simply carry out the wishes of their masters (i.e., states)? Or are inter-agency processes subject to their own dynamics, including the balance of power between organizations, and the interface between diverse mandates, expertise and interests? We argue that the efficacy of global governance is dependent on both inter-state and inter-agency processes and how these processes foster responsive cooperation between states in implementing global policies. In this paper, we analyze how inter-agency processes constitute an important transnational terrain of political conflict and demonstrate how it impacts global policy-making outcomes when it comes to most recent global food crisis.

**Marin, Mara – mara @ uchicago.edu**

*What Consent Theory Can Tell us About Authority*

Both defenders and critics of the consent theory of political obligation share a view about the act that expresses consent and grounds political obligations. According to this view, the act of consenting to one's political obligations is no different from the act through which one consents, for example, to return a book to a friend. This view is wrong because it assumes precisely what an answer to the problem of political obligation needs to establish – the existence of shared understandings and reliable expectations about the future. My argument will show that the problem of political obligation is intrinsically related to “the problem of judgment” – the problem that in the absence of a common judge whose decisions we accept as binding we disagree fundamentally about the meaning of words and we lack relevant shared understandings. These shared understandings are necessary to constitute an act of ours as an act of consent. The problem with the consent theory of political obligation is that it misunderstands the problem of political obligation by decoupling it from that of judgment and from the question of legitimate authority.

**Marland, Alex – amarland @ mun.ca**

*The Strategic and Tactical Marketing of Canadian Political Parties*

Building on the “political marketing” workshop at the 2009 CPSA conference, this presentation will provide a historical overview of how Canadian political parties have used marketing research to design strategy and to implement it tactically. It will trace the evolution of political product, sales and marketing orientations in Canadian politics. It will also explore how Canada's national political parties develop their organization using marketing tools and the extent to which they use internal marketing to understand their supporters' needs. It will summarize previous research, noting any issues or problems in practice, and provide a new assessment of marketing in the most recent Canadian federal election.

**Marland, Alex – amarland @ mun.ca and Dufresne, Yannick – yannick.dufresne @ gmail.com**

*Electoral Rules and Traditions Influencing the Use of Political Marketing in Canada*

Building on the political marketing workshop held at the 2009 CPSA conference, this presentation will identify the regulatory context for political marketing in Canada. It will summarize the rules and traditions in Canada on a comparative basis with other democratic systems, with particular emphasis on the similarities and differences of the “rules of the game” in the USA and UK. There will be special emphasis placed on federal election legislation, including finance, referenda, nominations, as well as discussion about the electoral system and campaign regulations in the Canadian federation. It will also consider political marketing in a geographical context.

**Martin, Sarah - Sjmartin25 @ gmail.com**

*Canadian Food Activists at the Neoliberal Table: Food Sovereignty and the People's Food Policy Project*

Canada has a long history of social movement activism centered on food and agriculture, and recently, many food activists have begun to prescribe food sovereignty as an antidote to the problems associated with industrial agrifood. This paper will explore the emergence of food sovereignty discourse in the Canadian context in order to interrogate how this social movement has been produced and is reproducing itself, and how food sovereignty is being used as an ordering discourse to shape and structure subjects in specific ways. Drawing on Foucauldian scholarship that challenges neoliberalism from within, this paper will explore how Canadian food sovereignty discourse has been shaped by neoliberal logics, while at the same time has been deployed as an antidote to these logics. How does the strategic deployment of food sovereignty open up new political, economic and social spaces? (What is it producing? What is it limiting?). What subjectivities are being produced by this discourse and what are their effects on food activists? In sum, how does this social movement understand itself and its goals? This paper builds on interviews with activists associated with the “People's Food Policy Project”, a nation-wide project of kitchen table meetings, policy writing teams and conferences, and will illuminate how food sovereignty discourse is mobilizing both activists and allies to develop a “concrete food sovereignty policy” in Canada.

**Marwah, Inder – nder.marwah @ gmail.com and Triadafilopoulos, Phil – triadaf @ utsc.utoronto.ca**

*Immigration, Citizenship and Canada's New Conservative Party*

Since its inception in 2003 and particularly since forming government in 2006, the Conservative Party has made a concerted effort to draw support from immigrant populations. This aggressive courting of the “immigrant vote” stands in contrast some of the more populist positions taken by its predecessors, the Reform Party and the Canadian Alliance. At the same time, however, the Conservatives have challenged the longstanding toleration of dual citizenship in Canada's nationality law and suggested that multiculturalism is an outdated approach to the challenges of immigrant integration. This paper seeks to explain these apparent inconsistencies in the Conservatives' handling of immigration and citizenship policy. We argue that the conjunction of Canada's first-past-the-post electoral system, immigrant settlement patterns,

and citizenship laws provide create a structural context in which appeals to immigrant voters in Central Canada are required of any party with aspirations to national power. At the same the party's need to reassure conservative voters in the West of its ideological convictions, especially as regards a strong commitment to fostering a distinctive Canadian national identity, has led it to challenge some important components of Canada's immigration and citizenship "model," particularly as regards citizenship acquisition and integration. Thus the countervailing tugs of "political geography" – toward an immigrant-friendly (geographic and ideological) centre, on the one hand, and a more populist western base, on the other – explain the Conservatives' schizophrenic approaches in the immigration and citizenship policy fields. We conclude with a consideration of whether such a dualistic approach is tenable in the longer term.

**Mason, Gabrielle – gabby.mason @ shaw.ca**

*Graying States: Elder Care Policy in Sweden and Canada*

The 'graying' of Canadian society is occurring at the same time that governments are trying to limit rising health and social care costs, and dual earner families have replaced the male breadwinner–female caregiver model, producing a 'crisis of care'. My paper presentation, "Graying States: Elder Care Policy in Sweden and Canada," will compare Canada's elder care policies with those of Sweden. Canada's policies are typical of a "liberal" regime, while Sweden's is the paradigm exemplar of a "social democratic" regime. Social policies like Sweden's increase the ability of elderly to help themselves while the Canadian state is not committed to ensuring that elderly Canadians are provided with similar programs and services. I will advance the argument that in efforts to rectify the care imbalances and uncertainties experienced by many of Canada's elderly and their caregivers, a positive amendment would be to extend elder care benefits similar to those offered in Sweden to Canada's elderly, offering a future where Canada's elderly are provided support.

My research has already garnered favourable Canada-wide attention when reported on by news media (CanWest Global) and local television. This paper is timely and relevant given Canada's ageing population, and the developing, yet preventable, 'crisis in elder care.' Canadian social policy should begin reflecting reality by creating and extending policies like those offered in Sweden that ensure the health and well-being of our elderly population. This will translate into amelioration in the quality of life for all Canadians.

**Matthews, J. Scott – scott.matthews @ queensu.ca, Pickup, Mark – mark.pickup @ politics.ox.ac.uk, Andrew, Blake – blake.andrew @ mcgill.ca and Cutler, Fred – cutler @ politics.ubc.ca**

*Poll Effects on Media Tone: Results from a Quasi-natural Experiment*

This paper aims to test the hypothesis that published poll results during election campaigns not only affect the media stories in which they are reported but also influence the tone of media coverage generally. This is important, as the potential effect of polls is magnified many times if they are not simply reported as fact but also influence the tone of all media coverage.

The challenge is to estimate the impact of published poll results on election media coverage (including that coverage not directly reporting polls), while controlling for the fact that both polls and media coverage are simultaneously affected by real campaign events.

But how to do this?

The political science methodology literature over the past five years has witnessed a string of papers developing a method to separate the real movement of public opinion throughout a campaign from the random sampling error included in poll results. This allows us to estimate the impact of the random sampling error in polls on media coverage, controlling for the real movement in public opinion. As the random sampling error in polls is independent of the real campaign events (it is random after all), its effect on media coverage is the direct effect of the polls themselves.

**Matthews, J. Scott – scott.matthews @ queensu.ca, Goodyear-Grant, Elisabeth – egg @ post.queensu.ca and Hiebert, Janet – hiebertj @ post.queensu.ca**

*The Courts and Public Policy: The View from the Canadian Election Study*

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms has had a profound impact on Canadian politics and society, and scholars of Canadian politics have rightly devoted considerable attention to it. Even so, the effects of the Charter have rarely been a focus of studies of political attitudes and behaviour. This is surprising: some of the most prominent accounts of the Charter's impact have direct implications for "societal" variables, including public opinion and political participation. One of the best known accounts is that of Alan Cairns, who argues that by bringing new groups into the constitutional order, the Charter changed not only the way citizens relate to the constitution, but also strengthened their influence on institutional and political changes, at least at the constitutional level. A more critical account is by Ted Morton and Rainer Knopff, who argue that the Charter has encouraged groups to by-pass Parliament in favour of courts when trying to change social policies, to the detriment of representative democracy.

Theoretical differences notwithstanding, what these two accounts of the Charter's impact share is numerous implications for political attitudes.

However, a rigorous evaluation of these implications – and many others regarding the Charter's effects on the mass public – is so far non-existent.

The present paper makes a start on this project through an examination of public attitudes on the most contested dimension of the Charter's impact:

its capacity to enhance the influence of the courts in public policy.

Drawing on several years of the Canadian Election Studies, we focus on two questions. First, how do Canadians evaluate the courts' public policy role, especially as compared to the role of Parliament? Second, what are the sources of these evaluations?

**May, Paul – paulmay1979 @ gmail.com**

*La laïcité selon Charles Taylor : une perspective critique*

Mon intervention (qui pourra être réalisée en français ou en anglais selon les besoins des coparticipants) sera axée sur la vision de la laïcité proposée par Charles Taylor. Je montrerai que, malgré la pertinence des questions morales qu'il soulève et l'aspect prometteur des pistes qu'il propose, ses analyses ne sont pas exemptes d'équivoques et pourraient potentiellement remettre en cause certains acquis du libéralisme politique.

Mon intervention se fera en deux temps. Je montrerai tout d'abord les critiques que Taylor a formulées vis-à-vis de la séparation du spirituel et du temporel, et plus spécifiquement vis-à-vis de la relégation des signes d'appartenance religieuse dans la sphère privée. Je m'appuierai dans ma démonstration sur l'ensemble de son oeuvre, mais plus spécifiquement sur son dernier ouvrage *A Secular Age*, ainsi que sur le rapport de la commission Bouchard Taylor traitant des accommodements raisonnables, dont il était le coprésident en 2007.

Je m'attacherai par la suite à souligner les ambiguïtés éthiques de sa position et mettrai en exergue les filiations philosophiques qui sous-tendent son raisonnement. J'apporterai pour cela un élément empirique en me penchant sur le projet d'instauration de tribunaux islamiques en Ontario, qui a donné lieu à des débats passionnés au Canada au cours de l'année 2005. Je soulignerai quels éléments de sa philosophie ont pu servir à justifier la mise en place d'un dispositif juridique d'inspiration culturaliste qui s'avère être discriminant envers certaines catégories de la population, comme les femmes et les homosexuels.

**McAllister, James – james.mcallister @ sympatico.ca**

*Redistributive Federalism: Redistributing Wealth and Income in the Canadian Federation*

This paper will examine the workings of the Canadian federation through an analysis of what Theodore Lowi would term the federal government's "redistributive" policies. It is the contention of this paper that the federal government is engaged in a massive redistribution within the federation. The question will be raised as to whether this massive redistribution is necessary for the continued existence of the country. Specifically, this paper will examine the federal government's redistributive policies as they affect individual provinces and territories, even in cases where the policies may be presented to the public as national policies designed to meet the needs of any one or more provinces. As well as being concerned with some of the major transfer programs from the federal government to the provinces and territories, the paper will discuss the other means by which the federal government transfers wealth between the various regions in Canada. This massive redistribution is affected through dozens of less well known transfer programs, as well as transfer payments to other organizations, like those for immigrant settlement, and, more significantly, through direct federal spending like regional development programs and military spending. It is also affected through direct transfers to individuals through programs like Employment Insurance, the National Child Benefit, and other social assistance measures. The reasons for this massive redistribution of wealth and income will be explored and are expected to include economic considerations such as equity and growth, but also political considerations like national unity, system maintenance, and partisan politics. The question will also be raised as to whether a weakening of the federal government, as part of a neo-liberal agenda which includes cutbacks in spending and tax cuts, as well as limitations on these redistributive programs, poses a serious threat to Canada's very existence.

**McAndrews, John – mcandj @ interchange.ubc.ca**

*How Long is the 'Sober Second Thought'? A Study of Government Bill Duration in the Canadian Senate*

Most popular and academic accounts of the Canadian Senate are highly normative, but few evaluate the actual performance of the Senate in light of these normative goals. This paper remedies in part this weakness by examining one such goal – namely, that the Senate should serve as a deliberative forum insulated from the partisan and electoral pressures at work in the House of Commons. The paper does so by conducting event history analyses (a set of statistical techniques applied to time series data) of the amount of time it takes the Senate to act on (i.e. pass or reject) a government bill. The analyses employ original data collected on all government bills considered by the Senate between January 2001 and May 2008. The findings suggest, among other things, (1) that, on average, government bills are passed without amendment more quickly during periods when the governing party has a majority in the Senate, and (2) that, on average, as the government becomes more popular among voters, the Senate actually takes longer to pass government bills – particularly government bills that receive high levels of newspaper coverage. This presents a mixed evaluation of the Senate as a deliberative institution. On the one hand, partisanship appears to compromise the quality of Senate deliberations. On the other hand, the Senate appears to reserve greater scrutiny for, or at least takes more time to deal with, government bills when the government of the day is riding high in the polls.

**McCormick, Peter – mccormick @ uleth.ca**

*Voting Blocs on the McLachlin Court*

At the end of a "McLachlin decade", I propose to examine the voting and writing patterns of the Court over the ten years in search of stable voting blocs – that is to say, sets of judges voting and writing together when the Court divides or fragments. There were clear voting blocs on the Lamer Court in the 1990s; the question is whether there is any sign of a similar degree of continuity characterizing the McLachlin Court in its first decade.

One apparent problem can be immediately discounted: the McLachlin Court initially appeared much more unified than the Lamer Court, but this assertion never really took separate concurrences into account, and it has become less accurate as the decade wore on. A second is more serious, but resolvable: a string of new justices (six since McLachlin became CJ) complicates the analysis, but I will deal with this by letting the double appointments of 2004 (Charron and Abella) divide the period into two, each with two replacements to generate an eleven judge interactive group. I have previously published papers on the voting blocs of the Laskin Court (*Queen's Law Journal* 1998) and the Lamer Court (*Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 1998). I intend to extend this analysis to the current Court, modifying my methodology to take better account of separate concurrences, this following on my attempt to rehabilitate the separate concurrence as a serious vehicle of doctrinal evolution (*Ottawa Law Review* 2005; *McGill Law Journal*, 2008).

**McCrossan, Michael – mmccross @ connect.carleton.ca**

*Narratives of Crown Sovereignty and the Judicial Use of RCAP*

Over the last thirteen years, the Supreme Court of Canada has invoked the authority of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in cases pertaining to Aboriginal rights. While a number of scholars have traced the extent to which RCAP has influenced the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court, they have not examined the manner in which the Court has actually deployed RCAP. Instead, scholarship in this area tends to presume that these references to RCAP are positive developments in the area of Aboriginal rights. However, this development could only be perceived in a positive light if the Court actually engaged the ideas contained within the Report in a manner which caused them to reflect upon (and reconsider) their own accepted understandings of the constitutional order. This paper will show that the Supreme Court appears to be selectively deploying RCAP as a means to bolster support for its own constitutional vision. In order to fully appreciate the influence of RCAP, legal scholarship needs to situate these references to RCAP within the larger narratives, rhetorical postures and constitutional frameworks espoused by the Court.

**McCulloch, Allison – mccullocha @ brandonu.ca**

*Consociationalism, Plural Societies, and the Case of Ontario*

Consociationalism was originally conceived in relatively peaceful, prosperous, Western European democracies but has recently been seen as a means of conflict–regulation in deeply divided areas as in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Lebanon. In this paper, I revisit the thesis that consociationalism is suited to plural – rather than deeply divided – societies. I do this by discussing the case of the ethnically diverse province of Ontario, which in 2007 contemplated a shift to consociational–type institutions. There was a referendum held on the question of changing the electoral system from first–past–the–post to a mixed member proportional system and, in the lead–up to the Fall 2007 election the leading opposition campaigned on a platform that included a call for segmental autonomy by extending public funds for religious schooling. Neither proposal passed. Two questions are under consideration, both of which address the lessons we can learn from Ontario's brief flirtation with power–sharing: should plural societies, like Ontario, adopt consociational institutions? What can the case of Ontario tell us about where consociational strategies ought to be applied? I explain why consociationalism is an important tool of inclusion when groups feel marginalized from the political system, but why, where divisions are not deep, a preemptive introduction of such strategies risks engendering divisiveness.

**McCulloch, Allison – mccullocha @ brandonu.ca**

*Negotiating Power–Sharing Arrangements in Deeply Divided Places: Self–determination versus Predetermination*

There is a growing consensus that power–sharing institutions facilitate political stability in divided areas, yet there remains much disagreement on how best to implement the power–sharing principle. Many scholars argue that executive seats should be distributed based on election results, i.e., when power–sharing is self–determining. Yet many power–sharing agreements are based on “pre–determined” criteria, i.e., they distribute seats to particular communities in advance of election results. Predetermination can promote neither long–term stability nor intergroup reconciliation – not only because it freezes a particular inter–group configuration in time but also because it assumes a perpetual tension between groups, that conflict is a necessary and natural consequence of intergroup contact. Thus, predetermination ought to be viewed with some suspicion. But while self–determined institutions may be superior in theory, they run into an important practical difficulty: power–sharing settlements are generally negotiated at the very point at which group identities are most politically salient and divisive. Under these conditions, groups are unlikely to settle for anything other than a guarantee of their share in power, regardless of election results. That is, they push for pre–determined, not self–determined, institutions. This paper considers what factors enhance the adoption of self–determined power–sharing settlements. What induces agreement between contending groups, particularly on self–determined institutions? The discussion is framed with regard to the case of Cyprus, which had a failed attempt at predetermined power–sharing (1960–1963) and would thus appear ripe for the implementation of self–determining institutions. Are current negotiations likely to produce such an outcome?

**McDonagh, Eileen – e.mcdonagh @ neu.edu**

*Monarchies, Gender, and the Welfare State: Canada and the U.S. in Historical Perspective*

This paper examines the adoption of welfare policies and women's political representation in political systems with federal structures, focusing on Canada and the United States. It uses a path dependent model to explain why Canada has adopted welfare policies and incorporated women into its representative political institutions to a much greater degree than the U.S. It focuses on how each country negotiated the first wave of democratization, defined as the transition from a monarchy to a liberal democracy. It argues that monarchies, by fusing the family with the state, embody principles affirming the role of the state in providing care to dependent subjects and also associate women with the state, given the

familial identities attributed by the public to women. Thus, monarchies constitute a useful legacy for prospective adoption of welfare policies and the incorporation of women into politics. The U.S. destroyed this legacy at its founding, while Canada incorporated monarchies into its adoption of a liberal democracy. This contrast established different path dependent patterns of political development, which results in a much greater acceptance of government involvement in the care of dependent groups in Canada compared to the United States as well as a greater acceptance of women's participation in politics in Canada compared to the United States.

**McDougall, Alex – admcdoug @ ucalgary.ca**

*The Politics of Protection: A Historical Analysis of Coercion, Taxation, and Governmental Capacity in Latin America*

The topic of this proposed essay is the development of state institutions in Latin America. While there are no dictatorships left on the continent, a central question of political development, namely state formation (the consolidation of state power throughout national territory) has not been settled in many places. This proposed essay examines the historical origins of strong and weak states on the continent between 1850 and 1950. In particular, this essay asks the question: what explains divergent patterns of state development? Why do some states develop the capacity to extract resources and broadcast state power throughout national territory, while others fail in this regard? In order to answer this question, this essay will present and analyze historical data on several aspects of state power including tax revenue, and police presence, and military capacity in several cases: Colombia and Bolivia (weak states); Chile and Costa Rica (strong states); and Venezuela (as an intermediate cases). Using this data, this essay seeks to examine several potential explanations of state formation, which are drawn from the general theoretical literature on this topic, and also Latin American historiography. In this respect, the essay will investigate the possible effects of interstate war (Theis 2005, Centeno 2002, Lopez-Alvez 2001), political geography (Safford and Palacios 2002, Herbst 2001), and regime type (Mahoney 2003, Ertman 1998). It will also present a theoretical framework for comparing and classifying states and explaining patterns of political development.

**McElroy, Gail – mcelroy @ tcd.ie, Yoshinaka, Antoine – antoine @ ucr.edu and Bowler, Shaun – shaun.bowler @ ucr.edu and**

*The Different Career Tracks of Men and Women in the European Parliament*

Studies suggest that the presence of women in legislatures is critical in providing substantive as well as symbolic representation. Much of the scholarly literature also demonstrates that in order to have influence within an institution, legislators must accumulate seniority and expertise in relevant areas of policy making. Thus, when measuring the impact of various groups (e.g., women, ethnic minorities), it is important to take into account whether these groups are prevented (either through attrition, discrimination, etc.) from reaching the upper echelons. In this paper, we examine how women legislators fare in the European Parliament in comparison to their male counterparts. Our early data collection suggests that while there is a large number of women in the EP, turnover among female legislators is higher than among male MEPs. This finding has implications for the representation of women in the European Parliament, since it may indicate a lower level of institutionalisation and influence. We examine the correlates of European careers and test whether the career tracks of women differ from those of men, and whether there are systematic differences between various party groups and member states. We then examine positions of influence within the EP (e.g., committee chair, rapporteur) and test whether women are less prone than men in reaching those positions.

**McGregor, R. Michael – rmcgreg8 @ uwo.ca**

*When We Decide and Why: Time of Vote Decision in Canada*

The bulk of the work in the field of voting behaviour deals with vote choice – identifying and exploring factors which help to explain why people cast their ballots for the parties or candidates that they do. Less effort has been applied to answering the question of why people make these choices when they do. There has been some research on the topic of time-of-vote-decision in the US, but there has yet to be a comprehensive analysis of the factors which have an impact upon the point in time, relative to election day, when Canadians make their vote decisions (two useful, yet limited pieces by Fournier et al. (2001, 2004) represent the entirety of the time-of-vote-decision research in Canada). This is surprising because the answer to the “when” question has potentially significant practical implications. Knowledge of when individuals (and specific groups of individuals) are likely to make their vote decisions could be of great use to politicians and other political actors when developing their election strategies, and could provide interesting information related to the effects of election campaigns. This paper will fill this gap in the literature and, through a statistical analysis of Canadian Election Study data from 1988 to 2008, will examine the impact of a number of individual and system level variables on time-of-vote-decision in Canadian Federal elections.

**McKean, Benjamin – bmckean @ princeton.edu**

*The Duty of Orientation: Disposing Ourselves to Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ideal and Non-Ideal Theory*

According to John Rawls, orientation is the concept with which political liberalism most directly addresses the question of how individuals should think about political action in an institutional setting – a pressing issue in practical politics. Rawls argues that political theory properly orients individuals to the institutions of the basic structure when it enables them to understand themselves as having a certain political status and describes how this status affects their relation to the social world. In Rawls's ideal theory, proper orientation comes to the citizens of a well-ordered democracy fluidly through interaction with their environment; because such institutions instantiate the principles of justice, inhabiting them promotes feelings of gratitude that lead individuals to recognize the principles of justice that benefit them and to see reciprocity as the proper way to orient themselves to their fellow citizens. In ideal theory, then, orientation requires little conscious effort.

However, Rawls's approach leaves us with a puzzle: if just institutions lead individuals to orient themselves in ideal theory, how can citizens undertake the work of orienting themselves among the unjust institutions of a non-ideal world? This paper argues that the concept of solidarity can play an orienting role for non-ideal institutions partly analogous to the role that reciprocity plays in the well-ordered society. However, individuals must actively shape their own dispositions so that they are properly oriented to their shared political status of being subject to unjust institutions. I argue that the practices which cultivate solidarity contribute to the achievement of justice over time.

**McKeen, Wendy – wmckeen @ yorku.ca**

*"Welfare Mothers" and Feminists in the "War on Poverty" Debate in Canada: Seen But Not Heard*

This paper is an entry point into a larger research project that examines the past several decades of gendered politics surrounding social assistance policy in Canada and Ontario. My particular interest in this paper is uncovering the content and significance of the voice of organized "welfare mothers" and feminists within the context of the national welfare and poverty debates of the late 1960s/early 1970s. I ask whether and in what ways these actors offered a meaningful alternative to the dominant ideologies and perspectives advanced by key players in the debate, and what impact this had on poverty discourse and the policy recommendations. The paper uses archival material, published reports, committee transcripts, and secondary material to document the positions and political choices of the range of political actors engaged in these struggles, including "welfare mothers," feminists, concerned individuals, governmental bodies, and government departments.

I argue that contrary to the way the politics of this period is often portrayed in the literature, the "war on poverty" period marked a real failure of policy-makers and governments to hear and respond to women's voices and to make policy with women's and children's needs in mind. That failure had immediate repercussions for poor lone mothers and their children but also contributed to limiting the grounds for subsequent political activism by poor women and feminists over welfare policy – something that ultimately worked against the broader possibilities of accepting and adopting social standards and rights in Canada which are of high quality, women-friendly, and equality-focused.

**McLoughlin, Peter – p.mcloughlin @ qub.ac.uk**

*European Integration and the Northern Ireland Problem*

This paper will explore the various ways in which the project of European integration has impacted on the Northern Ireland problem. In doing so, it will consider the neo-functional theories which Irish nationalists drew upon in suggesting that increased co-operation between the two parts of Ireland would eventually lead to their reunification (FitzGerald, 1972; Hume, 1996). Similarly, it will examine Ulster unionist views on European integration, often opposed to the process for the same reasons that nationalists supported it, fearing that it would undermine Northern Ireland's position within the UK (Kennedy, 1994). The paper will also look at less partisan perspectives, especially the 'post-nationalist' thinking which became popular in the literature on Northern Ireland in the 1990s (Delanty, 1996; Geoghegan, 1994; Kearney, 1997), and which suggested that European integration might lead to the transcendence of competing nationalisms in the region. The paper will argue that all of these viewpoints proved unfounded, instead showing that Europe's greatest impact on Northern Ireland has been indirect, through changing the nature of British-Irish relations. By establishing a greater equality between the British and Irish states, and providing a context for the regular interaction of their political elites, European integration helped to produce more co-operative relations between London and Dublin vis-à-vis Northern Ireland. Thus, whilst Europe did make an important contribution towards the region's peace process, the paper will show that it did so in ways that were more subtle than either its supporters or its opponents imagined.

**McNutt, Kathleen – kathy.mcnutt @ uregina.ca**

*Modernizing Government: Mapping Global Public Policy Networks*

Public sector reform and governance are crucial areas of public policy debate and action for domestic governments as well as international organizations. And yet, while it is clear that a global movement or network around public sector reform has been growing and building over the years scholars know virtually nothing about how this global policy network is organized and how it exercises influence. However, understanding movements and trends in contemporary governance demands some grasp of this network, since it is a primary mechanism of policy transfer as well as a global "agora" that helps sustain a consistent conversation and basic sets of concepts about what constitutes "good governance" from Durban to Dubai. This paper will use two alternative approaches to mapping the public sector global policy network: inductive actor mapping and deductive hyperlink analysis. The inductive analysis draws data from membership lists to identify members of the network. The deductive approach gathers data from the Web and use sociometric analysis to identify key actors and traces structural configurations.

The paper proceeds in five parts. First, we discuss the emergence of the global policy network around public sector reform and some of its drivers. Second, we briefly describe the results of the inductive approach that provided the initial boundaries for the virtual policy network analysis. Third, we outline the methodology of the web searches, highlighting two virtual policy networks and the actor network around public sector reform. Fourth, we discuss the key results from the analysis and what they tell us about the organization of global networks on this issue. Finally, we conclude with a comparison of the results of the inductive approach and the web-based analysis, with reflections on further research.

**McNutt, Kathleen – kathy.mcnutt @ uregina.ca**

*Implementing an Integrated Governance Strategy: The Problem of Gender Inequality*

Gender mainstreaming, a gender equality governance strategy, is performing poorly across governments. While many national and regional governments have adopted gender equality policy tools, developing and implementing an integrated gender mainstreaming strategy requires substantive reforms to existing procedures and institutional structures. The success or failure of policy reform is often attributable to the poor integration of new policy interventions into existing policy regime. Where instrument mixes are poorly coordinated ambiguity over policy goals can lead to confusion over program objectives and instrument application. Too often gender mainstreaming and gender-based analyses are used interchangeably which has significant implications for planning and implementation practices. This paper argues that the implementation of a new policy instrument is not isolated from the established policy regime and must contribute to the existing policy mix to perform optimally. Using Canada as a case study the gender equality policy instrument mix is examined to demonstrate how different abstractions of the problem result in sub-optimal performance.

**McQueen, Alison – aem54 @ cornell.edu**

*'Feigning the World to be Annihilated': Thomas Hobbes and the Apocalyptic Imaginary*

The English Civil War was a time of rampant apocalypticism, or expectations of the imminent end of the known world. From the Levellers to the Fifth Monarchists, many apocalyptic groups were widely influential and posed both real and perceived threats to political order. Given his empiricism and his well-earned status as a political realist, one might expect Thomas Hobbes to decisively reject apocalyptic views. However, I argue that his response is more complicated and interesting. To be sure, Hobbes is acutely aware of the threat apocalypticism poses to political order and he devotes substantial space in his theory of the state to quelling this kind of religious enthusiasm. Yet, Hobbes is also drawn in by the allure and possibilities of the apocalyptic imaginary. Startlingly, he argues that philosophizing begins with "feigning the world to be annihilated," an apocalyptic methodology that finds form in Hobbes' conception of the state of nature. Apocalyptic annihilation must constantly be imagined in order to prevent it. For Hobbes as well as for his sovereign, the apocalyptic imaginary must be relied upon to maintain the power required to prevent a reversion into chaos and violence. Hobbes' project demands that he simultaneously discipline the apocalyptic imagination by divesting it of its revolutionary potential and cultivate the apocalyptic imagination by putting it in the service of sovereign power. In the end, I suggest that this troubled engagement with the apocalyptic imaginary points to broader tensions in the relationship between secularism and eschatology in the history of political thought.

**Mekouar, Merouan – merouan.mekouar @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Moroccan Islamists: All the Taste, Half the Calories*

The aim of this paper is to show that the main Islamic party in Morocco, the Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD) deliberately chose a three or even four time strategy in its quest for power in order not to frighten the monarchy and the traditional political parties. Aware of the disastrous impact of the Algerian experience, the leaders of the party purposefully limited their potential political impact during the 1997 and 2002 legislative elections by presenting a limited number of candidates. Although the party did not follow the same strategy for the last legislative elections in 2007, it did accept an unfavorable re-carving of national electoral districts, which led the party to come second in terms of parliamentary seats despite scoring the highest number of popular votes. Contrary to Al Adl wal Al Ihsane, the other big Islamic movement in the country, which did not want to engage in any sort of compromise with the State, the electoral strategic choices of the PJD were carefully designed to fit with the moderate gradual integrative approach of the monarchy. This paper will argue that the acceptance of all those limitations is the proof that the PJD and the regime are negotiating a "soft" three-time or even four-time alternance that will eventually lead to a fully co-opted participation in the government in the coming years.

**Mellon, Hugh – hmellon @ uwo.ca**

*Grading Public Engagement: Assessing the Track Record*

In this panel presentation, the issue of how we evaluate the effectiveness of mechanisms for civic engagement in the process of democratic reform will be examined. While everyone may agree on the general goal of reflecting upon the state of our democratic institutions, there needs to be more attention to how we judge the effectiveness of these efforts and the actual performance of chosen vehicles of reform. One example of this is the use of citizen assemblies as a means of public education and mobilization of sentiment for reform. The Citizen Assembly exercise in Ontario was followed by a provincial election marked not only by outright rejection of the Assembly recommendation but also by very low voter turnout. Interestingly enough, this same Assembly was evaluated by consultants in advance of the provincial election and found to be very successful, based on the feelings and impressions of the Assembly participants. Once the ensuing provincial election campaign started, there was little involvement of Citizen Assembly members in the media debates and limited public education support from the Ontario provincial government. I think this speaks to a major challenge of democratic reform, which is that in spite of much public debate and governmental experimentation, the level of actual civic engagement and public education remains troubling. I think it worth considering how we assess the actual impact of citizen assemblies and how governments involved utilize the work of the assemblies.

**Mellon, James G. – j.mellon @ chebucto.ns.ca**

*Bradleyan Idealism and the Political Theory of Michael Oakeshott*

In Oakeshott's thought, there are two arguments being pursued simultaneously. Epistemological skepticism and methodological caution lead to a distrust of rationalism, and of ideologies founded on reason, rather than experience or practice. At the same time, Oakeshott values the freedom of the individual, and distrusts any ideology that might jeopardize that freedom. Oakeshott is a conservative in his reservations about change, and in his emphasis on tradition

and practice but the tradition he reveres entails many liberal elements. Oakeshott, like T.S. Eliot, was influenced by British idealism, especially as reflected in the thought of F.H. Bradley, and combined skepticism with a conservatism that at least in many of the essays included in *Rationalism in Politics* emphasized the crucial character of tradition. Oakeshott inherited especially from Bradley the notion that politics and experience is inherently related to morality but, while Bradley saw moral choices as being self-enacting in that the process of moral deliberation revealed and defined an essential human nature, Oakeshott saw such deliberation as being capable of being either self-enacting, that is of being inspired by sentiments revealing our nature even if not an essential nature in Bradley's sense, or self-disclosing, that is of representing means seeking the achievement or satisfaction of ends. For Oakeshott, as for Bradley, our moral conduct reveals who and what we are but, whereas for Bradley our conduct discloses our essential nature, for Oakeshott freedom mandates that, instead of having an essential nature, our deliberation leads us to reveal and to create our nature as a consequence of the conduct we choose.

**Meredith, Paul – paul.meredith @ vuw.ac.nz**

*Mana Whenua: Maori Identity, Territoriality and the Cultural Politics of Treaty Claims*

Since the 1990s most Maori tribes in advancing their Treaty of Waitangi claims have asserted themselves as the 'Mana Whenua', the Maori tribal authority (Mana) over an identified territory (Whenua). Tribes have asserted historical and contemporary connections to areas of land and sea as their traditional tribal domain. This is despite tribes having alienated or being disposed of much of that territory, overlapping claims between tribes, and a government that argues territorial sovereignty.

Maori as a matter of course articulate their identity through geographical references such as ancestral mountains and waterways. The Maori customary concept of Mana Whenua emphasises territorialised identity. The concept also invokes the territorial jurisdictional exclusiveness of a Maori tribal group seeking to exercise customary authority. The paper explores the resurgence of the use of the term Mana Whenua in the 'cultural politics' of Treaty of Waitangi claims. Claims are viewed as sites that both produce and negotiate identity and relations among Maori themselves and between Maori and the Government. The paper also examines the appropriation of Maori customary concepts, either by Maori or by the Government, in progressing claims agendas and considers the political and cultural significance of this.

**Merier, Patrik – pmarier @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Horizontal Coordination and Population Ageing*

The increasing number of seniors and its socio-economic consequences represent an interesting political and administrative challenge. Population ageing results in policy problems that (may) necessitate some form of long-term horizontal planning. Should authorities create executive lenses within the policy process to emphasise the long-term consequences of public policies as they relate to ageing? Should authorities create a department of seniors or a special division or office of seniors within an existing department? This contribution presents a comparative analysis of four "ageing" Canadian provinces which have opted to adopt different administrative responses to population ageing. Nova Scotia innovated with the creation of a Seniors' Secretariat in the early 1980s, which became a Department of Seniors. Newfoundland and Labrador recently instituted an Office for Aging and Seniors within the Department of Health and Community Affairs. Saskatchewan has not adopted any formal mechanism to deal with population ageing while Quebec recently instituted the Secrétariat aux aînés within the reformed Ministry of Family and Seniors with an explicit mandate to provide horizontal coordination with regards to seniors' programs and services. This contribution makes the argument that the way in which population ageing is tackled administratively matters greatly, as it drives the type of policy responses being proposed and implemented. For example, it is argued that Nova Scotia's institutional structure results in a much narrower focus on the policy problems linked with population ageing than Newfoundland and Labrador.

**Merolli, Jessica – merollj @ mcmaster.ca**

*Beyond Words: Adult ESL Education and Social Integration*

Much of the research on immigrant integration in Canada to date focuses on labour markets and obstacles to gainful employment. Implicate in this framework is the assumption that labour market integration acts as a gateway to social and political integration. As a result, programs which assist immigrants upon arrival are often assessed based on their ability to aid newcomers in finding employment. Thus, the multiple functions of programs, including English as a Second Language (ESL) education for adults, are rarely acknowledged or evaluated. Indeed, the emphasis on labour market integration is reflected in the fact that ESL education was not initially available to dependents. While language knowledge is clearly an important skill with regards to employability, the function of ESL courses in terms of integration are more complex. By pushing the conceptualization of integration to include social integration, the opportunity that ESL courses provide for social network building becomes more apparent. However, there is little research on ESL programs in Canada in general and none which assess programs based on this dual function. This paper will explore two different federally funded models of ESL education, one based in classrooms and the other a peer to peer model available in Hamilton, Ontario. The central goal is to consider the advantages in regards to both labour market and social integration that a peer to peer model provides through tailored course material and networking opportunities with established members of the community. This will be contrasted with a classroom model which provides opportunities for social networking with other newcomers.

**Meshelski, Kristina – kkm4s @ virginia.edu**

*Ideal Theory and the Basic Structure*

This paper responds to the recent literature (Schwartzman 2006, Robeyns 2008, Stepmlowska 2008, Swift 2008, Valentini 2009) that has sought to defend Rawlsian ideal theory from attacks like Mills 2005 and Farrelly 2007. Thus far these responses have proven inadequate because Mills and Farrelly have disparate views both of society's proper structure, as well as the relationship between injustice and that structure. But by dismissing both with the same arguments, Rawls's defenders have failed to adequately appreciate these important differences, and have construed Mills and Farrelly as making essentially the same point: ideal theory suffers from too much abstraction and too few facts. This paper demonstrates that any adequate defense of ideal theory must recognize that non-ideal theory is unavoidably political, i.e. that there is no non-ideal theory that is neutral with regard to arguments about the basic structure of society. Moreover, the appeal of ideal theory is that it can make claims about the relationship between justice and the basic structure; thus, a defense of the Rawlsian distinction between ideal and non-ideal theory ultimately amounts to a defense of the view that non-ideal theory is a remedy for structural injustice, not merely a guide for unfortunate contingencies.

**Michelakos, Jason – jmichela @ yorku.ca**

*Race, Witchcraft, and Inquisition in Colonial Peru*

The Spanish colonial project in Peru, can in part, be understood as a mission for the advancement of European imperial/capital Empire building, where the exercise of disciplinary and governmental power came to demand an individuating diagram which worked to isolate and naturalize Indigenous peoples, New Christians, Blacks, and Women. The Spanish Inquisition, operating loosely under the purview of the Madrid Suprema and the domestic colonial government of Peru, constructed this epistemological reality we have come to express terminologically as the 'colonial imagination', by situating typologies of race and gender as natural, permanent, and fixed modalities of being. This paper, through a Foucauldian reading of disciplinary and governmental power, examines how the development of Eurocentric race-thinking came to shape the institutions, bureaucracies, and wider functionality of the Spanish imperial endeavour in Peru. This Eurocentric ideology, fashioned with an eye toward economic supremacy, resource exploitation and forced labour, entrenched an essentialist understanding of racial identity, mono-cultural assimilation, and moral piety, under the rubric of 'civilization'.

**Migone, Andrea – amigone @ sfu.ca**

*The Dynamics of Globalization: Limen, Borders and Gateways*

The best approach to the analysis of globalization is through the concept of interconnectedness. Globalization is composed of a variety of flows, among them technological, historical, political and economic ones that are enabled by interconnectedness and are exposed to cyclical variations in strength and direction. Because different factors influence the scope and strength of the latter, its effects vary across space and functional sectors. We can more profitably use the concept of interconnectedness. Three locales emerge as critical points for the analysis of interconnectedness: the limen, gateways and borders. At the limen interconnectedness is stronger and here we find a high degree of creolization. Borders are areas where contact is denied and/or heavily restricted and regulated and where interaction is discouraged and gateways are the hubs of multilayered contact both inviting and facilitating contact with and entry into a specific reality that may still be surrounded by borders elsewhere and inviting processes of creolization, learning, and contact. The paper argues that understanding the relative roles of these locales can enable us to better map and deal with the power relations flows that underline them.

**Migone, Andreas – amigone @ sfu.ca and Howlett, Michael – howlett @ sfu.ca**

*Participation in the Canadian Biotechnology Regulatory Regime: Towards a 'Trust in Institutions' Model?*

We ask how important the participation element is in the creation and reproduction of the Canadian biotechnology policy regime. We find that within the quasi-promotional regime that is in place in Canada, participation plays an interesting role (close to Hirschman's 'voice' option), but not a core one in setting or modifying the policy structure. This depends largely on the institutional setting within which the policy regime was constituted. While the Canadian government is currently trying to move towards a 'trust in institutions' model of participation, the participation tools that are mostly employed conflict with this goal. We expect that in Canada participation will make few inroads in changing the policy regime unless some core elements of the latter change.

**Mihai, Mihaela – mihaela.mihai @ utoronto.ca**

*Unsettling Accounts: State Apologies as Exemplary Political Judgments*

This paper will engage a certain kind of self-corrective processes that mature, yet imperfectly just democracies sometimes undergo. The main aim will be to theorise the nature and functions of state apologies for past injustice as a particular kind of political act. My inquiry will be guided by two questions. First, how can we think of states as apologisers? Philosophers have theorised apology as inherently presupposing the experience of remorse and regret for the injustice committed. Since it would obviously be difficult to attribute emotional responses to states, I shall argue that we need to move beyond existing accounts of apology and offer a modified understanding of what it means when officials say "sorry." Second, what kind of functions can apologies serve? While not underestimating realists' emphasis on the strategic value of such state acts, I shall argue that official apologies can be understood as exemplary political judgments meant to provoke societal reflection on history and identity. As such, they are part of democratic efforts to closer and closer approximate guiding political principles in practice. Insights from the philosophy of judgment will be used to offer an account of the pedagogical and inspirational agenda public apologies can be brought to serve. By the end of the paper I hope to have argued that by rethinking public apologies as efforts to unsettle unjustly closed accounts we can have a better grasp of their catalytic role under non-ideal circumstances.

**Mildenberger, Matto – mattom @ gmail.com and Clarkson, Stephen – stephen.clarkson @ utoronto.ca**

*Canada's and Mexico's Role in Constructing (or Constraining) US Power: A Political–Economy Overview*

Through their consumer markets and investment opportunities, their abundant mineral and petroleum resources, and their continuing supplies of skilled and unskilled labour, Canada and Mexico have proven the most important foreign material sources of US economic strength.

In border security matters, outlaw civil society organizations in Canada and Mexico present the greatest threat to the United States as producers and suppliers of illegal narcotics and as possible conduits for US–destined terrorists. At the same time, the two peripheral states provide crucial anti–terrorist border security to the United States, making the Canadian and Mexican governments Washington's most important allies in its wars on drugs and terror.

In the international arena, Canada and Mexico's roles vis–à–vis the United States are inconsistent. On the one hand, they construct US power by spreading the norms that buttress US global economic hegemony when they negotiate their own free–trade and investment treaties with other states. On the other hand, Canada has supported US resistance to the multilateral Kyoto protocol, while Mexico has defiantly thwarted US foreign policy in Central America.

Our analysis leads to a puzzling conclusion. Although Canada and Mexico have occasionally succeeded in leveraging their assets into effective action, they have historically exerted less influence on the United States than their actual contribution to its wealth and security would seem to warrant.

**Mioc, Consuela – rmioc022 @ uottawa.ca**

*La discipline des Relations Internationales en Roumanie. Une difficile démarche de rattrapage théorique de l'Occident*

L'argument de Cox que « La théorie est toujours pour quelqu'un et pour quelque but » et le constat, documenté par plusieurs chercheurs, que la discipline des Relations Internationales est une discipline américaine (S. Hoffman, O. Waever, S. Smith) ou occidentale (A. Acharya et B. Buzan), mettent en question la prétention de la discipline à l'internationalité et orientent de plus en plus l'attention des chercheurs vers les contributions que les perspectives non–occidentales peuvent avoir à l'enrichissement théorique de la discipline.

Voulant participer à cette discussion, notre objectif est de s'interroger sur la contribution des chercheurs roumains à la discipline des Relations Internationales. Y a–t–il une théorie des relations internationales ou des débats théoriques propres à la Roumanie, ou le caractère occidental des théories des relations internationales a–t–il laissé une empreinte définitive sur la manière de représenter et de penser les relations internationales dans ce pays?

Par une analyse qualitative de la littérature en Relations Internationales en Roumanie, nous allons argumenter que cette littérature n'apporte pas et ne vise pas à apporter une alternative théorique aux approches théoriques déjà existantes dans la discipline. La majorité de la littérature n'est pas orientée vers la construction théorique, mais plutôt vers une application des cadres théoriques existants à des différents sujets d'intérêt, études de cas ou enjeux politiques roumains. En grande partie, cette littérature s'inscrit dans les approches orthodoxes des Relations Internationales (surtout le néo–réalisme et le néo–libéralisme), ce qui ne fait donc que renforcer ultimement la domination théorique de l'Occident dans la discipline.

**Mioc, Consuela – rmioc022 @ uottawa.ca**

*Identité et dialogue interculturel véritable en Relations Internationales*

Le retour de l'identité dans la discipline des Relations Internationales après la fin de la Guerre Froide a réanimé le débat entre l'universalisme et le relativisme dans la discipline. Les réflexions récentes sur le dialogue interculturel véritable se proposent justement de dépasser ce débat et de proposer une conceptualisation du vivre ensemble qui permettrait l'accommodation de la différence. Mais dans quelle mesure ces réflexions permettent–elles vraiment d'accommoder la diversité et d'offrir, de cette manière, une nouvelle conceptualisation du vivre ensemble dans la discipline des RI?

Par une analyse qualitative de la littérature sur le dialogue interculturel véritable en RI, je vais argumenter que les réflexions récentes sur le dialogue interculturel véritable représentent un point de départ prometteur dans l'effort d'accommoder la diversité, parce qu'elles envisagent un vivre ensemble basé sur le respect (pour éviter la conflictualité, mais pas les divergences) et l'affirmation (pour éviter l'homogénéisation) de la différence. Mais, tandis que le concept de dialogue interculturel véritable présente un potentiel qui ne devrait pas être négligé, les rapports de force existant dans la politique mondiale (des rapports qui sont négligés dans la conceptualisation du dialogue) constituent un défi important pour la réalisation des deux conditions de base de ce dialogue – l'ouverture des participants au dialogue et le caractère inclusif du dialogue lui–même.

Le potentiel et les limites du dialogue interculturel véritable seront illustrés à travers une comparaison entre le Forum Social Mondial (en tant qu'espace de dialogue) et l'initiative de l'ONU concernant le dialogue entre les civilisations.

**Mitchell, Matthew – matthew.mitchell @ queensu.ca**

*Rethinking the Migration–Conflict Nexus: Insights from Côte d'Ivoire and South Africa*

Recent works in security studies highlight the need to better understand the role of migration in explaining the outbreak of conflict. While scholars have traced the impact of conflict on migration patterns, they know very little about the reverse causal direction. In other words, how does migration contribute to violent conflict? Although theoretical attempts to explain the migration–conflict nexus remain useful points of departure for investigating this link, there is little empirical work to substantiate such efforts. Furthermore, these theories overemphasize the role of ethnicity and neglect that of natural resources, a crucial variable in understanding the link between migration and violent conflict.

My paper will probe the interplay between migration, natural resources and conflict by examining the causal directions of migration on conflict processes and the micro–dynamics that lead to internal and regional insecurity. Using

the cases of Côte d'Ivoire and South Africa; countries that have witnessed a massive influx of labour migrants in their cocoa and mining sectors, respectively; I will develop a model that explains how migration to resource-rich regions produces conflict. These cases reveal the powerful role of discourses related to natural resources in explaining variation in outbreaks of violence; civil war in Côte d'Ivoire versus episodic, small-scale violence in South Africa; and insights into how these discourses differ across cases where there is migration into different natural resource sectors. Ultimately, these cases highlight the need to explore the role of natural resources as an intervening variable in the migration-conflict nexus.

**Mitropolitski, Simeon – simeon.mitropolitski @ umontreal.ca**

*Pour un virage inductif, interprétatif et ethnographique dans la science politique. Le cas de l'influence de l'intégration européenne sur la démocratisation postcommuniste.*

Est-ce que l'approche hypothético-déductive représente la seule manière pour produire une recherche digne du nom « scientifique »? Apparemment, ceci serait le cas pour la grande majorité des chercheurs dans la discipline de la science politique. L'approche alternative inductive menant vers la construction d'une théorie nouvelle ou d'un modèle théorique nouveau est presque absente dans la littérature. Quand il est là, il est présenté juste comme une étape préliminaire dans le cadre plus large de l'approche hypothético-déductive. Le résultat est une ressemblance ennuyante des publications, dans lesquelles les éléments nouveaux ne sont que les noms des pays, les périodes historiques, et peut-être les variables indépendantes.

Je montre qu'une approche inductive, interprétative et ethnographique, qui s'appuie sur les œuvres de Max Weber et Clifford Geertz, est non seulement possible, mais souhaitable pour la science politique. J'affirme que cette approche donne des résultats égaux sinon supérieurs grâce à son ouverture à la fois épistémologique et méthodologique. Cette affirmation s'appuie sur mes recherches dans le cadre de la thèse de doctorat qui porte sur la démocratisation postcommuniste. Au lieu de « tester » des théories existantes dans la littérature, j'accumule des informations par des méthodes qualitatives et ethnographiques, pour ensuite créer un cadre théorique dans lequel la démocratisation comme une éthique politique est rendue possible.

**Molnar, Adam – apm @ uvic.ca**

*Towards a Cultural Political Economy of Critical Security Studies and Surveillance Studies*

The exponential growth of the security industry following 9/11 and 7/7, is accompanied by a scalar reshaping of security that involves powerful interoperable security networks, massive capital investments, and new risk management practices. Similarly, Surveillance Studies (SS) scholars are recognizing the importance of transnational processes associated with increased securitization in urban centers. This convergent terrain is now variously labeled a "global-security industrial complex", the "border-security industrial complex" or the "surveillance-industrial-military-counterterrorism complex". These terms indicate the degree to which military discourses, policies and rationales for surveillance and security have penetrated everyday modes of governance. The changing nature of what constitutes modern threats to security has rescaled security strategies as "increasingly sub-national, regional, and urban in scale". This paper advances questions of how a revised notion of Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Surveillance Studies (SS) might come to terms with this shifting security and surveillance landscape. It is both an attempt to rethink new directions in CSS and SS in the context of a new "homeland-security-industrial-complex". I will argue that one productive way of engaging this project is through the meta-theoretical approach of critical realism and, in particular, through the recent theoretical development of Cultural Political Economy (CPE). CPE considers the constitutive role of semiosis in economic and political activities and institutions. I will discuss how this theoretical reconfiguration animates my current research examining the dynamics of private security industry and reconfigured government security agencies that are changing the face of interoperable security and surveillance at mega-events, such as the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games.

**Monaghan, Jeff – monaghan.jeffrey @ gmail.ca**

*'A Degree of Control': Differential Crisis and the North American Movement Against South African Apartheid*

The movement against South African Apartheid threatened the accumulation of American businesses in South Africa. Worse, it threatened the very legitimacy of the corporation's perceived right to decide the terms of their accumulatory efforts. The response by corporations was to not only engage with this social movement, but to become a part of it. Their participation was mediated by 'Sullivan Principles,' a code of conduct advocated as a means for corporations to apply economic pressure on the apartheid regime. Rather than dismiss the Principles as purely capitalist propaganda, we ask how signatories viewed their participation in the anti-Apartheid movement. Informed by the 'capital as power' theory of Nitzan and Bichler (2009; 2002), we examine the intra-capitalist dynamics that motivated and leveraged the actions of the International Council of Equality of Opportunity Principles (ICEOP), the organization that oversaw the Principles. Our research indicates that corporate participation in the anti-Apartheid movement involved a complex and conflictual effort to control and channel possible transformative outcomes of the struggle against Apartheid. Our analysis speaks to the motives that animate corporate involvement in social movements and, as we detail, demonstrates the flexibility of corporate actors in absorbing elements of transformative struggles in order to out-do their competitors and enhance their capacity to accumulate power over social processes more broadly.

**Montambeault, Françoise – francoise.montambeault @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Citizenship, Identity and Authority*

Social sciences are increasingly focused on the relationship between state power and issues of identity. Local communities and identity groups – ethnic, national, indigenous, religious and social – continuously struggle to negotiate

their relations with the state and with each other in ways that may challenge conventional or legal definitions of citizenship. Yet, the quality of democracy is linked to inclusive citizenship regimes. These involve individual rights, but also a collectively defined “common good.” In divided societies both elements are problematic.

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the state as representing a single national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Group rights are at the heart of new conceptions of citizenship moving beyond the universalistic, formal equality between individuals. Debates increasingly evolve around collective versus individual rights and the meanings and forms of belonging, identity, and political membership. The challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to “glue” different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society.

The aim of the roundtable is to contribute to the scientific debate by linking the concepts of citizenship, identity and authority. More specifically, the roundtable will address the following questions:

- How can we conceptualize and study inclusive citizenship in heterogeneous societies?
- What political mechanisms, institutions and public policies empower different identity groups?
- And which of these mechanisms create at the same time public spaces for inter-group cooperation?
- How to construct citizenship as “belonging”?

**Montambeault, Françoise – francoise.montambeault @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*From Clients to Citizens: Participatory Budgeting and Community Building in Latin America*

Participatory urban governance has recently been promoted as a solution to face the challenges of deepening democracy in Latin America. However, the paradox of participatory budgeting is that it often fails at sustaining the creation of a ‘civic community’, of a form of social organization that sustains the exercise of democratic citizenship, of citizenship as ‘agency’. Under what conditions participatory budgeting is more likely to contribute to the creation of a sustainable and active citizenry, belonging to a civic community and interacting with the political community to collectively participate to the determination and the achievement of the common good? This research project draws on a comparative case study from cities in Brazil and Argentina and argues that participatory budgeting does not, in itself, foster citizenship as agency. I suggest that the community building potential of participatory budgeting institutions is best explained by a combination of agency and institutional variables. I suggest that there are two main dimensions of citizenship as agency that should be considered: 1) capacity building, and 2) a sense of a shared identity. To do so, I will explore the explanatory power and limits of the various variables offered by the literature on institutions, social movements and identity.

**Lago, Ignacio - ignacio.lago@upf.edu and Montero, José – joseramon.montero @ uam.es**

*The Nationalisation of Party Systems Revisited: A New Measure Based on Parties’ Entry Decisions, Electoral Results, and District Magnitude*

*A New Measure Based on Parties’ Entry Decisions, Electoral Results, and District Magnitude*

In this paper, a new measure of party system nationalisation is proposed. Instead of analyzing the homogeneity of parties’ vote shares across districts within countries, we measure the phenomenon in terms of a combination of the homogeneity of the supply of parties across districts, their electoral results, and the number of seats to be filled in those districts where parties compete. The advantages of our measure of party system nationalisation over the existing measures are illustrated by performing a longitudinal analysis of 256 elections in eighteen Western European countries from 1945 to 1998.

Abstract: In this paper, a new measure of party system nationalisation is proposed. Instead of analyzing the homogeneity of parties’ vote shares across districts within countries, we measure the phenomenon in terms of a combination of the homogeneity of the supply of parties across districts, their electoral results, and the number of seats to be filled in those districts where parties compete. The advantages of our measure of party system nationalisation over the existing measures are illustrated by performing a longitudinal analysis of 256 elections in eighteen Western European countries from 1945 to 1998.

**Montsion, Jean Michel – jeanmichel.montsion @ asiapacific.ca**

*Shaping Transpacific Labour Mobility? Mapping Structural Private Sector Lines across the Pacific*

Canada’s opening to emerging markets in Asia has brought many foreign policy issues to the forefront of public debates, including the designating Vancouver as Canada’s Gateway to the Asia Pacific, dual citizenship and taxation of Canadians living abroad. In trying to better understand Canada’s relations to its growing diaspora and its repositioning in IPE, I document the role of some multinational corporations in shaping Canada’s integration to world markets through labour mobility across the Pacific Ocean. I argue that many informal mechanisms are concretely shaping transpacific labour mobility based on IPE developments and needs in terms of expertise and skilled workers. From headhunters to social integration services, multinational corporations have a direct role in the matter but are not recognized as legitimate actors in public discussions about the social implications of transpacific integration. In-depth interviews with representatives of multinational corporations and employees moving across the Pacific reveal many mechanisms by which labour migration is shaped, usually based on pragmatic needs and desires of corporations and their employees. By documenting these private sector mechanisms, I would like to contribute to public debates about the social implications of transpacific integration by bringing to the table lived experiences of private sector and labour migrants to better understand what needs to be done.

**Moore, James – jmoore @ netrover.com**

*A Dialogue with Mr. Hume: An Interpretation of An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767) and Other Writings of Adam Ferguson*

**Moraes, Susan Eghrari – susaneghrari @ gmail.com and Cidade, Lucia Cony F. – cony @ unb.br**

*Public Policies and Territorial Development in the State of Goiás, Brazil: Is There a Place for Local Governance?*

In Brazil, as in other large non-hegemonic countries, public policy has become a key instrument in the attempt to occupy territories, to promote economic development, and to reduce regional inequalities. In Goiás, a vast Central-Western state, federal policies since the nineteen fifties promoted agricultural projects and population settlements. In recent decades, the outburst of highly technical export crop agriculture, especially soybeans, has brought new wealth to the region.

Nowadays, Goiás has become a dynamic state, where affluent municipalities line up with stagnant areas. Following the acknowledgement of the limits of centralized policies as well as of exclusively local action, a third orientation has emerged in the literature which considers necessary both top down and bottom up policies. While the role of State action and natural resources cannot be underestimated, an exploratory investigation suggests that Goiás municipalities with social participation, institutional organization and political clout are more prone than others to promote economic development. This paper intends to explore the role of territorial governance bodies in the promotion of local development in the state of Goiás. Based on bibliographical research and published data, we intend to map participatory planning institutions and thereby compare levels of governance to levels of development of municipalities in Goiás. Wider research interests include deepening the analysis of the role of governance in territorial and urban development.

**Morano, Natasha Hope – nathope66 @ aol.com**

*Framing Security Policy: Media Interference in the case of the “Toronto 18” Terrorists Arrests*

The mass media function as an adjudicator of information. The manner in which the news is crafted may affect public perception. This study explores the media's potential to influence one's perception through the process of framing news content. Specifically, can media frames regarding the “Toronto 18” arrests in 2006 shape public perception of terrorism and influence expectations of legislative policies? This question was tested through an experiment, whereby a sample of 245 respondents was randomly assigned one of three articles. The first article from *The Toronto Sun* primed the threat of terrorism as a dominant concern and focused on the need for stricter security laws. The second article from *The Toronto Star* downplayed the threat of terrorism and focused on civil liberties being violated due to stricter security laws. The third article, also from *The Toronto Sun*, served as the control and had no relevance to the issue of terrorism; it focused on poverty. Effects from the two “treatment” articles were measured against the control. Respondents were also given a questionnaire to measure their views and reactions to the article. Statistically significant results were found. These results confirm media frames can affect public perception of terrorism and expectations of legislative policies.

**Mufti, Mariam – mariam\_mufti @ hotmail.com**

*Explaining Changes in Elite Turnover: The Case of National and Provincial Legislative Assemblies in Pakistan*

Elite turnover measured since 1985 to 2008 in both national and provincial levels of government in Pakistan has been observed to be consistently low, while elite continuity has been consistently high. The one anomaly to this trend is observed in 2002, when the military regime under General Musharraf holds the general election. Interestingly enough the increase in elite turnover at the national level is less than that at the provincial level.

By examining turnover rates for those members of the National Assembly (NA) elected from the province of Punjab (approx 55% of the NA) and for members of the Provincial Assembly of Punjab (371 members), this paper contends that the consistently low turnover rates are explained, contrary to the existent scholarship, by the criteria used for candidate-selection and not the nature of the selectorate. The main finding is that the level of party identification in the constituencies is the main determinant of selection criteria and hence a crucial party prerogative-control over the access a candidate has to the party label and ballot.

Moreover, the paper suggests that the difference in the turnover rate experience at the national and provincial level in 2002 is explained by the variable, additive, impact of changes made to the political system (introduction of the local government ordinance, change in the eligibility criteria of who qualifies to contest an election, increasing the number of constituencies through redistricting and change in the party system through the creation of a faction of the Pakistan Muslim League) by the military regime on the candidate-selection criteria for the two levels of government

**Mufti, Mariam – mariam\_mufti @ hotmail.com**

*Explaining Party Cohesion and Discipline Through the Lens of Candidate-Selection: The Case of Pakistan*

Institutional explanations for party cohesion and discipline have focused on the nature of electoral systems. However, much less is known about the impact of candidate-selection on legislative behavior. If reelection is the goal of an incumbent legislator then the proximate aim is to get reelected as a candidate and the ability to maximize electoral chances through affiliation with a party label. In light of this, the literature on candidate-selection has focused on the selectorate (Gallagher & Marsh 1988; Hazan 2002; Rahat 2007) reaching a general consensus that centralized and exclusive selectorates induce legislators to respond to party actors leading to high levels of party loyalty and therefore party cohesiveness; while localized and inclusive selectorates will lead to the emergence of legislators who respond to non-party mediators, therefore exhibiting low levels of party loyalty and low party cohesiveness (Norris 1997, Hazan & Rahat 2001). Intuitively these claims make perfect sense. However, they do not hold in party systems characterized by inchoate party organizations and informal decision-making structures. This paper studies the impact of candidate-selection methods practiced by the four main parliamentary parties on party cohesion in Pakistan. While the degree of

centralization and inclusiveness of the party selectorate are acknowledged as important determining factors, two other factors are shown to be even more crucial to how a party controls access to the party label. The first is the nature of constituency defined by the levels of party identification and the second, is the political party's resource base. I argue that the interesting variation in candidate–selection processes of the 4 parties is not at the level of the selectorate but in the criteria used to distribute tickets. This is because the strategy for candidate–selection varies from party to party but also by the nature of the constituency.

**Mufti, Mariam – mariam\_mufti @ hotmail.com and Nikolenyi, Csaba – csaba @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Party Laws in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of Anti-Defection Laws in India and Pakistan*

The increasing role of the state in the life of political parties has led to a growing scholarly literature on party laws (Karvonen 2007; Muller and Sieberer 2006; Biezen 2008). However, while the academic study of the legislative regulation of parties' electoral and financial activities has grown significantly, the study of anti-defection laws, i.e. legislation that punishes deputies' defection and switching from their parent party in the legislature, remains seriously under-developed (Janda 2009; Malhotra 2005). This is especially surprising given the plethora of cases, especially among new and semi-democracies that have adopted such legislation to regulate party cohesion in parliament (Janda 2009; Miskin 2003).

This paper provides a comparative assessment of the causes and consequences of such anti-defection laws in India and Pakistan. Both states constitutionalized their anti-defection laws through a unanimous vote in 1985 and 1997 respectively. Moreover, while both states adopted further amendments that increased the penalties and restrictions on defecting deputies, the impacts of these legal interventions diverged sharply. In India, the number of defectors has gone down over time while in Pakistan defections remain rampant. Building on earlier work by Booyesen (2006) and Nikolenyi and Shenhav (2009), the paper explores the hypothesis that the adoption of anti-defection laws is indicative of a fear majority parties have of cascading defections. With regard to the consequences of anti-defection laws, the paper suggests that differences in the degrees of the rule of law and the robustness of democratic institutions play a key role in determining the success or failure of anti-defection laws.

**Muniz-Fraticelli, Victor – victor.muniz @ mcgill.ca**

*The Distinctiveness of Pluralist Arguments*

Is there a distinct structure to political pluralist arguments that sets them apart from other arguments for limited government?

There has, of late, been a surprising resurgence of normative arguments labeled as "pluralistic" in the fields of philosophy, political theory, and law. These arguments are not altogether new: the debate over legal pluralism and jurisgenesis started in the 1980s; Berlin defended a robust notion of value pluralism in 1969; and the British Pluralists had made claims against unitary state sovereignty at the turn of the 20th century. But some of these traditions were idiosyncratic, while others were largely forgotten until recently, and little attempt has been made since to synthesize them.

Although each of these traditions developed independently and with little influence on the other, they share a similar tripartite structure: they all posit that there is an irreducible plurality of a certain phenomenon (values, legitimate political authority, or valid legal jurisdiction); that the instances of this phenomenon cannot be ranked categorically, or understood in terms of some overarching goal; and that from this plurality may result instances of irresolvable and tragic conflict. The structure of pluralist arguments distinguishes them from other kinds of arguments with which they have often been associated or confused. This distinctiveness helps to set pluralist arguments apart from arguments for subsidiarity, arguments for economic or political corporatism and, more generally, arguments for limited government. Pluralism offers an account of political authority—both a critique of unitary sovereignty and a prescription for associational autonomy—that is not fully captured by any competing normative tradition.

**Munroe, Doug – hdmunroe @ ucalgary.ca**

*Will the Real Pierre Trudeau Please Stand Up: Prime Ministerial Autocrat or Primus Inter Pares?*

The extent of power wielded by the Prime Minister of Canada is both a topic of contemporary interest, and one of the oldest debates in Canadian politics. Aucoin, Savoie, Bakvis and Franks have all articulated distinct understandings of Prime Ministerial power – all of which turn, in some degree, on the institutional changes wrought by Pierre Trudeau. Did Trudeau's early changes to the machinery of government after his election in 1968 mark the beginning of a dangerous trend towards centralization of power in the PMO, or did they simply reflect his style of management? Was Trudeau the progenitor of Prime Ministerial autocracy, or was he no more and no less free to steer the nation's course than his predecessors?

Previously, there has been very little first-hand information with which to assess these competing perspectives. The mere facts of the structural changes to the machinery of government do not speak for themselves: What is needed is a sense of the workings of that machinery in practice. Drawing on extensive access to the archives of Trudeau, Jean Marchand, and Gérard Pelletier, as well as interviews with surviving members of the Trudeau cabinet, I propose to shed new light on this question by exploring how the machinery of government worked during the October Crisis of 1970. What can this pivotal moment tell us about our understandings of Prime Ministerial power then and now?

**Mutlu, Can – cmutl074 @ uottawa.ca and Leite, Christopher – cleit094 @ uottawa.ca**

*The Dark Side of the Rock [of Gibraltar]: The Case of Ceuta and Melilla*

The experience of entering into the EU differs greatly between the Canadian businessman and the Liberian refugee. The object location of the border defines the security practices, based on who is the subject of separation. The contrast

between the internal and external borders as a result of the EU's Schengen zone is an example that demonstrates the importance of the dialectic between the location and character of borders. Consequently, the Schengen zone creates two kinds of subjects: desirable and undesirable. For the undesirable, the border becomes a security assemblage. For the desirable the border consists of a counter and a rubber stamp. In Ceuta and Melilla the images of the "border fence" are twofold. For the Liberian the fence presents a limit. For the "European", it represents the outer perimeter of the Community. This paper present Ceuta and Melilla as a window into understanding facilitation of the internal mobility of the Schengen zone. In other words, re-bordering at the outer limits of the Union enables the so-called de-bordering of the internal space within the Schengen zone.

**Nacol, Emily – emily.c.nacol @ vanderbilt.edu**

*Making Civil Subjects: 18th Century Tools for the Study of Society*

This paper will examine the work of three eighteenth-century social theorists and ironists—Bernard Mandeville, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift—to draw some conclusions about the politics of early modern British efforts to study and characterize newly forming commercial societies. It will investigate in particular how civil subjects were studied and constructed in this period, especially vis-à-vis members of those groups deemed risky or problematic for a polite commercial society—the poor, the unruly, and the sick—in order to draw out an account of early modern normative claims about the proper contours and content of a civil society. As part of this endeavor, the paper will draw upon two kinds of sources. First, it will offer an interpretation of the pamphlets and satires of the three aforementioned authors that situates them as participants in a common project of studying and fashioning British society into a polite commercial one. Sources include Swift's "Modest Proposal," Mandeville's Fable of the Bees and tracts on prostitution and charity schools, and Defoe's "Essay on Projects." These works are largely satirical, but have political import and reveal the shape and stakes of debates about how commercial societies were to be organized or sustained. The paper will situate these works alongside a consideration of the emergence of a set of significant scientific tools used to study particular segments of the population, namely political arithmetic and early forms of statistical analysis, and consider how these methods were enmeshed with current ideas about the nature of socially anomalous groups and the possibilities for managing them. Political arithmetic and statistics will be thus evaluated as significant instruments used in the effort to control and shape early modern society in keeping with normative accounts of what such a society should be.

**Nacol, Emily – emilynacol @ gmail.com**

*Author meets critics roundtable: Fonna Forman-Barzilai, Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy*

Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pursues Adam Smith's views on moral judgement, humanitarian care, commerce, justice and international law both in historical context and through a twenty-first century cosmopolitan lens, making this a major and timely contribution not only to Smith studies but also to the history of cosmopolitan thought and to contemporary cosmopolitan discourse itself. Forman-Barzilai breaks new ground, demonstrating the spatial texture of Smith's moral psychology and the ways he believed that physical, affective and cultural distance constrain the identities, connections and ethical obligations of modern commercial people. Forman-Barzilai emphasizes Smith's resistance to the sort of relativism, moral insularity and cultural chauvinism that too often accompany localist critiques of cosmopolitan thought today. Respondents will engage with both the work's normative claims about cosmopolitanism and its historical ideas and interpretation of Smith.

**Nath, Nisha – nnath @ ualberta.ca**

*Governmentality and Racialized Citizenship: Cultivating the Canadian Citizen Insider/Outsider*

Citizenship is often described substantively and formally as delineating between insiders and outsiders. While in Canada citizens racialized as non-white have always resided in this simultaneously ambiguous and unambiguous zone, the neatness of the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion has been uniquely and heavily tested in recent years. Moreover, the past decade has laid bare the extent to which this kind of boundary drawing moves beyond a status-based understanding of citizenship, to what is in fact an extremely productive logic.

Focusing on the targeting of individuals identified as Arab and/or Muslim Canadians, this paper explores the idea of the racialized citizen who straddles lines of inclusion and exclusion – the citizen insider/outsider. Drawing from media reports and the statements of key Canadian public officials, this paper draws parallels between three distinct cases – citizens' access of diplomatic protection while abroad, the Reasonable Accommodation Commission in Québec, and the marginalization of dissent – in order to piece together the ways in which security, multiculturalism and civil liberties function together as three deeply intertwined zones of citizen cultivation in Canada. In addition to unpacking the particular profile of the citizen insider/outsider, this paper considers how a governmentality approach to citizenship may deepen our understandings of what we require from different constituencies of citizens, and how citizen insider/outsideers are cultivated and conducted to act within particular regimes of possibility.

**Nguyen, Mai – mnguyen6 @ yorku.ca**

*Unleashing the Power of Consultations and Partnerships through Aboriginal Participation*

What is the extent to which and the means by which Canada's Aboriginals are involved in consultation and more importantly, partnerships with other political actors to achieve Indigenous-based change? This paper examines this question in the larger framework of New Public Management (NPM) theory. NPM postulates that consultation involving public sector engagement with citizens (community engagement/participation) will improve the quality of decisions regarding the content and delivery of policies and programs. The degree to which the public is empowered to engage with the public sector can be measured along a public participation spectrum, developed by the International Association for

Public Participation (IAP2), which measures varying degrees of public participation resulting in different forms of consultations and/or partnerships (inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower). This paper will examine the existing literature on public consultation and public participation which will help identify the level of Aboriginal involvement in the policy process. More specifically, the paper will examine the City of Toronto's 2008 "Homeless Partnership Initiatives", the Government of Alberta's 2004 "Grades 10–12 Social Studies Consultation", and the Government of Canada's 2008 "Environment Canada's Aboriginal Consultations on Wastewater", each of which involved government initiatives to carry out consultation with various Aboriginal actors. Ultimately, it argues that the different levels of government in Canada have only employed the first two stages of the public participation spectrum ("inform" and "consult") and therefore, have not empowered Aboriginals to become meaningful partners in the policy-making process and the democratic process at large.

**Nicholls, Esteban – enicholl @ connect.carleton.ca**

*An Andean form of Democracy: Elucidating Correa's "Citizens' Revolution"*

Recent political changes in Latin America, especially in the Andean Region, have raised important questions regarding the applicability of liberal democracy in these countries. Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa, for instance, has conceptually defined his 'citizens' revolution' largely as a type of 'Andean' participatory democracy rooted in the promotion of citizenship and forms of indigenous knowledge. However, as Correa's 'citizens' revolution' moves from rhetoric to concrete practices, clarifying its internal conceptual structure deserves further attention. The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to engage in a critical analysis of the relationship between key concepts in Correa's views of democracy in the context of his 'citizens' revolution.' To do so, I ask the question: how do Correa's views of the state, civil society and citizenship relate to one another in the context of Ecuador's new democratic system? Drawing on mainstream and critical literature about the state, democracy, civil society and citizenship, I argue that Correa's technocratic views of the state narrow the margins for civil society's autonomy and are inimical to the development of a substantive, individual or collective, democratic citizenship in Ecuador. In this sense, it is questionable whether Ecuador's 'citizens' revolution' will lead to the development of the type of Andean democracy promoted by Correa. To illustrate my argument I focus on three legal-institutional projects which are central to Correa's 'revolutions' objectives: the communications; water, and higher education law projects.

**Nichols, Robert – rnichols @ ualberta.ca**

*Henri de Boulainvilliers and the Counter-History of Racism*

The late 17th C.–early 18th C. French aristocratic thinker Comte Henri de Boulainvilliers has emerged as a central figure in the historical narrative told by several contemporary political theorists regarding the origins and transformations of modern racism. This paper seeks to resituate Boulainvilliers, not only to demonstrate his importance historically, but also to illustrate the manner in which he has become the ground for conflicts of interpretation between competing contemporary accounts of racism derived from Foucauldian, Arendtian and liberal traditions. It is argued here that an historically-attentive reading of Boulainvilliers demonstrates certain inadequacies in several of these contemporary approaches on two main counts. First, historically, Boulainvilliers refutes any account that does not contextualize the emergence of race theories in the 18th and 19th centuries in relation to earlier discourses of European colonialism and; second, philosophically, he problematizes theories of racism that continue to take up the question in terms of a failure to properly universalize the category of the human with its attending rights and dignities within an ideal modern State form.

**Nikolenyi, Csaba – csaba @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Chief Ministers and the National Cabinet: The Politics of Vertical Executive Mobility in India, 1952–2004*

As a parliamentary federation, India provides multiple opportunities for the political elite to pursue and occupy executive office. Sometimes a career in the sub-national executive, the state cabinet, serves as a training ground that prepares individual politicians for executive office at the national level. On other occasions, sub-national experience is actually a hindrance that prevents an individual from moving up into the national executive. Moreover, individual ministers may also start their career at the national level before assuming executive office in a state.

This paper studies the issue of vertical executive mobility across the national–subnational divide through the specific examination of the career paths of Chief Ministers, heads of the sub-national governments. The paper looks at both the upward (from state government to the national cabinet) and downward (from national cabinet to the state government) movement in Chief Ministers' careers. The temporal scope of the paper extends from the first free elections after Independence to the present (1952–2004) and it includes the Chief Ministers of the 16 largest states of the Indian Union. The specific questions that the paper seeks to answer are the following: i) under what conditions are Chief Ministers more, or less, likely, to enter national executive, or legislative, office after they finish their term at the helm of the state executive? ii) under what conditions does national cabinet experience promote the likelihood that an individual minister becomes the Chief Minister of a state?

**Noakes, Stephen – 9swan @ queensu.ca**

*Intellectuals and Authoritarian Resilience: The Development of Political Science in China*

What is the role of the social sciences in non-democratic regimes? In his 1987 Presidential address to the American Political Science Association, Samuel P. Huntington posited a close relationship exists between the development of political science and democratization. "Political science," he writes, "is not just an intellectual discipline [but] also a moral one....the impetus to do good in the sense of promoting political reform is embedded in our profession." By contrast, this article demonstrates the complicity of political research in upholding authoritarianism in China. Because of the historically

close association of the discipline to state interests there, periodic fluctuations in the status of Chinese political science since 1949 have reflected changes in the logic of authoritarian survival. Under the current Hu-Wen administration, political science has become more nation-centred and service-oriented, concerned with solving China's governance challenges while support for democratization, prominent in the late 1980s, has largely been silenced. Now more focused on improving than replacing the communist regime, political science in China today provides the CCP with a means to re-legitimize itself, and thereby serves to strengthen and perpetuate authoritarian rule rather than end it.

**Norman, Wayne – wayne.norman @ duke.edu**

*How “Non-Ideal” Must our Theories be for Deliberatively Adversarial Institutions?*

Moral philosophers have recently begun to pay attention to “deliberately adversarial institutions” and their implications for how we determine the rights and obligations of individuals working within them. Many discussions about ideal/non-ideal theory seem to have in mind political institutions that are designed to facilitate earnest, cooperative efforts to formulate and administer just policies. Yet several very important institutions are designed precisely to foster fierce competition between individuals and groups that will lead to clear winners and losers among the adversarial participants, but produce unintended net benefits for society at large. Regulated economic markets are an obvious example of this kind of deliberately adversarial institution, and Adam Smith's famous metaphor of the “invisible hand” is an explanation of how staged competitions between non-publicly-spirited actors can produce optimal benefits for the public. Or consider the corporation itself (which, with the help of corporate law, coordinates particular individuals and constituencies who have interests that differ from the “interest” of the firm), the adversarial legal system, and even electoral systems. It is not obvious how the Rawlsian ideal/non-ideal distinction applies to such institutions. On some interpretations, there could be no ideal theory of these institutions because they presuppose that better results (including more just results) will come from individuals not being motivated by a public conception of justice. On the other hand, Rawls's normative framework for non-ideal theory may provide a more fruitful way of justifying “beyond-compliance” obligations for businesses than existing theories of either corporate strategy or CSR.

**Nossal, Kim – nossalk @ queensu.ca and Bloomfield, Alan – allanbloomfield @ gmail.com**

*‘We-Factor’ in Foreign Policy: How Conservative Parties in Australian and Canada Framed ‘The National Interest’ after 9/11*

Constructivist theorists have argued at length that states' interests flow from their identities, or put another way, that states' interests are constituted at least in part by those states' identities. In this paper we will examine the degree to which this link seems apparent in the public discourse emanating from Australian and Canadian conservative parties after 9/11. We will do so by engaging in a discourse analysis of Australian and Canadian conservative parties' public statements between 9/11 and the outbreak of the Iraq War in 2003. We are interested in examining the degree to which these parties framed or presented what they believed were their nations' respective national interests by invoking what we call the ‘we-factor’; arguments that explicitly drew cultural parallels between their own societies and George W Bush's America. We do not ignore the ‘threat’ side of the friend/foe calculus, meaning we will touch on how these parties focussed on differences between the their own nations' cultural values and the cultural values they assumed motivated the terrorists (thereby painting the latter as an existential strategic threat). But we will focus more attention on the undertheorized ‘affinity’ side of the friend/foe calculus by examining how both parties also emphasized cultural similarities between their nations and America in an effort to garner public support for committing their nations to close and active support of America's War on Terror.

**Ohemeng, Frank – fohemeng @ uottawa.ca and Grant, John – grantkj @ mcmaster.ca**

*An Institutional Analysis of Water Sector Management in Post-Walkerton Ontario*

In the early 2000s, Walkerton, a small town in Ontario, experienced the worst crisis in the history of water quality management in the province. The town's water system was infected with E-coli virus, which led to the death of seven people with hundreds of others falling ill. The effects are still being felt today. The Walkerton tragedy led to the establishment of a commission of inquiry to determine what actually occurred and to make recommendations to prevent similar situations in the future. The commission, although attributing much of the responsibility for the tragedy to local mismanagement, also placed blame on the provincial government of the day's and its distaste for regulation, which affected water inspection and reporting in the province.

Five years after the Walkerton tragedy, Ontario water was deemed to be the best in the country according to a study by the Sierra Club of Canada (the province was graded A-). This was three years after the election of a new provincial government, which in its 2003 campaign, promised to fix what it described as the “broken water system”.

This paper aims to examine the policies of the new government, as well as the various management structures and techniques that have been adopted and implemented in order to prevent another Walkerton. Essentially, we intend to determine whether there were actual changes to the institutional arrangements surrounding the management of water quality in the province, or whether the current situation merely represents a political realignment of policies and procedures within the existing institutional framework.

**O'Reilly, Patricia – poreilly @ ryerson.ca**

*The Romanow Commission: A Neo-Institutionalist Analysis of Policy Change*

In a climate of concern about the future of health care in Canada, a royal commission was struck by the Liberal government in 2000 to give recommendations for the long term financial and structural needs of the system. Former Premier Roy Romanow was appointed head of this Royal Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada. The result

is an intelligent and thoughtful report with some excellent recommendations for health care, plus some interesting recommendations for transparent and deliberative consultation and research processes. There has been little in the way of actual policy or process change as a result of the Romanow Commission. There has also been little scholarly study of the commission. In keeping with recent research projects in public policy, federalism and public administration, I will utilize commission documents, existing literature and new interview material to argue that the commission failed to help elicit policy change because it failed to shift any of the vital elements of the policy making process. It did not result in a shift in the ideas or way of thinking about health care in the broader political community. Neither did it result in a shift of any of the embedded institutional characteristics, actors or relationships within which the health policy drama gets played out in Canada. It was given a mandate to play it safe and that is just what it did. As a result we have another Commission of Inquiry which has produced new recommendations while it helped reproduce old policy.

**Orsini, Michael – morsini @ uottawa.ca**

*Manufacturing Civil Society? How the Krever Inquiry Shaped Collective Action and Policy Change*

The Commission of Inquiry on the Blood System in Canada has been praised as a model for how public inquiries can effect meaningful policy change. Indeed, the Commission transformed the blood system, divesting the Canadian Red Cross of much of its authority. Moreover, two of its key policy recommendations – all victims of tainted blood be compensated regardless of when they were infected and should not be forced to prove fault – were followed, albeit reluctantly by the federal government. While it is difficult to assess whether policy change would have occurred without the benefit of the Inquiry, it is clear that the facts uncovered during the Inquiry helped to expose a dysfunctional blood system. Asking, however, whether the inquiry resulted in demonstrable policy change does not exhaust the range of policy-related outcomes demonstrated by this case study. At the level of ideas, the Inquiry introduced the notion of no fault compensation for blood-associated injury, which has implications for how we address vaccine-related injury in the wake of the current H1N1 crisis. And while the institutional changes were far-reaching, a distinguishing outcome of the Inquiry relates to how it structured interests and shaped the identities of established and new policy actors. The Inquiry catapulted hemophiliacs onto the political stage, and gave impetus to a new set of actors (people with hepatitis C). These actors became strong advocates for policy change well after Krever wrapped up his commission.

**Orsini, Michael – michael.orsini @ uottawa.ca and Wiebe, Sarah – swieb103 @ uottawa.ca**

*Contentious Politics in Comparative Perspective: From Institutions to Emotions*

The study of contentious politics has been influenced heavily by approaches that take as axiomatic the important structuring role of institutions in shaping movement strategies and the policy outcomes that flow from these. The most influential of these approaches, political process theory, pioneered by Tarrow (1996) and McAdam (1996), sought to capture how the political opportunity structure – features of the external political environment often outside of the direct control of movement actors – can encourage or discourage movement actors from engaging in collective action. These approaches have filled an important gap in a literature that was too often squarely focused on social movements as irrational outbursts of time and space. An overwhelming emphasis on the rational features of collective action, however, has frozen out of discussion the role of emotions in framing, nourishing and sometimes structuring social movement claims and policy outcomes. A growing body of literature in the area of social movement theory and public policy, respectively, has begun to make up for this neglect in the literature. I explore the “emotional turn” in social movement analysis by drawing on a comparative analysis of social movement activism in Canada and the US in the area of contested illnesses such as autism and multiple chemical sensitivity.

**Ortbals, Candice – candice.ortbals @ pepperdine.edu**

*Framing Women's Identities in Localities: The Establishment and Growth of Women's Centers in Spanish Regions and Municipalities*

Women's centers are defined as local “facilities” that hold conferences, training, and campaigns about gender equality and “are used by women's organizations...for meetings, workshops, and other activities” (Murase 2006, 45). Scholars view the actions of women's centers in opposing ways. First, women's centers are considered a means to further women's empowerment. During the second wave of feminism, women's centers in Europe, the United States, and Australia were important “spaces” for feminist movements (Hercus 2005, 117). Similarly, during Spain's democratic transition (1978–1982), feminists proposed women's centers as a way to inform women of their rights, promote awareness of reproductive issues and sexuality, and offer spaces for conversations among women (González 1979). On the other hand, the broader political science literature hints that the various activities at women's centers construct women's identity as private actors, tied to the home sphere, even while drawing women into the public sphere.

Given that women's centers are not “neutral spaces”; rather they help to define what women's interests should be, I ask how centers, as a kind of “local state feminism,” promote and/or restrict progressive gender values (Murase 2006, 111). Moreover, I investigate how and why women's centers developed in Spain from the 1980s until the present day and what activities now occur at women's centers.

**Osen, Florian – florianolsen @ hotmail.com**

*Unmasking the “société d'ordres”: Sacrifice in Iraq and the ‘Crisis’ of US Citizenship*

This paper asks whether in light of the attrition the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have exerted on the US army's manpower reserves, the American state's decision to extend the combat duties of soldiers beyond the expiration of their contracts (stop-loss) points to a more profound crisis of the social-military order? Building on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and the political theory literature on citizenship, I advance the idea that the state's exceptional wartime

measures reveals an underlying crisis of the liberal doxa, the myths of 'choice' and 'social mobility' which provide the symbolic ordering of class and race relations in peacetime. I suggest that stop-loss policies enacted to contain the crisis codified into an explicit practice of exploitation enlistment patterns which had only been visible as statistical consequences of subtler, but no less exclusionary social processes. This solidification of the symbolic structure of society in fact thrusts into the limelight the very different sets of political obligations that citizens of different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds have always been tacitly expected to fulfill, and thus marks their passage into orthodoxy. I conclude by asking whether the measures enacted to contain the crisis (with the help of the economic turbulence that has hit the labor market) should nonetheless challenge us to question if a liberal illusion of choice and juridical equality in America does not mask the perpetuation of a "société d'ordres," founded on different categories of citizens with very different sets of political obligations.

**Oxman, Evan – eoxman @ princeton.edu**

*Hobbes on Self-Reflexivity*

Hobbes begins *Leviathan* by enjoining the reader to "read thy self." This paper is meant as an exploration of the meaning and significance of this statement. Briefly, I wish to argue that Hobbes believes we can only read ourselves when we are able to abstract from our particular desires, wants, and insecurities. However, given Hobbes's strict rejection of a Cartesian conception of the self, Hobbes suggests that we can only do so in the context of social activity when we come to understand that our conceptions of ourselves are influenced and shaped by others' perceptions of us as well as our second order perceptions of those perceptions (and so on). Hobbes's political system is therefore dependent on individuals remaining aware of how others perceive them and of being willing to modify their behavior so as to achieve the possibility of peace. Thus, "read thy self" is meant as much as an ethical injunction as it is an intellectual one. Analogously, just as it seeks to foster awareness of the self by forcing us to acknowledge its ultimate fragility, a similar analysis underlies Hobbes's conception of absolute sovereignty in which awareness of the fragility of the state is what leads to its sustenance.

**Ozdinc, Hilya Kendir – fuatozdinc @ gazi.edu.tr and Ozdinc, Fuat – fuatozdinc @ gazi.edu.tr**

*Neoliberal Transformation of Local Politics: Peculiarities of the Turkish Case*

The global hegemony of neoliberalism has changed the relationship between political participation and representation at the local scale. The triggering factor behind this change is the devaluation of capital on a global scale and the accompanying rise of authoritarian statism as the dominant state form. In this process, the centralization of power within the executive branch of the state has often been accompanied by the restructuring of local politics along the same lines. In this framework, the peculiarity of the impact of neoliberalism on local politics in Turkey is quite striking. In Turkey, the increasing concentration of state power at the central level goes hand in hand with the process of localization. This process unfolds itself in an uneven and combined fashion in response to the changing position of Turkey within the world economy as well as the changing balance of class forces. In Turkey, while local politics in big cities is based on the distribution of rents over urban land, in small towns it is based on the utilization of cheap labour for infrastructure projects. In this contradictory process, the Turkish state is trying to find ways of keeping its centralized structure intact. It is this attempt that makes the Turkish case peculiar. In this study, we aim to discuss this peculiarity and its implications for understanding Turkish politics.

**Painter–Main, Michael – m.painter.main @ utoronto.ca**

*The Rise of Green Politics or Short–Term Protest? Explaining Green Party Support in Canada*

The emergence of the Green Party onto the Canadian political landscape has provided an impetus for new research on the Party (Camcastle 2007; Lambert and Jensen 2007). However, much of this work has focused on party structure or membership; little attention has been devoted to understanding why individuals vote for the Greens. A predominant reason for the lack of analysis is attributed to problems analyzing a group comprising four to six percent of the electorate (Kay 2008). However, a series of recent minority governments has allowed the administration of several national surveys through the Canadian Election Study (CES). Taken together these surveys capture a large Green voter population.

The paper applies three broad explanations in understanding Green Party support in Canada. First, value re-orientation and structural changes are thought to have led to an incoming generations of voters who favour "new politics" parties. Second, the emergence of the Greens in Canada reflects dissatisfaction with corruption found in government. Certain events, such as the sponsorship scandal, create a sense of disillusionment that is translated into short-term protest votes (Lanoue and Bowler 1992). Finally, it has been noted that the Canadian Green Party possesses an enduring skepticism about the role of government, particularly in terms of economic issues (Camcastle 2007). Green Party members hold market-friendly attitudes, a distinct characteristic thought to be tied to the large number of self-employed attracted to the party. Green Party support, as such, may be linked to a new cleavage that transcends the left-right spectrum.

**Pal, Leslie – lesliepal @ gmail.com**

*Modernizing Government: Mapping Global Public Policy Networks*

Public sector reform and governance are crucial areas of public policy debate and action for domestic governments as well as international organizations. And yet, while it is clear that a global movement or network around public sector reform has been growing and building over the years scholars know virtually nothing about how this global policy network is organized and how it exercises influence. However, understanding movements and trends in contemporary governance demands some grasp of this network, since it is a primary mechanism of policy transfer as well as a global "agora" that

helps sustain a consistent conversation and basic sets of concepts about what constitutes “good governance” from Durban to Dubai. This paper will use two alternative approaches to mapping the public sector global policy network: inductive actor mapping and deductive hyperlink analysis. The inductive analysis draws data from membership lists to identify members of the network. The deductive approach gathers data from the Web and use sociometric analysis to identify key actors and traces structural configurations.

The paper proceeds in five parts. First, we discuss the emergence of the global policy network around public sector reform and some of its drivers. Second, we briefly describe the results of the inductive approach that provided the initial boundaries for the virtual policy network analysis. Third, we outline the methodology of the web searches, highlighting two virtual policy networks and the actor network around public sector reform. Fourth, we discuss the key results from the analysis and what they tell us about the organization of global networks on this issue. Finally, we conclude with a comparison of the results of the inductive approach and the web-based analysis, with reflections on further research.

**Panday, Pranab Kumar – pranabpanday @ yahoo.com**

*Gender Position in Governance System and Nature of Governance: Autocratic or Democratic*

Linkage between ‘presence of women in organizational governance’ and ‘gender friendly policy making and implementation’ is indubitably accepted by the academician and practitioner. In this perspective, an equal and effective participation of women is indispensable for any governing system. This paper aims to identify the status of women’s participation in decision making process of non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh. The study team collected both primary and secondary (content review of NGO documents) data to support the specific arguments. To collect the primary data, head of the organizations and senior staff of seven local NGOs were interviewed.

The study found that 36 percent of the executive committee’s members are female and three organizations are found as headed by female among the seven selected local NGOs. There is also correlation is exist that female head organizations have higher number of women executive committee members compare to male headed organizations where average women participation is 34.69 percent and 45.02 percent in the female headed organization and average participant in the male headed organization is 29.95 percent. In male headed organizations average 80 percent of decisions are taken by head of the organization, contrary in female headed organizations average 90 percent of decisions are taken by the head. In case of male headed organization, head use to take support from male senior management team and in female headed organization, head usually rely on relatives.

Above mention findings depicted that gender position determines the representation but real democratic participations depends on ground reality which shapes the gender role.

**Papillon, Martin – martin.papillon @ uottawa.ca**

*State Restructuring and Indigenous Governance: Comparing Australia, Canada, the United States, and New Zealand*

As the negotiation of lands claims and self-government agreements reshape the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state as well as the institutional landscape of Canadian politics, the need for theoretical frameworks to explain these changes and assess their impact becomes more important. A comparative approach to the study of Indigenous politics can help us better understand these transformations. There are, however, few explicit attempts at theorizing indigenous politics from a comparative perspective. In this paper, I build on political economy perspectives on ongoing processes of state restructuring as well as institutional approaches in comparative politics to underline the similarities and differences in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada. Given the similarities in colonial histories, it is logical to look at these four countries for a comparative perspective on Indigenous politics in Canada. I first suggest similar pressures associated with neoliberal ideas and market liberalization have led to the adoption of similar policy approaches towards Indigenous peoples in the last decade. The consequences of these policies, however, vary considerably from one country to the other, largely as a result of the nature and degree of institutionalization of Indigenous rights as well as the particular configuration of Indigenous political mobilizations at the national and local levels.

**Paquet, Mireille – mireille.paquet @ umontreal.ca**

*Citizenship test in Canada and in the United-Kingdom: an instrument of continuity*

Numerous countries now use a version of a citizenship test as a part of their naturalisation process. The literature about these tests can be divided in three streams. First, evaluations of the test employing a normative standpoint of citizenship or multiculturalism theory. Second, analysis of the convergence of national naturalisation policies based on the common nature of the test as a policy instrument. Third, linked to convergence stream is the study of these tests as a sign of the rupturing of national models of immigration and diversity management. Despite the three streams, the literature remains sparse and has trouble accounting for cases where the test has been in place for a long time. To cast the issue in a different light, this communication compares the current Canadian citizenship test, enacted in 1995, with the United-Kingdom citizenship test, just implemented in 2005. Using a neo-institutional approach, it demonstrates that, in both cases, the design and implementations of those tests represented an extension of national models of immigration and diversity management. The Canadian test, as a low intensity and symbolic measure, acts as the reformulation of a discretionary instrument complementing a relatively severe immigration and citizenship policy. Conversely, the UK test acts as a significant barrier to naturalisation and the incarnation of a more content based citizenship. As such, it represent a new step in the formalisation of the country’s philosophy of integration based on border control and limited pluralisation.

**Parker, Jeffrey – jparke45 @ uwo.ca**

*Constructing a Theory of Intergovernmental Agreements: An Institutional Approach*

Of the various tools of intergovernmental relations, intergovernmental agreements are a common means of crafting relationships between governments. Intergovernmental agreements can serve many functions including the entrenchment of cooperation, the initiation of new government programs, the expenditure of billions in government funds or even constitutional change. This importance is increasingly recognized by scholars studying these agreements in Canada (Poirier, 2003) and the United States (Zimmerman, 2002).

Despite the increasing academic interest in intergovernmental agreements, there is still no theoretical understanding of them. Agreements are often studied for their place within the policy process or as part of intergovernmental relations rather than as phenomena unto themselves.

This paper will argue that intergovernmental agreements constitute important institutions within federal states and that they can be studied from a theoretical position. Making reference to existing agreements in Australia, Canada and the United States, I will contend that intergovernmental agreements are amenable to institutional study, following the four criteria set out by Guy Peters (1999): they are structures transcending individual actors; they endure over time; they affect behaviour; and they have a sense of shared meaning.

This investigation will produce a theoretical framework for the study of intergovernmental agreements that does not currently exist in the literature. An institutional approach to agreements will also give scholars a common theoretical structure to advance comparative study within this field.

**Parrella, Andrea – aperrella @ wlu.ca and Cottrill, James – 8jc94 @ queensu.ca**

*Welfare Ambiguity and Economic Voting in Canada: Explaining Variations to the Sociotropic and Pocketbook Hypotheses*  
Canadian Election Study data will be used to explain results that run counter to the sociotropic and egotropic economic voting hypotheses. The first assumes voters respond to changes in national economic conditions; this pattern appears in "individualistic" cultures where personal financial circumstances are seen to be connected less to government policy than to personal initiative. The second hypothesis assumes voters respond more to changes in personal finances; this "pocketbook" pattern is more prevalent in societies with highly interventionist welfare states, where the connection between personal finances and government policy is more salient. Given this pattern elsewhere, we find it does not neatly hold for Canadian voters. Preliminary evidence shows stronger egotropic tendencies among respondents who live in provinces with a more pronounced individualistic culture, and stronger sociotropic tendencies in provinces with a more welfare-oriented subculture. We suspect this stems from Canada's "liberal" welfare regime, which leaves room for ambiguity: while the regime is not overly generous, it is nonetheless a visible component of Canadian political discourse. Therefore, those who reside in individualistic subcultures are more likely to perceive the Canadian state as too interventionist, raising the salience of policy to their personal circumstances (i.e., egotropic voting), while those who reside in more communitarian subcultures perceive the state as far less of a cradle-to-grave welfare model, thus diminishing the political salience of personal circumstances (i.e., enhancing sociotropic voting). Results would contribute insight into attribution theory of economic voting by taking into account how political culture and state institutions affect perceptions.

**Paterson, Stephanie – spaterso @ alcor.concordia.ca and Marshall, Cherry – marshall.cherry @ gmail.com**

*Telling Stories, Shaping Lives: Media Representation of Midwifery Debates in Ontario and Quebec During the 1970s, '80s, and '90s*

Ontario and Quebec were the first two provinces to legalize midwifery, integrating the services into their respective healthcare systems. In both provinces, the pre-legislative periods were marked by intense debates between state-actors, medical health professionals, and midwifery supporters, debates which took place in discursive spaces which were shaped not only by the dominance of medical-scientific discourse, but also by the particular socio-political contexts of each province. These contexts will greatly affect the discursive strategies employed by various actors. In this paper, we seek to investigate the ways in which these strategies were reported and interpreted in print media in each jurisdiction, which will in turn demonstrate the role of the media within 'discourse coalitions', groups of individuals sharing storylines which are organized around a discourse (Hajer 1995; 2002). This analysis will not only contribute to the understanding of the discursive politics of midwifery, but will also contribute to the scarce literature on the role of the media in the policy process.

**Patten, Alan – apatten @ princeton.edu**

*Rethinking Liberal Neutrality*

A growing chorus of critics has attacked the claim that the liberal state ought to remain neutral towards the good, and some have gone so far as to pronounce the doctrine of liberal neutrality dead. The proposed paper explores the meaning of neutrality and explains why, in spite of the critics, it is an important component of liberal justice. Much of the recent literature on neutrality has proceeded on the basis of three assumptions. The first opposes neutrality to perfectionism. The second holds that neutrality has the status of an all-things-considered obligation that binds the liberal state, rather than a pro tanto obligation. And the third takes it that the concept of neutrality can assume one or other of two basic forms: it can be thought of either in terms of the effects of the state's policies or the intentions of the legislators and policy-makers who put those policies in place. The paper's restatement and defense of neutrality abandons each of these standard framing assumptions. The core suggestions are: that the state is neutral between several conceptions of the good when it is equally accommodating of those conceptions; that departures from equal accommodation may or may not be perfectionist in motivation; and that there are sufficiently important values at stake that the state has at least a pro tanto obligation to be neutral in this sense.

**Pavel, Carmen – pavel @ virginia.edu**

## Romanticizing Institutions: World Government and Institutional Dysfunction

Human rights abuses, widespread poverty and international crime continue to frustrate and puzzle us as we move into the 21st century. World government has resurfaced recently as a proposal to remedy these problems. Its proponents believe that a world government that would implement the formal institutional structures existing in western liberal democratic societies on a global scale would also replicate the benefits that people living in these societies enjoy, such as stability, the rule of law, equal protection for basic human rights, freedom, and equality. I want to offer some reasons to be skeptical that such a proposal would accomplish its goals. In particular, I will argue that we have good reasons to be concerned that the dysfunctional behavior of existing international institutions will be transferred to and perhaps magnified by a world government. In addition, there is good evidence from rule of law reforms in Latin America that simply implementing formal institutional structures is unlikely to get us the benefits these institutions are associated with in western liberal democratic societies. We do not know what it takes to build successful institutions where they do not already exist. We do not understand how institutions interact with the broader social, economic and cultural contexts to have the effects they do. The ability to affect basic social change is challenged by the empirical record of rule of law reforms, and this record raises serious flags about the ability to institute such reform on a world scale.

### **Pellerin, H  l  ne – hpelleri @ uottawa.ca**

*La question des perspectives dans la production intellectuelle en RI*

La question des perspectives, nationales ou institutionnelles commence    faire son entr  e dans les d  bats en R.I., mais, comparativement aux enjeux d'  pist  mologie ou d'ontologie, elle reste encore marginale dans la constitution de la discipline. La communication vise deux objectifs: d'abord montrer la centralit   de la perspective dans la production intellectuelle en R.I. et ensuite proposer une analyse politique et conceptuelle qui permette de situer les enjeux de perspectives, non pas en rejetant la discipline, mais en y   largissant son cadre intellectuel.

### **Penner, Devin – dpenner @ yorku.ca**

*Canada's 'Long Downturn'? A Critical Assessment of Robert Brenner's Recent Writings on the World Economy*

For many Marxists, the current economic crisis is seen as the product of the capitalist world economy's underlying stagnation tendencies. My paper will empirically and theoretically dissect one of these views, that of Robert Brenner, using the example of Canada to make this task more manageable. In Brenner's account of neo-liberal globalization, the world economy has been stuck in a prolonged period of crisis—a "long downturn"—since 1973. In response, I argue that the main problem with Brenner's "long downturn" thesis is theoretical rather than empirical: while empirical trends in Canada do not necessarily disprove his argument, he is able to write off a 1990s upturn only by dismissing profits in the financial sector as speculative and profits in the larger service sector as unsustainable, claiming that gains in these sectors have masked weaknesses in the "real" (i.e. manufacturing) economy. Pointing out the problems with this distinction between "real" manufacturing profits and "speculative" financial sector profits, as well as the continuing success of the largest and most powerful corporations in Canada, the paper will ultimately suggest that perhaps the key question is not necessarily one of long downturn versus long boom, but rather of long downturn for whom?

### **Penner, Erin – erin\_m\_penner @ yahoo.ca**

*Political Values and Individual Attitudes toward Ethnic Diversity in Canada*

This paper provides an empirical account of how Canadians' political values influence their attitudes toward ethnic diversity, immigration, and multiculturalism. For instance, how might a principled position about the validity of group rights affect an individual's support for increased immigration? Do beliefs about the role of government intervention shape attitudes toward multiculturalism? More generally, how would the influence of political values compare to more common explanations, such as ethnic prejudice or material self-interest? The political values examined here implicate central aspects of the ethnic diversity debate. The first defines how an individual perceives the basic unit of society and can be best described as a spectrum with individualism on one end and collectivism on the other. This value shapes a central component of the ethnic diversity debate: whether or not ethnic minorities should be conceived as political and social groups instead of as a collection of individuals. The second value refers to beliefs about the role of government, thus implicating policy aspects of the ethnic diversity debate. It identifies individual preferences for expending public resources on social dilemmas, such as government spending on immigrant integration or multiculturalism programs. Using the Canadian portion of the 2003 International Social Survey Programme, I test the effects of these values on attitudes toward ethnic diversity, immigration, and multiculturalism with ordered logit regression analysis. I also compare these effects with the typical explanations of ethnic prejudice and material self-interest. The results will be discussed in terms of encouraging interethnic harmony in Canadian society.

### **Perrella, Andrea – aperrella @ wlu.ca**

*Welfare Ambiguity and Economic Voting in Canada: Explaining Variations to the Sociotropic and Pocketbook Hypotheses*

Canadian Election Study data will be used to explain results that run counter to the sociotropic and egotropic economic voting hypotheses. The first assumes voters respond to changes in national economic conditions; this pattern appears in "individualistic" cultures where personal financial circumstances are seen to be connected less to government policy than to personal initiative. The second hypothesis assumes voters respond more to changes in personal finances; this "pocketbook" pattern is more prevalent in societies with highly interventionist welfare states, where the connection between personal finances and government policy is more salient. Given this pattern elsewhere, we find it does not neatly hold for Canadian voters. Preliminary evidence shows stronger egotropic tendencies among respondents who live in provinces with a more pronounced individualistic culture, and stronger sociotropic tendencies in provinces with a more

welfare-oriented subculture. We suspect this stems from Canada's "liberal" welfare regime, which leaves room for ambiguity: while the regime is not overly generous, it is nonetheless a visible component of Canadian political discourse. Therefore, those who reside in individualistic subcultures are more likely to perceive the Canadian state as too interventionist, raising the salience of policy to their personal circumstances (i.e., egotropic voting), while those who reside in more communitarian subcultures perceive the state as far less of a cradle-to-grave welfare model, thus diminishing the political salience of personal circumstances (i.e., enhancing sociotropic voting). Results would contribute insight into attribution theory of economic voting by taking into account how political culture and state institutions affect perceptions.

**Perry, David – dperry2 @ connect.carleton.ca**

*ISAF, Inc? Private Military and Security Companies and the Afghan 'Surge'*

This paper examines the role of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) in the 2009 'Surge' in Afghanistan. The additional troop deployments and infusion of reconstruction and development assistance to Afghanistan share many similarities to the post-invasion reconstruction of Iraq, where PMSC use by coalition forces was unprecedented. This paper therefore compares the use of PMSCs in the Afghan Surge to their employment by coalition forces in Iraq, to determine if the use of PMSCs in Iraq was sui generis, or a harbinger of modern warfare. First, the paper examines the specific functions performed by PMSCs on behalf of coalition forces in both Afghanistan and Iraq, focusing on: reconstruction and development assistance; training of indigenous forces; and security services. Second, the paper assesses the differing regulatory frameworks and legal regimes under which PMSCs operate in Iraq and Afghanistan. Third, the paper examines the coordination and control and oversight and management of PMSCs in Afghanistan and in Iraq. The paper concludes that PMSCs in both Iraq and Afghanistan perform essential functions on behalf of coalition forces, but in Afghanistan they operate under more stringent legal and regulatory frameworks, comprehensive command and control systems, and with more effective oversight and management.

**Pevnick, Ryan – rp90 @ nyu.edu and Doherty, Kathleen – kmd8c @ virginia.edu**

*Non-Ideal Reasons for Judicial Review*

In recent years, a number of prominent philosophers, historians and legal theorists have argued that judicial review cannot pass muster with standards of democratic legitimacy. However, debates regarding judicial review typically ignore important public opinion research on the tolerance of contemporary American society. Such research shows that (a) the general American public is not committed to individual rights in a meaningful way and (b) elite segments of society (from which justices are selected) are much more likely to uphold individual rights in difficult cases. Moreover, because they are only very weakly accountable to the electorate, justices are in much better position than legislators to protect the rights of groups that are neither powerful nor popular (such as criminals). Rather than assuming that the reasoning of justices renders them uniquely well-suited to make decisions regarding rights, our argument hinges on (a) the likelihood – documented in public opinion research – that elites are more likely to uphold individual rights than average citizens and (b) justices' ability to operate much more independently of electoral constraint than members of Congress. We thus suggest that – at least for the time being – the decidedly non-ideal state of the current citizenry's capacity for tolerance provides at least some reason to favor judicial review. After presenting these arguments, we consider and respond to objections that hold that our argument (a) cannot pass muster with the publicity condition and (b) forces one to reject democracy entirely.

**Plaw, Avery – aplaw @ umassd.edu**

*Sudden Justice? Evaluating the US Predator Drone Campaign in Pakistan*

No issue is more contentious between the US and Pakistan, and arguably in the war on terrorism, than the use of Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) to strike at Al Qaeda and Taliban targets in tribal regions of Pakistan. Hundreds of Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters have been killed in strikes sanctioned by both the Bush and Obama administrations. For Afghan-based American troops trying to disrupt safe havens across the border, the UAVs make the perfect 'killing platforms.' But for all of their touted precision, the drones have produced high levels of collateral damage, provoked major public demonstrations throughout Pakistan, and possibly increased support for the Taliban and undermined the authority of the government. Drawing on a comprehensive database of US strikes and newly released data on their effects, including the first credible survey of local attitudes, this essay offers a rigorous evaluation of the UAV campaign. It concludes that the campaign has achieved several key objectives, including weakening Taliban and Al Qaeda leadership, reducing tactical support for the insurgency in Afghanistan, and provoking the Taliban into self-destructive recklessness, all without generating excessive local anti-Americanism. The campaign, in short, looks more successful than is generally recognized.

**Popova, Maria – maria.popova @ mcgill.ca and Epstein, Dan – depstein @ mail.colgate.edu**

*Radical Right Parties and the Political Establishment in Eastern Europe*

Why do some radical right parties succeed, while others remain marginalized, or fade quickly after bursting onto the political scene? One set of answers focuses on the reaction of the mainstream parties to the far right phenomenon. The claim is that when the political establishment "combats" the radical right parties soon after their appearance, the likelihood of sustained radical right success diminishes. On the contrary, if the political establishment ignores the far right, it in effect legitimizes it and prolongs its political life. Several studies of Western European cases have provided empirical support for this proposition (Downs, 2001; Meguid, 2002; Bale, 2003; Eatwell and Mudde, 2004; Kestel and Godmer, 2004; Art, 2007).

Does this theory travel well beyond Western Europe, however? This paper will argue that the theory does not apply to democracies with low levels of popular trust in the political establishment. If the political establishment enjoys low levels of popular legitimacy, a mainstream strategy of “combating” the radical right may boost, rather than hurt the radical right. The paper will develop this hypothesis and support it with evidence from two Eastern European cases: Bulgaria and Poland. In both countries, a radical right player achieved significant electoral success with the help of a popular media outlet (Ataka and Skat TV in Bulgaria and League of Polish Families and Radio Mariya in Poland). In Bulgaria, the political establishment tackled the radical right and lost—Ataka’s popularity only grew. In Poland, the radical right joined the political establishment and ... disappeared.

**Poteete, Amy – amypoteete @ gmail.com**

*Citizenship, Identity and Authority*

Social sciences are increasingly focused on the relationship between state power and issues of identity. Local communities and identity groups – ethnic, national, indigenous, religious and social – continuously struggle to negotiate their relations with the state and with each other in ways that may challenge conventional or legal definitions of citizenship. Yet, the quality of democracy is linked to inclusive citizenship regimes. These involve individual rights, but also a collectively defined “common good.” In divided societies both elements are problematic.

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the state as representing a single national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Group rights are at the heart of new conceptions of citizenship moving beyond the universalistic, formal equality between individuals. Debates increasingly evolve around collective versus individual rights and the meanings and forms of belonging, identity, and political membership. The challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to “glue” different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society.

The aim of the roundtable is to contribute to the scientific debate by linking the concepts of citizenship, identity and authority. More specifically, the roundtable will address the following questions:

- How can we conceptualize and study inclusive citizenship in heterogeneous societies?
- What political mechanisms, institutions and public policies empower different identity groups?
- And which of these mechanisms create at the same time public spaces for inter-group cooperation?
- How to construct citizenship as “belonging”?

**Preece, Daniel – dvprece @ ualberta.ca**

*Whither Transnational Labour? Articulations of Class and Resistance within the Era of Global Capitalism*

The acceleration of globalisation has led to structural changes in the global political economy that have dramatically reshaped the mechanisms of governance and the social relations of production. While opponents to the continued expansion of this hegemonic project are often understood as representing discrete discourses of resistance, my paper will both contend that all subordinate social forces resisting neo-liberal globalisation represent a class-in-itself—collectively identified as transnational labour—and investigate the capacity of these actors to consolidate into a class-for-itself. First, I will examine the impact of the neo-liberal mode of social relations of production on both capital and labour, in order to determine why this mode promotes class formation on the part of dominant social forces and hinders class formation by subordinate groups. Second, I will analyse the interconnections between the different fractions of transnational labour—such as established trade unions, anti-poverty advocacy groups, the women’s movement, environmental organisations, and unprotected workers—to determine the extent to which a sense of solidarity has been eroded and how this erosion might be overcome. Finally, I will determine what strategies are necessary for labour to consolidate into a transnational class-for-itself.

**Pronovost, Véronique – pronovost.veronique @ courrier.uqam.ca**

*Conservatisme, moralité et politique aux États-Unis: Que reste-t-il des "guerres culturelles" à l'ère Obama?*

En 1992, l’ultraconservateur Pat Buchanan affirmait qu’une « guerre culturelle » (culture war) fait rage aux États-Unis. Décrite par Buchanan comme un combat pour définir l’identité nationale américaine, la guerre culturelle a été le cheval de bataille de multiples acteurs conservateurs moraux et religieux depuis les années 1970 (groupes pro-vie, leaders d’églises évangéliques dénonçant l’érosion des valeurs familiales traditionnelles, législateurs contre le mariage gai, etc.). Tandis que les premiers mois de la présidence de Barack Obama illustrent que les guerres culturelles continuent à battre leur plein aux États-Unis (adoption d’une proposition visant à interdire le mariage gai en Californie le soir de l’élection d’Obama, assassinat d’un médecin pratiquant des avortements tardifs par un militant pro-vie en mai 2009; etc.), cette table ronde vise à mieux cerner le phénomène des guerres culturelles et leur importance au sein de la société américaine. Les participants évalueront, entre autres, l’impact de divers “guerriers culturels” et de leurs discours (par exemple: Bill O’Reilly, Glenn Beck, blogueurs qui s’insurgent contre la nudité dans la culture populaire, organisations antiféministes, etc.) sur les débats politiques.

**Puddister, Kate – puddistk @ uoguelph.ca and Riddell, Troy – riddell @ uoguelph.ca**

*The RCMP's Use of Mr. Big: An Independence and Accountability Case Study*

Effective democratic policing relies on a balance between independence – from direct political influence, and accountability. In Canada, the web of accountability includes answering to the executive, via reporting to the legislature through a cabinet minister, and oversight from various governmental institutions (such as courts) and non-governmental bodies (such as the media and the public). My presentation will explore the relationship between police independence and

accountability in the context of the RCMP's "Mr. Big" undercover operations. Such operations involve the police enticing an accused to join a fictional mob-style criminal organization, complete with fake crimes committed by undercover officers. The sting culminates in requiring the accused to disclose all past criminal behaviour to Mr. Big, the leader of the organization, in order to become a full member. This results in a confession to the crime under investigation by police. A highly controversial undercover tactic, prohibited in both the United States and the United Kingdom; Mr. Big exemplifies strong police independence with a high level of discretion, without input from elected officials. As a result, the Mr. Big method can raise serious implications for accountability, while exemplifying the practical implications of the strain between independence and accountability.

In a comparative context, the present study examines the relationship between independence and accountability of democratic law enforcement, through a case study of the Mr. Big tactic. Through an analysis of Mr. Big cases, newspaper articles covering these investigations and any statements made by elected officials regarding the use of Mr. Big, this study will examine the nature and strength of these traditional methods of police accountability, while at the same time, keeping in mind the necessity for the independence of the police.

**Purdon, Mark – mark\_purdon @ fastmail.fm**

*Is the Carbon Market Failing? Non-ideal Institutions and Moral Limit in the International Climate Change Regime*

The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) of the Kyoto Protocol has come under considerable criticism recently, with a number of doubts being raised about its environmental integrity and contribution to sustainable development. While once the darling of Kyoto, there is now talk of scrapping the CDM and the rest of the carbon market. There are however few systematic studies of the actual performance of the CDM. This paper fills this gap by providing results from 2009 field visits to over 10 CDM bioenergy and reforestation projects operating in Tanzania, Uganda and Moldova. Are biocarbon projects able to contribute to sustainable rural development? Does the CDM perform differently in states at different levels of development? But the study goes further by considering the CDM relative to other forms of development financing, including that for climate change adaptation. A particularly relevant question given the global financial crisis is: If not the CDM, then what? While far from perfect, results indicate that the environmental integrity of the CDM can be improved upon while it remains more robust than adaptation financing in the face of the global financial crisis. The ability of the global carbon market to harness interests and "create" a constituency profiting from the climate change regime makes it more effective than calls for adaptation financing which rely on moral politics. Such a framing challenges us to calibrate our "moral limits" on what constitutes failure in climate change policy and whether the CDM should be abandoned or salvaged as a non-ideal policy in need of, and capable of, reform.

**Pushkar, P – p.pushkar @ mcgill.ca**

*Institutions, Ideology, or Simply a "Priorities Problem"? The Making of Health Sector Reforms in Chile*

Through the 1990s, health consistently remained among the top three issues of concern for Chileans alongside unemployment and poverty. However, it was not until 2002 that the ruling center-left Concertación coalition introduced substantive health reform proposals. Over the next 2–3 years, the government of President Ricardo Lagos (2000–2006), a socialist, implemented wide-ranging health sector reforms (HSRs) known as Plan AUGE to improve access to health and to provide immediate treatment for life-threatening ailments for all Chileans. The aim of this paper is to explain why HSRs were delayed for more than a decade despite widespread acknowledgement that the health sector needed more than increased spending. I argue that institutional obstacles—notably the lack of a Concertación majority in the Senate—and the ideological preferences of key actors, including the powerful private sector groups and the medical association—who failed to reach a consensus on what kind of reforms were needed—provide only a partial explanation of the failure to reform. The health sector was not considered a priority for the two Christian Democracy-led Concertación governments—under Presidents Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994) and Eduardo Frei (1994–2000)—because Chile's health situation continued to improve in terms of conventional indicators such as infant mortality and life expectancy. Under President Lagos, health sector reforms were accorded high priority and the government eventually succeeded in implementing reforms.

**Pushkar, P. – p.pushkar @ mcgill.ca and Gupta, Madhvi – madhvi\_gupta @ excite.com**

*Understanding Moderation and Extremism: The Strategies and Goals of Religious Parties*

Religious parties merit attention because they are key actors in many industrialized as well as developing countries. Such parties are central to the democratic process since large numbers of people remain religious and vote for them. Second, while many religious parties are illiberal and anti-democratic, others are more inclusive and pro-democratic. This paper examines the relationship between religious parties and democracy. More specifically, it interrogates the meaning of 'moderation' and 'extremism' as they apply to religious parties. The terms are crucial because one group of scholars argue that moderate religious parties contribute to the legitimacy and durability of democratic rule. However, there is both a lack of clarity and consensus on what moderation and extremism precisely mean. Borrowing from Jillian Schwedler's idea that moderation and extremism have to be understood with reference to a political party's strategies and goals, we argue that the goal of mapping moderation and extremism remains incomplete. Religious parties often combine and/or switch their strategy in their quest for political power. Additionally, religious parties typically contain both moderates and radicals so that party strategy is ultimately determined by which group prevails in securing the leadership of the party. For such reasons, it may be difficult to determine whether or not a religious party is 'truly' moderate or extremist on the strategy axis. Party goals are equally problematic for making a reliable judgment on whether a political party is moderate or radical. Radicals within a party almost never give up on their extremist goals even if the bulk of the party turns moderate. It is also possible that party goals may be revised by moderates or extremists in changing times. We discuss

these issues with reference to Christian Democratic parties (Chile), Islamic parties (Turkey and Pakistan) and the Hindu nationalist Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in India.

**Quinn, Joanna R. – jquinn2 @ uwo.ca**

*Power to the People? Abuses of Power in Traditional Practices of Acknowledgement in Uganda*

Traditional practices of acknowledgement in Uganda, as a means of bringing about the resolution of conflict and rebuilding of society, are ostensibly used by and for the people. The literature has tended to view these practices as being an appealing, community-based alternative to practices of transitional justice that are often top-down and far-removed from the opinions, activities, and values of the community. Yet traditional practices are sometimes carried out by individuals who, although at first glance appear to be the justifiable wielders of power, may, in fact, be abusing this power. This paper considers the impact of privilege and exemption, legitimacy and heredity, and the role of spoilers. It further considers the exclusion of specific community groups (e.g. women and girls, “outsiders”) and its effect on the authority of that process.

**Rabbani, Golam – rabbaniea @ yahoo.com**

*Gender Position in Governance System and Nature of Governance: Autocratic or Democratic*

Linkage between ‘presence of women in organizational governance’ and ‘gender friendly policy making and implementation’ is indubitably accepted by the academician and practitioner. In this perspective, an equal and effective participation of women is indispensable for any governing system. This paper aims to identify the status of women’s participation in decision making process of non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh. The study team collected both primary and secondary (content review of NGO documents) data to support the specific arguments. To collect the primary data, head of the organizations and senior staff of seven local NGOs were interviewed.

The study found that 36 percent of the executive committee’s members are female and three organizations are found as headed by female among the seven selected local NGOs. There is also correlation is exist that female head organizations have higher number of women executive committee members compare to male headed organizations where average women participation is 34.69 percent and 45.02 percent in the female headed organization and average participant in the male headed organization is 29.95 percent. In male headed organizations average 80 percent of decisions are taken by head of the organization, contrary in female headed organizations average 90 percent of decisions are taken by the head. In case of male headed organization, head use to take support from male senior management team and in female headed organization, head usually rely on relatives.

Above mention findings depicted that gender position determines the representation but real democratic participations depends on ground reality which shapes the gender role.

**Racine-Sibulka, Paul – racinesibulka.p @ gmail.com and Grondin, David – dgrondin @ uottawa.ca**

*The Cinematics of War Videogames: Selling War as Game Is Not a Fiction for the US War Machine*

The US national security state has worked hard to make technowar and infowar part of American everyday life. This paper wishes to interrogate how the US war machine feeds on the videogaming industry to prepare for war. It looks at the more insidious forms that commercials for both the US Air force and war videogames rely on a banalized cinematic vision of war as game. The “trailers” for future videogames mimic those of movies and display impressive cinematics. It comes as no surprise than that the very activity of war, the service of arms, builds on the popularity of these games to attract new recruits. Indeed, we dig even deeper into the militarization of everyday life through videogaming with the recent US Air force television commercials which sell war as game using images that look as if they were taken from a videogame, to convey the idea that what people see on screen “is not science fiction” but what the US Air force “do every day”.

Videogames hence incite videogame consumers to not only watch US soldiers onscreen, but to actively become US soldiers. As simulating and interactive devices, videogames displaying military simulations clearly are more intrusive on the subjects, leaving gamers exposed to ideas that are not questioned, since they are enmeshed in the context, scenario and, most importantly, within the mission of the game. War videogames are in fact training, battle, and recruitment tools for the Pentagon, well-entangled with the video-game industry.

**Raddatz, Rosalind – rradd099 @ uottawa.ca**

*Third-party Involvement in Peacebuilding and Democratization in Liberia and Sierra Leone: Dilemmas in Peace Agreements Following Civil Conflict*

The legacies of lengthy intra-state wars combined with the inherent challenges of peacebuilding and democratization make conflict to democracy transitions difficult. These challenges have been particularly evident in Sierra Leone and Liberia. This paper addresses the need for third party actors to monitor and enforce peace agreements, by focusing on the contents of Sierra Leone’s 1999 Lomé accord and Liberia’s 1995–96 Abudja peace pacts, which incorporated foreign involvement to ensure commitment to the peace process.

The simultaneous aims of securing peace and establishing democracy can result in dilemmas that undermine both these goals. Initially, the appearance of an outside force in a monitoring or peacekeeping capacity can help hold parties to the terms of a peace pact. However, the presence of foreign actors as accord mediators and enforcers is anti-democratic (in that they do not necessarily represent society’s wishes) and their ongoing role in the course of transition can undermine a society’s democratic capacity to determine their political future.

This paper aims to establish a framework that supports the idea that the goals of peacebuilding and democratization can be at odds, while seeking to affirm that external actors can encourage warring parties to lay down arms. Considering the dilemmas of sovereignty, neutrality and security that arise when determining how international forces contribute to peace

pacts, I contend that international intervention was a useful, even necessary component of Liberia and Sierra Leone's peace agreements, however, I argue that it is insufficient for long-term peace, and can hinder the establishment of democracy.

**Radmilovic, Vuk – vuk.radmilovic @ utoronto.ca**

*Between Power and Constraint: Supreme Court of Canada and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

While comparative public law scholars report that we are witnessing a "global expansion of judicial power" (Tate & Vallinder 1995) and moving "towards juristocracy" (Hirschl 2004), much of the comparative judicial research also suggests that the exercise of judicial power is subject to significant external constraints such as those emanating from executive and legislative institutions (e.g. Carrubba et al. 2008; Garrett & Weingast 1993; Helmke 2005; Ramsayer & Rasmusen 2003), mobilized interest groups (e.g. Epp 1998), and even the public (e.g. Vanberg 2005). The paper evaluates this tension in the context of the Canadian variant of judicialized politics environment brought about by the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. How sensitive, indeed, is the Canadian Supreme Court to governmental and societal interests in its Charter decision making?

This question is answered through a statistical analysis of a novel dataset of Supreme Court of Canada rulings in Charter cases. The analysis shows that preferences of federal and provincial governments, as well as those of organized societal interests, have a systematic and substantive impact on decisions of the Supreme Court. The paper also finds evidence of systematic strategic behaviour on the part of Canadian Supreme Court justices and, therefore, serves to extend the so-called strategic approach to the study of Canadian judicial institutions through a quantitative analysis. Finally, the analysis informs comparative debates about the exercise of judicial power under political constraints as well as the Canadian debates surrounding the question of judicial power in the wake of the Charter.

**Raney, Tracey – traney @ politics.ryerson.ca and Berdahl, Loleen – loleen.berdahl @ usask.ca**

*National Identity and Social Policy Attitudes in Canada*

Since the post-war era, federal politicians have used public policy tools to construct a Canadian nation that binds together a disparate people spread across a vast geography. The policy field that has been linked most explicitly to nation-building in Canada is that of social policy. Previous studies have examined how social welfare programs have been used by the federal government to create a sense of collective solidarity and national identity. Our paper will build on this research by examining if the reverse is also true—that is, whether Canadians' subjective national identities shape their public policy attitudes. Social psychological research suggests that group identities can have a powerful influence on individual attitudes, opinions and behaviours. Drawing on this research, we ask: how do individuals' national identities influence social policy attitudes in western Canada? Such analyses are relevant as public opinion research shows that national identities are growing in strength in Canada, and that policies such as healthcare and multiculturalism remain important to these identities. In our paper we will use Looking West 2006 survey data to examine whether national identities may have important implications for the public's support of social policies. We will also consider the extent to which other identities, such as provincial and religious identities, are related to social policy attitudes.

**Rangel, Hugo – hugo.rangel @ elf.mcgill.ca**

*L'état de la démocratie en Amérique latine : Réflexions autour des fondements et repères de la démocratie*

A prime abord, il est question de réfléchir sur le modèle de la démocratie représentative libérale comme une forme de régime adéquate d'un point de vue normatif et politiquement viable en Amérique latine. On montre que la démocratie représentative ne s'oppose pas aux formes de participation citoyenne ni des mouvements sociaux. L'expérience dans les pays de la région démontre que le développement de la société civile est plutôt complémentaire à l'Etat et ses institutions. En second lieu, on aborde le débat en cours au continent entre l'économie du marché vs « l'étatisme ». Ce débat est fondamental pour la poursuite des projets nationaux en Amérique latine. Cependant, à partir des faits d'actualité de la région, on montre que ce débat est manipulé et correspond aux discours et luttes de pouvoir. On argumente que l'enjeu central réside plutôt sur l'avancement du processus démocratique. Dans ce sens, à partir de ce débat on déduit le lien conceptuel et empirique entre l'État et la démocratie.

Dans un troisième lieu on montre l'importance des institutions étatiques pour le développement des régimes démocratiques. Nous montrons que les institutions étatiques de la justice sont essentielles pour le développement de la démocratie dans la région. En fait, les problèmes de violence, corruption et impunité relèvent des failles des institutions de justice. Ceci s'avère un des problèmes les plus graves des formations démocratiques dans le continent ; et ces problèmes renforcent les inégalités sociales, déjà profondes.

**Rankin, Pauline – pauline\_rankin @ carleton.ca**

*Now You See It, Now You Don't: Assessing the Fate of Gender Mainstreaming in Canada*

2010 will mark the 15th anniversary of the Beijing Conference, the UN Fourth World Conference held in 1995 at which gender mainstreaming was endorsed as a global strategy for achieving gender equality. Beijing +15 offers an ideal moment to assess the progress towards gender mainstreaming in Canada, particularly given Canada's ongoing reputation, deservedly or not, as a leader in this field. In the years immediately following Canada's signing of the Beijing Platform for Action, numerous government departments at the federal and provincial levels established structures designed to serve as focal points for gender analysis and adopted tools and other protocols for the integration of gender into policymaking processes. At the federal level, Status of Women Canada was charged with coordinating gender mainstreaming initiatives. This paper examines the rapid demise of gender mainstreaming at the federal level following the rise to power of the Harper government. Building on recent scholarship (Brodie and Bakker 2008) that documents the

recent decline of the gendered subject in Canadian public policy, my paper will focus first on mapping the organizational shifts that accompanied the Conservative government's rejection of gender mainstreaming, and then offer a preliminary assessment of the impact on feminist organizing in Canada of this institutional and discursive retreat from a gendered analysis of politics.

**Rayner, Jeremy – [jeremy.rayner @ uregina.ca](mailto:jeremy.rayner@uregina.ca), McNutt, Kathleen – [kathy.mcnutt @ uregina.ca](mailto:kathy.mcnutt @ uregina.ca) and Hurlbert, Margot – [margot.hurlbert @ uregina.ca](mailto:margot.hurlbert @ uregina.ca)**

*Does transition management travel far? The politics and policy of nuclear power generation in Saskatchewan*

With the news that the government of Ontario has suspended the process of tendering for new reactors at Darlington, Saskatchewan or Alberta are now the most likely locations for new nuclear power generating capacity in Canada. In spite of vocal opposition to the nuclear option at recent public hearings, ostensibly called to consider the future of the province's uranium mining industry, the Premier has made positive comments on a number of occasions and few would be surprised by a pre-emptive announcement.

In this paper, we use the perspective of transition management to analyze the likely outcomes of this debate. We distinguish between transition management as a theory of policy change and as a process for managing change itself. We argue that the theory travels well in the former guise but remains rooted in its original Dutch context with respect to the latter aspiration. As the transition management literature acknowledges, disruption is not the same as change and change is not necessarily in the direction of sustainability. The actual outcome of contests over potential large-scale transitions between one socio-technical system and another is heavily dependent on local dynamics and power struggles. We conclude with a sketch of the possible transition paths in Saskatchewan and the politics surrounding them.

**Rehfeld, Andrew – [rehfeld @ wustl.edu](mailto:rehfeld @ wustl.edu)**

*Responsible Political Rights for Children*

Political rights are almost always framed in terms of adult citizens. In this paper I consider reasons to give children political rights that are appropriate to their developmental stages, and propose institutions to realize these rights. First, democratic citizenship is supposed to require "political maturity": a minimum of cognitive, emotional and moral development—including the ability to empathize with one's opponents—that children are said not to possess. The question here is not whether children have these capacities, but at what age these capacities should be presumed to be present and how rights might be allocated or realized incrementally. A second concern that cuts towards giving children of a certain age political rights is that they would be advocates for their own interests, and any kind of advocacy that is done for them today is always two or three steps removed from children. Relying on others for one's own protection has justified all kinds of heinous arrangements including denying the vote for women, and there is reason to think that children will do better as self advocates. Finally, as a developmental matter, I argue that giving political rights to children would have important citizenship effects on them and cultivate the very kind of agency and self-advocacy that democratic polities ought to cultivate. To illustrate this I propose a few innovative institutions that could foster these ends, including civic spaces in elementary and secondary schools, and annually additive fractional votes for children beginning at the age of 9.

**Reid, Scott – [scottreid @ yahoo.com](mailto:scottreid @ yahoo.com)**

*Politics and the Appointment of a University President: A Case Study of Memorial University*

The appointment of a university president is an important decision in that it may set the direction of an institution for a decade or more. This paper is a case study of the appointment of a new President at Memorial University of Newfoundland after the departure of Dr. Axel Meisen from that position in December 2007. The Williams government faced charges of interference from opposition parties, faculty at the University and members of the public. The appointment of a new president became a contentious political issue with questions asked in the House of Assembly and many commentaries given in the local media. This case study illustrates issues and concepts of academic freedom, academic independence, university governance and the financing of universities. Comparisons will be made with such appointments in other jurisdictions and in particular other provinces of Canada.

**Richez, Emmanuelle – [emmanuelle.richez @ mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:emmanuelle.richez @ mail.mcgill.ca)**

*Chaoulli et la nature changeante de la citoyenneté pancanadienne*

Cette proposition de communication tente de répondre en partie à la question qui préoccupe le chercheur de façon générale, à savoir quel est l'impact de la revue judiciaire constitutionnelle sur la citoyenneté pancanadienne. L'adoption de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés (1982) fut selon Jane Jenson une consécration de l'idéologie d'après-guerre du Canada, caractérisée par l'imposition de l'État-providence et d'une citoyenneté uniforme. Cependant, Jenson constate que de nouvelles pratiques de citoyenneté ont été mises en place depuis avec la montée de l'idéologie néolibérale. Elle ne considère toutefois pas l'impact que la Charte et plus précisément sa revue judiciaire ont pu avoir sur ces pratiques. Pourtant, l'affaire Chaoulli (2005) est venue remettre en cause le système de santé universel qui avait été jusqu'alors l'un des piliers de la citoyenneté sociale. Dans son jugement, la Juge Deschamps a stipulé que «[l]e dernier rempart des citoyens demeur[ait] les tribunaux.» Cette affirmation est révélatrice du fait que la Cour suprême est consciente qu'elle exerce une influence sur la définition de la citoyenneté au pays. Contrairement à Peter H. Russell qui affirme que la Charte et l'interprétation qu'en font les juges ont une portée limitée sur les politiques publiques, il sera avancé qu'elles suscitent des réformes sociales. Grâce à une approche institutionnaliste historique, il sera soutenu que le pouvoir judiciaire altère la citoyenneté sociale des Canadiens, en mettant l'accent davantage sur les droits individuels que collectifs. Il sera aussi démontré que le cas du Canada peut éclairer de futures études comparatives sur le sujet.

**Richter–Montpetit, Melanie – me.ri @ web.de**

*Beyond Biopower? Empire, Embodiment, and the Everyday in an 'Age of Security'*

Recent Foucauldian–inspired interventions in debates on the US “war on terror” have complicated our understandings of the workings of global power. Deploying concepts like biopolitics, empire and deterritorialization, these poststructuralist inquiries have expanded the analytical terrain of the “inter/national” beyond states and markets. Examining a range of national security practices in the GWOT, my paper cautions against conceptualizing the contemporary global liberal order as being under a simple transition from disciplinary modes of governing to the “society of control,” as advocated by Hardt and Negri (2000). Drawing on postcolonial, transnational feminist and queer work, I will argue that this focus on strategies of self–regulation obscures how most members of the “multitude” are subject/ed to highly punitive, disciplinary and/or necropolitical modes of governing (cf. Sharpe 1993; Rejali 1994; Mbembe 2003; Ong 2006; Schueller 2007). I argue that discourses of racialized sexuality and gender are fundamental in linking these different modalities of power. Methodologically, the paper links different sites of geo/power, ranging from spectacular forms like “shock–and–awe”–warfare and the systematic torture of “enemy combatants” to some of the more mundane operations of imperial power, such as colour–coded security warning systems, to apparently progressive human rights discourses.

**Rigaud, Benoît – benoit.rigaud @ enap.ca et Arsenault, Paul–Émile – paul–emile.arsenault @ enap.ca**

*Que nous dit la méthode comparative du modèle canadien d'administration publique? La gestion budgétaire dans les provinces, dans les territoires et au fédéral*

Constitutionnellement, qu'ils soient provinciaux, territoriaux ou fédéral, peu de contraintes encadrent les modalités d'organisation des gouvernements au Canada. Ces derniers peuvent ainsi mettre en place de manière discrétionnaire les procédures et pratiques de gestion publique qui leur semblent opportunes. En conséquence, les conditions d'exercice de la gestion publique pourraient être propres à chaque province, ce qui pourrait remettre en cause l'existence d'un modèle canadien d'administration publique qui se caractériserait par une certaine homogénéité. À partir de ce questionnement sur l'existence de ce modèle, qui est l'objet d'un programme de recherche mené par L'Observatoire de l'administration publique de l'ENAP traitant de plusieurs dimensions de la gestion publique, nous nous sommes intéressés particulièrement à la gestion budgétaire. Sur la base des résultats d'un questionnaire bilingue envoyé à tous les responsables du budget des provinces, du gouvernement fédéral et des territoires, on observe que les variations pancanadiennes tendent à être relativement faibles. Comment expliquer ce décalage entre les implications logiques du cadre constitutionnel et les données empiriques? En reprenant la typologie des mécanismes de convergence établis par Holzinger et Knill dans le contexte fédératif européen, nous testerons différentes hypothèses relativement aux phénomènes d'apprentissage, de mimétisme et d'émulation en utilisant des matériaux historiques.

**Roberts, Kari – kroberts @ mtroyal.ca**

*Jets, Flags and Sovereignty: Demystifying Russia's Arctic Intentions*

Vladimir Putin's assumption of the Russian presidency in 2000 should have ended nearly a decade of ambiguity surrounding Russia's global position and posture. Yet despite Putin's comparatively clear assertion of Russia's national interests, speculation lingers about Russia's motives, prompting some to decry a new Cold War when Russian and Western interests collide. One of these areas of potential dispute is the Arctic. Many northern nations have identified the Arctic as a region of strategic interest, including Russia, which has taken to communicating its interests in a somewhat assertive manner rife with Cold War–style symbolism. Of recent concern to Western governments were the Russian Arctic bomber flight that narrowly avoided Canadian airspace and the planting of a Russian flag on the Arctic seabed. The meaning behind these “jet and flag affairs,” and Russia's Arctic intentions more generally, are poorly understood in the West. This paper seeks to contribute to a better understanding of Russia's interests in the Arctic and asserts that its behaviour is unsurprising in light of Prime Minister Putin and President Dmitry Medvedev's unapologetic articulation of the national interest. Russia's actions are not necessarily emblematic of a new Cold War but are the actions of a country asserting its interests and making its presence felt.

To contribute to a more fulsome understanding of Russia's actions in the Arctic, the paper will review the relevant government documents and executive speeches to measure what Russian leaders are saying about the Arctic and how this aligns with Russia's national interest, and to explain better the meaning of the aforementioned “jet plane and flag planting affairs.” This work builds on the author's past research involving Russia's foreign policy with the West in the post–Cold War era and the unique role the Russian leadership plays in orienting foreign policy toward the West.

**Roberts, William Clare – william.roberts3 @ mcgill.ca**

*Pessimism and Anti–State Politics*

Carl Schmitt famously declared that all genuine political theory takes human beings to be evil. This hypothesis echoes, hyperbolically, The Federalist (51); “If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” Thus, important exemplars of both classical liberal and rightist anti–liberal political theory share the common assumption that pessimism about human nature supports the state, while optimism about human nature undermines it. Hence, it is not surprising that there is a wide–spread notion that anarchists are extreme optimists about human beings. This essay challenges this assumption by appealing to two sets of evidence. In the first place, the non– and anti–state institutions valorized by at least certain segments of the anarchist and anarcho–communist traditions – affinity groups, worker's councils, clandestine workgroups – seem upon inspection and analysis to evince a pronounced pessimism about the human capacities for trustworthiness, principled consistency, and disinterested nobility. Since this pessimism might be attributed to the corrupting power of the state, however, rather than to human nature as such, appeal must also be made to a second set

of evidence. Modern theories of the state, whether "authoritarian" (Hobbesian) or "liberal" (Lockean), all presuppose that one set of people – those possessing the physical means of coercion – can generally be expected to act out of duty. This, I argue, exposes a profound optimism at the heart of modern state theories, and, together with the first set of evidence, suggests that pessimism about human nature ought to lead one to oppose the state.

**Rocan, Claude – Claude.Rocan @ uOttawa.ca**

*Two Faces of Governance: Managing the Public Health Enterprise*

Despite the importance of the subject, the literature on the governance aspect of public health in Canada is surprisingly sparse. The analyses that were done on the management of the SARS crisis in 2003 provide an excellent opportunity to examine the current perspectives on this subject. The argument of this paper will rest on three major points. First, that two very different notions of governance can be discerned in the literature, one representing a vertically integrated approach, the other reflecting a broad horizontal orientation. Second, that those two notions, while seemingly opposite, must somehow be married in order to be able to deal effectively with the public health challenges of the future. Third, that given the expansive and varied nature of the public health policy community, a public health-specific network management model might well provide the best vehicle for successfully bridging this gap.

The methodology used will entail a close examination of the four major reports that were written following the SARS crisis. Two of these reports were done from a national perspective (Naylor Report, 2003, and Kirby Report, 2003), and two from the Ontario perspective (Campbell Report 2004, and Walker Report 2004). Related secondary material since the crisis will also be included. This material will be analyzed with specific reference to three issues: intergovernmental roles and relationships, the positioning of public health within the machinery of government, and the nature and extent of partnerships with civil society.

**Rodríguez, Juan – J.Rodriguez-Teruel @ Ise.ac.uk, Barberà, Oscar – O.barbera @ uv.es  
and Barrio, Astrid – Astrid.Barrio @ uv.es**

*Party Government in Multi-level Settings: The Determinants of Ministerial Turnout in Spanish Regional Cabinets (1980–2010)*

The emergence of regional governments in Europe points out two questions on party government and cabinet stability. First, whether new regional governments share the same patterns of stability as national governments (despite of the differences that could exist between both levels). Second, whether explanations for national cabinet stability also works in regional governments.

The paper have two aims. First, to measure the degree of ministerial turnout in regional executives and to compare it to the national level. Second, to explain why some regional ministers stays longer in power in some regional than in other. In this sense we aim to test the impact of institutional factors on ministerial turnout: a) the type of government (majority vs. minority); b) the number of parties in government (one-single vs. multiparty); c) the parliamentary and executive presence of non state wide parties; d) the "multilevel congruence" in government (homogeneity –same party in national and regional executive– vs heterogeneity); e) the institutional design and, specifically, the differences in early dissolution powers (regional parliaments with early dissolution powers vs. without early dissolution powers).

Our main hypothesis is that regional political settings that foster cabinet stability also favour ministerial stability. To test our hypothesis, we have collected data from the whole regional executives that have taken place in Spain from 1980 to 2009. In almost thirty years there have been 122 legislative mandates in the 17 Spanish regions, and more than 1200 regional cabinet posts,. This data will allow us to use explanatory inference to test our hypothesis.

**Rollo, Tobold – toboldrollo @ hotmail.com**

*Democracy in the Flesh: Citizen Bodies in the Public Sphere*

Citizens are not simply voters or voices; they are bodies. This paper asks what the implications are for the institutions of citizen self-rule in the public sphere and for democratic legitimacy if we take the bodily basis of the citizen seriously. In the past twenty years, political theorists have explored the 'performative' and 'corporeal' dimensions of embodied subjectivity – the recursive linkages between self and body – yet a more basic commitment to the 'discursive subject' model has proscribed an understanding of the citizen 'as a body'. The paper argues that deliberative democrats have under-appreciated the extent to which democratic norms of equality and reciprocity are rooted in the mutual intelligibility of bodies, that intersubjectivity is at its root a thick intercorporeality. Agonistic democrats have for their part argued that deliberativists offer a disembodied and universalist construction of the subject. Yet agonists, too, have been compelled to posit a reflexive agency standing in a relation of causality (as opposed to a relation of identity) to the body. In the end, despite claims to have understood and respected the fact of embodiment, theories of the citizen are still troubled by a problematic self/body dualism.

**Romanow, Jacqueline – j.romanow @ uwinnipeg.ca and Stout, Tamara – askiis\_xue @ yahoo.com**

*From Above and Below: Legal Cosmopolitanism and Colombia's Indigenous Rights Movement*

Globalization is a two level process. Traditional neoliberal economic globalization has been well documented throughout the literature. Recently, more attention is being paid to a counter-hegemonic globalization that is uniting and empowering historically marginalized groups including women, ethnic minorities and indigenous people. These subaltern groups are reaching out and working together at local, national and global levels to create new political and legal strategies. For indigenous communities in Colombia this has meant the development of new and effective tools in their ongoing struggles with the state.

Although Colombia has one of the most progressive constitutions in the region for indigenous rights, it has been plagued by endemic conflicts of which indigenous communities have suffered disproportionate casualties. Longstanding civil war between the government, guerrillas and paramilitary forces meant massive losses for Colombian indigenous communities in terms of their rights, their lands and even their lives.

Colombian indigenous people have adapted to new global realities and are challenging the state at both local and global levels for recognition and respect of their rights, with some notable successes. Through a cosmopolitan legal strategy, that includes local and international appeals, communities are working to implement the rights that were recognized in the 1991 Constitution. This paper examines both the successes and limitations of the local strategy of *tutelas*, a local juridical process, and the global strategy of international courts as levers from above and below to force state recognition of their unique rights as indigenous peoples.

**Roncallo, Alejandra – aler @ yorku.ca**

*The Tension Between Reason, Nature and Cosmologies in the Americas. A Polanyian Approach*

This paper argues that the new millennium's rhetoric of 'poverty reduction' launched in March 2002 at the United Nations Financing for Development Summit in Monterrey is an ideological tool that masks the fact that the American-led hegemonic project is capturing new enclosures of capital. One of the most detrimental aspects of the Monterrey Consensus is the privatization of communal lands and natural resources, which is at the core of the tension between two different types of knowledges and worldviews. On the other hand, an objectified scientific knowledge, strongly embedded in the Protestant Ethic and the notion of teleological development, that sees nature –particularly land, water, food, mines and; on the other hand, a subjective knowledge anchored in indigenous cosmologies which sees nature, religion and human beings as an integrated relational whole for the maintenance of an equilibrium between the biosphere, the environment, the body and the spirit. In sum, this is a tension between genocide and life.

**Ronzoni, Miriam – miriam.ronzoni @ eui.eu and Valentini, Laura – laura.valentini @ queens.ox.ac.uk**

*Taking Moral Intuitions Seriously, but Not Dogmatically*

The use of intuitions in political philosophy is inescapable. Yet, it is unclear what their status is. We may take intuitions to be representations of an external moral reality. The obvious difficulty with this is that, however, no one has been able to prove that such moral reality exists. Moreover, the possibility for there to be objective moral facts is at odds with the deep divergence between people's intuitions. If intuitions are not reflections of objective moral facts, then they cannot but be subjective convictions, with little, if any, moral authority. If this is the case, our appeal to them is unwarranted. We thus seem to be stuck in the uncomfortable situation where we cannot escape our intuitions and (i) if we try to take them seriously, we commit ourselves to dubious metaphysical claims; but (ii) if we seek to avoid problematic metaphysical claims, we can no longer account for their omnipresence in practical reasoning.

We suggest that a holistic approach allows us to take intuitions seriously and to acknowledge their uncertain status. Taking Rawls's method of reflective equilibrium as an example, we show that within a holistic approach, intuitions are balanced against each other, a none of them is given absolute moral authority – which they could only justifiably have if they were a reflection of an objective moral reality. Although no single intuition is given absolute authority, they are all given some weight in the justificatory process, thus acknowledging the possibility that they might, after all, be morally authoritative.

**Roseberry, Philippe – philippe.roseberry @ queensu.ca**

*La guerre en Bosnie–Herzégovine et les mérites analytiques du concept de conflit ethnique*

La guerre en Bosnie–Herzégovine (1992–1995) est un cas d'école de guerre civile dans l'après–guerre froide mais ce n'est que récemment que des chercheurs ont commencé à questionner les mérites de l'étiquette de « conflit ethnique » accolée au cas bosniaque (Campbell 1998; King 2004; Gagnon 2004). Cette communication avance l'idée que le concept de conflit ethnique a rempli la fonction de raccourci analytique pour les tierces parties impliquées en vue de simplifier les enjeux du conflit en une opposition tripartite entre trois groupes ethniques. À travers l'analyse de contenu de documents de politiques publiques américains et européens publiés entre 1991 et 1995, nous retraçons l'évolution de la catégorisation du conflit bosniaque en tant que guerre ethnique par les communautés académiques et politiques des États intervenants. Bien que le discours sur la catégorisation du conflit soit divisé entre visions primordialistes et instrumentalistes, il apparaît que ces deux visions sont largement unies dans un même essentialisme réduisant le conflit à son expression ethnique. Considérant l'objectif avoué de la communauté internationale de mitiger, réduire et stopper la violence lors de son intervention en Bosnie–Herzégovine, il est frappant de noter l'incapacité du concept de conflit ethnique de rendre compte de la logique, du lieu et de l'intensité de l'utilisation de violence politique par les groupes en conflit. Au contraire, nous montrons que cette catégorisation entrave la compréhension de dynamiques porteuses d'une plus grande capacité analytique, soit les divisions politiques au sein de chaque camp ainsi que l'extrême hétérogénéité des forces combattantes régulières et paramilitaires.

**Ross, Marc Howard – mross @ brynmawr.edu**

*The Power and Uses of Collective Memory in Ethnic Conflict*

Collective memory is increasingly discussed as an important feature of large group behavior. This paper considers five theoretical and empirical problems in the examination of collective memory for understanding ethnic conflict and its mitigation. (1) What is collective [sometimes called cultural] memory and how is it conceptualized? The what problem examines alternative formulations of collective memory and the potential relevance of each for understanding ethnic conflict. (2) Who makes up the collective [culture] that shares, nourishes, and modifies these memories? The who

problem focuses on the identification of relevant units of analysis for studying collective memory. (3) What are the mechanisms by which collective memory is maintained, communicated and transformed? The mechanism problem asks how individuals and groups come to hold, invoke and transmit collective memories. (4) How should we understand the nature and source of variations in the intensity of collective memory across individuals, cultural groups, and over time? The intensity problem asks how and why collective memories are not equally salient to all ethnic group members. (5) To what extent and in what ways are collective memories an important foundation for collective action? The action problem asks how and when are memory and identity mobilized to produce action in the name of the group.

**Rothmayr, Christine – christine.rothmayr.allison @ umontreal.ca**

*Courts and Biomedical Policy-making in Canada, the USA, Germany and Switzerland: Who Governs?*

Courts are involved in the governance of biomedical research and applications. However, the question of how courts have contributed to the governance of biomedicine has so far not been studied in detail. This paper compares the impact of court decisions across four countries, Canada, the USA, Switzerland and Germany for assisted reproductive technologies and embryonic stem cell research. In all countries, court cases were launched or at least supported by interest groups engaged in the political debate on how to regulate research and application in this field. The findings support the overall thesis that court instances have become parallel arenas to legislatures and governments for political struggle.

Nevertheless, the data does not support the idea that there has been a shift in power towards courts in terms of policy making. In all countries, government and legislatures have – so far – remained the most important venues for policy-making. Furthermore, the paper argues that policy specific factors need to be taken into account in order to compare and understand court involvement. The comparative literature on courts and public policy is generally interested in whether other countries are converging towards the adversarial and litigious US style of policy-making. Our analysis argues that the US are not the most litigious case across all biomedical issues, but that court involvement depends on policy process specific factors such as whether policy making is a multi-level game, what type of interests mobilise, the framing of an issue, self-regulation by the medical community, but also patterns of policy change over time.

**Rounce, Andrea – mail @ andrearounce.com**

*Valuing Public Opinion: Saskatchewan Policy Actors Weigh In*

Public opinion research – in its varying forms – is a vital component of democratic decision-making. Although there has been national-level research undertaken in Canada (Petry 2007; Soroka and Wlezien 2004; Page 2006; Butler 2007; others), little focus has been placed on provincial actors and on provincial policy actors' (including elected and non-elected government and staff, stakeholders, media, researchers) uses of public opinion research. How do provincial actors understand public opinion? What measures and sources of public opinion do they classify as valuable, and use in their policy-related work?

Potential answers to these questions will be explored using data from forty questionnaires and thirty interviews conducted with policy actors who were active between 1990 and 2004 in the Saskatchewan higher education policy community. Understanding how policy actors defined public opinion can help to clarify what sources and measures of public opinion are important for stakeholders, civil servants, elected officials, the media, and public opinion researchers themselves. This may help to explain connections – and disconnections – between public opinion expressed through polls and public policy.

Also important is how these policy actors assessed the value and utility of particular measures or expressions of public opinion research, and how these assessments have changed over time. Gaining a clearer understanding of how provincial policy actors define and use both public opinion and measures of public opinion will help to address some of the key questions around the relationships between the public and those involved in policymaking.

**Roy, Jason – jason.roy @ umontreal.ca**

*What You Don't Know Won't Hurt You? Political Information and the Canadian Incumbent Advantage*

Does political information heterogeneity affect Canadian incumbent vote shares? Although there has been a considerable amount of research that considers the relationship between Canadian economic conditions and incumbent voting (see, for example, Anderson 2006; Bélanger and Gélinau 2004; Happy 1992) there has been limited work that examines how differences in political information may affect incumbent vote choice. This paper uses election study data spanning 20 years of Canadian federal elections (1988–2008) to test the relationship between political information and incumbent vote. The central argument contends that political information heterogeneity produces differences in the vote calculus that in turn leads voters with lower levels of information to support incumbents more often than would be expected given a more detailed vote calculus. Simulations used to estimate the size and significance of these effects suggest that incumbent governments gain a considerable advantage from low-information voters — on average five percentage points — as a result of information-based differences in the decision-making process.

**Rubenson, Daniel – rubenson @ ryerson.ca and Loewen, Peter – pjlwn @ mta.ca**

*Do Voters Punish Equally? War Deaths and Incumbent Reelection in Canada*

Are government and opposition incumbents punished for negative consequences of their decisions? The basic logic of representative democracy suggests that they are, or ought to be. However, there is a lack of evidence to support this contention. We present results of a study on the effects of war deaths in Afghanistan on support for incumbents and nonincumbents in Canadian federal elections. The Conservative and Liberal parties have supported Canada's military role in Afghanistan and they have done so both as opposition and governing parties. This fact allows us to identify an effect of support for the war, separate from a pure incumbent effect and the effect of being in government. At the same time, two

other parties—the NDP and Bloc Québécois—are clearly opposed to the war. Thus, we are also able to identify opposition incumbent effects in a way not possible in a two-party system. Our data consists of district level measures of the number of war deaths, election results from the 2008 and 2006 elections as well as previous election results, district level demographics and data on MPs such as years in office, whether a cabinet minister and whether they have faced quality challengers. We estimate our model in the matching framework.

**Rubenstein, Jennifer – Rubenstein @ virginia.edu**

*Responding to Humanitarian Harms*

Most scholars and practitioners of international humanitarian and development aid acknowledge that such aid sometimes has unintended negative effects. Because efforts to eliminate these negative effects have thus far met with limited success, INGOs that do humanitarian or development aid sometimes face a tragic choice: either reduce or eliminate aid provision so as to avoid (the risk of) actively causing harm (“do no harm”), or provide (more) aid, accepting (the chance that) this aid will cause significant harm (i.e. accept having “dirty hands”). This paper a) elucidates empirical assumptions underlying claims that this dilemma can be avoided in specific cases; b) identifies normative commitments implicit in claims that the dilemma exists, but that NGOs should respond to it in a particular way. Finally, the paper identifies morally salient considerations that ought to inform decisions about how to adjudicate these dilemmas, but that theorists miss by being too schematic, and practitioners miss by not being schematic enough.

**Rush, Mark – RushM @ wlu.edu**

*Constitutional Dialogues and the Myth of Democratic Debilitation: Defusing the Countermajoritarian Tension?*

In this paper, I offer a contribution to the debate about constitutional dialogues. Specifically, I challenge the assertion that the Dialogue metaphor downplays judicial power and that it therefore promotes judicial activism at the expense of the capacity to govern itself through the elected branches. In short, I suggest that the logic underpinning the hypothesis that strong judicial review results in a debilitation of the legislature’s capacity to deliberate downplays the power of and strategic choices made by legislatures.

Hogg, Bushell and, later, Wright suggest that judicial review does not seem to be a particularly potent weapon when viewed through the lens of the dialogue. Insofar as legislatures have the power to respond to judicial declarations of unconstitutionality, the court’s power hardly appears to be final or dispositive.

Some critics claim that the logic of this analysis is pernicious because it suggests that, for better or worse, judicial review “may not matter.” (see, e.g., Petter).

Other critics of the dialogue ironically cast the court in a light much more powerful than that shone upon it when Alexander Hamilton first referred to the judiciary as the “least dangerous” branch of government. Scholars such as Mark Tushnet contend that the judiciary has the upper hand in any constitutional dialogue with the legislature because it is quite difficult for legislative leaders to re-martial their forces in response to a negative judicial decision. The threat of judicial review restricts legislators’ choices when they are formulating law and thereby limits the scope of legislative deliberations. After a judicial declaration of unconstitutionality, the legislature’s capacity to respond to the court is constrained because it is much more difficult to re-martial a legislative majority in response to a court decision than Hogg and Bushell’s dialogic vision suggests. In either case, judicial review results in “policy” distortion” and “democratic debilitation” and thereby threatens the popular capacity for self-government through elected officials.

This debilitation hypothesis is grounded on the assumption that the legislature, in representing “the will of the people,” has a greater claim to democratic legitimacy and, by extension, interpretive authority than the judiciary. Accordingly, courts should be more deferential to the legislature because 1) the latter is an equal player in constitutional politics and 2) the complex nature of the legislative process undermines that capacity of legislatures to engage easily in a constitutional dialogue.

Ironically, I believe that the debilitation thesis falls victim to its own logic. Insofar as it acknowledges that legislators’ support of laws can be strategic or sincere, it undermines the notion that legislature has a stronger claim to democratic legitimacy than the judiciary. To the extent that analyses such as that by Neal Devins or Ran Hirschl demonstrate that, in many cases, legislators support laws of questionable constitutionality or look to transfer power to courts for strategic reasons (essentially, to let the judiciary take responsibility for unpopular decisions), they indicate that legislative deference to judicial decisions is less an indication of judicial power than of free legislative choices to allow a judicial decision to go uncontested or unrevised.

Judicial review is a countermajoritarian threat only if we can agree that legislation is a sincere embodiment of the popular will or the public interest. To the extent that it is not, judicial declarations of unconstitutionality do not pose a countermajoritarian threat. They may appear to be a frustration of the legislative will. But, if unconstitutional legislation is the product of legislative position-taking and/or strategic behavior designed 1) to invite judicial negation and, as a result, 2) to enable legislators to campaign against the court when running for re-election, we cannot conclude that judicial review has resulted in a debilitation of the deliberative process or a rejection of the people’s will. Under this scenario, the court is actually serving the legislature by doing the latter’s dirty work. In this case, the popular majority is absent from the dialogue between the court and the legislature.

Cast in this light, the court should not hesitate to be assertive or activist. Insofar as legislatures have the power to qualify or override a judicial decision, it is clear that legislative silence can be attributed to 1) relief that the court did do the dirty work or 2) a lack of popular outcry against the court. Either way, no countermajoritarian issue arises.

**Russell, Peter – phruss @ aol.com**

*Oka to Ipperwash: The Necessity of Flashpoint Events*

Oka and Ipperwash are examples of “flashpoint events”, a term used by Aboriginal scholar John Borrows. Flashpoint events occur when members of an Aboriginal community that has been unable through political or court action to settle a long-standing dispute about a treaty or Aboriginal rights issue take direct action to stop government authorized activity on their land. Like all flashpoint events, Oka and Ipperwash strain relations with neighboring non-Aboriginal communities, are stressful and divisive for the Aboriginal community involved and tend to be treated in the main-stream media as “law and order” events. Notwithstanding these adverse aspects, this paper argues that Oka and Ipperwash demonstrate the necessity of blockades and occupations for Aboriginal peoples to check the continuation or expansion of violations of their rights and to strengthen their case for a more just and beneficial relationship with the settler country in which they live.

**Russell, Peter – phruss @ aol.com**

*The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: An Exercise in Policy Education*

The 1991 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was established in the wake of the 1990 Oka crisis. That crisis which tied up the Montreal area for a summer and made the confrontation of Canadian soldiers with Mohawk warriors a front-page story around the world convinced the Mulroney government to undertake a thorough review of relations with aboriginal peoples in Canada. Prime Minister Mulroney commissioned Brian Dickson, the recently retired Chief Justice of Canada to draw up the mandate and identify the commissioners following consultations with aboriginal leaders across the country. The result was a broad commission mandate to examine all issues relevant to any or all of the aboriginal peoples of Canada and a seven person commission that included representatives of the four principal sections of Canada’s aboriginal peoples. The commission issued its final five-volume report in 1996. If RCAP is assessed on the basis of the implementation of its hundreds of recommendations it is considered to be a failure. But if it is understood as the first time in any settler country that indigenous and non-indigenous people reflected together, carefully and thoroughly, on their past and present relations and the direction their future relationship should take, it may be considered a success. My analysis of RCAP will look at it as one of those exceptional commissions of inquiry which aim at establishing a fresh and consensual understanding of a relationship fundamental to the integrity of the country.

**Russo, Rick – renato.russo @ utoronto.ca**

*Patterns of Judicialization in Health Care Policy-making across Civil and Common Law Contexts*

How does judicialization affect the design and implementation of public policy in prominent policy areas such as health care? The study of judicialization has primarily been concerned with the growth in influence of judiciaries and whether this enhances or detracts from democratic principles and/or the ‘common good’. Less attention has been focused on how judicialization has affected the processes internal to legislatures and public administration. As high profile judicial decisions appear to provide ample evidence for a judicialization of health care policy ‘from without’, an increasing reliance on quasi-judicial processes to help put regulatory ‘meat’ on abstract legislative ‘bones’ has also fostered a process of ‘judicialization from within’. The consequent blurring of boundaries between legislative and judicial processes is common to diverse policy contexts, but the impact of this broader conceptualization of judicialization may be neither uniform across policy settings nor unilinear across time.

My paper argues that the character of judicialization is determined by the ebb and flow of judicial-legislative interactions that surround concrete policy debates. Judicialization is less something that is ‘happening to’ public policy because of judicial overreach, than it is something ‘happening through’ a convergence of policy response mechanisms across the judicial and legislative arenas. I compare how this process of convergence differs in civil (the Netherlands, Italy) versus common law (Canada) regimes and whether differences in policy legacies across these contexts reinforce or attenuate the patterns of judicialized health care policy-making that emerge.

**Saada, Julien – saada.julien\_jacques @ uqam.ca**

*The Privatization of the Border: New Security Markets*

In 2003, the new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, opened for business to private firm. Since then, a new market intended to give security to the border grow up every year. Many big defences companies convert to this new industry through several sectors and they have an interest to an evolution of security at the border. Could they have an influence on the U.S.–Canada border and what aftermath this evolution could have on the relation between the two countries?

**Sabin, Jerald – jerald.sabin @ utoronto.ca and Abele, Frances – frances\_abele @ carleton.ca**

*State and Society in a Northern Capital: Yellowknife’s Voluntary Sector*

This paper examines the role of federal and territorial states in the recent evolution of Yellowknife’s formal voluntary and non-profit sector. Yellowknife’s third sector is remarkably large, well-organized, and diverse. In this paper we ask what impact the federal, territorial, and municipal governments have had on the composition, size, and organizational health of the sector over the past ten years. It has four objectives: (1) to produce a typology of formal voluntary and non-profit sector organizations operating in Yellowknife; (2) to catalogue the distinct operational challenges facing this sector; (3) to analyze the political and policy decisions at the territorial and municipal level which have shaped the sector recently; and (4) to posit potential policy solutions at both levels to alleviate these challenges.

This paper draws upon the emerging literature on the northern social economy, and will contribute a case study on a significant policy area in the Northwest Territories. It is part of a larger project on the role of the state in the northern social economy.

**Saddiki, Said – s.saddiki @ gmail.com**

### ***Ceuta and Melilla Fences: a EU Multidimensional Border***

The paper aims at identifying the various dimensions of Ceuta and Melilla Fences as EU external Border. The importance of the subject lies in the fact that the border between Morocco and Spanish-controlled territories in North Africa takes many aspects (geographical, historical, political, security, juridical, social, cultural, and economic).

### **Sachs, Jeffrey – jeffrey.sachs @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Alexis de Tocqueville and Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi on the Virtues of Colonialism: Responses to Empire in 19th Century French and Egyptian Thought*

In the first half of the 19th century, both Alexis de Tocqueville and Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (an Egyptian scholar and educational reformer) emerged as enthusiastic supporters of their countries' colonial ventures. Unlike many of their liberal contemporaries, however, both men believed the benefits of colonialism to accrue chiefly to the colonizer, not the colonized. Colonialism operated in their thought as a political spectacle capable of exciting the passions, overcoming apathy, and spurring the citizenry to action. For the first time, this paper explores the interesting points of convergence between the colonial thought of these two men, and shows how both de Tocqueville and Tahtawi were responding to similar problems of apathy, ignorance, and political revolution.

### **Sajed, Alina – alina\_sajed @ msn.com**

*Political Islam in Southeast Asia and North Africa: Towards a Critical Human Security Paradigm*

My research combines critical human security studies and postcolonial/subaltern studies perspectives to examine the issue of transnational terrorism. I seek to explore the links between European colonialism, Islamic terrorism, and postcolonial projects of nation-building in two regions, namely, North Africa and Southeast Asia. More to the point, my paper investigates how varied transnational forces such as colonialism, Christianity, capitalism and nationalism, have shaped contemporary extremist manifestations of political Islam. Existing studies on the transnationalisation of domestic terrorism take 9/11 as its primary (and sometimes exclusive) point of reference. By adopting a postcolonial perspective on human security, I contend that there are deeper connections between the emergence of Islamic terrorism and far-reaching historical links between political oppression and marginalization, social and economic disenfranchisement, and the modern projects of nation-building and capitalist expansion. This *longue durée* dimension of Islamic terrorism has been underexamined in contemporary security studies.

Building a 'critical human security paradigm' involves not only a focus on those values, which would constitute it as an ethical, credible and coherent alternative to contemporary security orthodoxy, but also a genuine consideration of non-Western 'perspectives on human security, its praxis, possibilities and limits.' By taking into account the larger historical and political processes that have structured contemporary conflicts, a postcolonial approach would provide human security with a much needed emphasis on structural factors and on the global distribution of power.

### **Salée, Daniel – salee @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Indigenous Peoples and the State in Quebec: The Sociopolitical and Institutional Legacy of the Oka Crisis*

The events of Oka are well known and well documented. However, nearly twenty years later, we have yet to assess the political significance of the Oka crisis in any systematic way. Beyond prompting the government of the day to set up the extensive Royal Commission on Aboriginal People has Oka contributed to modifying the state's approach to Aboriginal policy? How has the state governed out of that particular crisis in order to avert the recurrence of a similar situation? Are non-Aboriginal Canadians more sensitive to the plight and claims of First Nations communities, more willing to bring the dynamics of socioeconomic inequality to an end? What, in other words, is the sociopolitical and institutional legacy of Oka? During the standoff, the crisis was prolonged in part by the government's strategy to locate the Mohawk Warriors and protesters outside the acknowledged legal and institutional framework of the state (and in the process portray them as criminals) so as to dismiss their political claims and depoliticize the conflict. The main objective of the paper is to consider the extent to which this strategy of delegitimizing protest and the inherent otherness of Indigenous peoples endured beyond Oka in Quebec. The paper will proceed through an analysis of key policies concerning Indigenous peoples since 1990 (particularly with respect to land claims and environmental management) and examine whether they constitute a departure or follow from the underlying approach used at the time of the Oka crisis.

### **Salnykova, Anastasiya – salnykova @ gmail.com**

*How Democratic was the Orange Revolution? Reassessment of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough of 2004 from the Deliberative Democratic Perspective*

"Colored revolutions" that spread across the post-communist region in 2000–2005 have been overwhelmingly praised as democratic by journalists and democracy scholars. This is understandable, as these events (a) targeted the protection of free and fair elections – that are central to the liberal notion of democracy and (b) were conducted largely through the efforts of massive bottom up people's uprisings. Without contesting these statements my paper calls for a deeper and more critical assessment of the processes and practices involved in these crucial events by looking at them with deliberative democratic standards and goals in mind.

Case-wise this paper focuses on Ukraine's Orange revolution since among the several comparable cases it was assessed as the most successful in terms of advancing democracy. Nevertheless, by taking this "most democratic case" under scrutiny I aim to demonstrate that on a more nuanced – rhetorical – level it also contained a lot of exclusive, intolerant and polarizing dynamics. The study is based on content analysis of the Orange revolution-related rhetoric produced by political and civil society actors. It also engages the data from the interviews with democracy experts and political and social elite in Ukraine.

The framework of analysis developed in this paper will be applicable to the assessment of other democratic transformation cases. The paper also assesses the consequences of these gaps in democratic quality of the Orange revolution and provides policy-relevant recommendations to be used by future democratizers both domestically in transitional cases and internationally by the democracy assistance organizations.

**Salter, Mark B. – msalter @ uottawa.ca**

*Interstitiality and Exception*

How is the knot between sovereignty, territory, and law tied together? A crucial theory missing: what is the / between inside/outside? The suture of philosophy to its political geography has meant that the common understanding of borders has come to dominate the debate and yet be invisible to analysis. The concept of the suture focuses our analytic attention on those moments of tension, anxiety, displacement – when normal politics slips out of focus. At the airport or at the border, one's citizenship or refugee status becomes suddenly apparent: the belonging that so many assume to be inherent comes to be interrogated – however briefly. When we move from one territorial sovereign to another through non-space; when we move from one population classification to another through examination and confession. What was understood as an abstract code for the geopolitical organization of communities is suddenly understood as a series of contingent and violent claims to inclusion and exclusion. And, at that moment of suture, the world of citizens, states, and identities must be knitted back together. The interstitial is the neglected limit of politics and international relations, the actual face of order and order, order and chaos, inside and frontier, inside and outside.

**Sams, Scott – scott.sams @ utoronto.ca**

*Negotiating Local Economic Development? An Analysis of Strategic Planning in Ontario City-Regions*

Mandates to increase local competitiveness have prompted many economic development corporations to undertake strategic planning initiatives intended to underpin protracted growth and prosperity. While it is accepted that governments cannot produce growth by decree, there is a paucity of consensus about how it can be activated by design and policy intervention. A recent assumption is that effective economic development policy hinges on the ability of governments to forge linkages and coordinate with a range of local actors. This implies a shift in emphasis from government to governance, where partnerships among state and non-state actors usurp top-down planning. Strategic planning or regional foresight exercises are said to promote policy coordination and effective economic development by facilitating a shared vision and commitment to action among relevant actors. However there remains little evidence that these benefits are being realized in practice, or that links strategic plans to economic outcomes. This paper sets out to determine whether the economic strategic planning processes of five Ontario city-regions adhered to the accepted norms of strategic planning, with an emphasis on the degree to which each embodied participative methods and the principles of governance. The evidence in a majority of the cases suggests that the planning process amounted to tokenism. Local economic development corporations continue to produce top-down strategies embellished with the language, but not the substance, of governance and participation. The strategic planning process, and not its poor execution, risks being condemned should these flawed plans fail to produce results.

**Sanders, Rebecca – rebecca.sanders @ utoronto.ca**

*Permissive Constraint: The Paradox of Law in the American War on Terror*

Recently, numerous legal memoranda outlining American counter-terrorism policy have come to light. Along with related investigations, they illuminate the complex reasoning that accompanied post-9/11 decisions to detain prisoners outside the Geneva regime, use “enhanced interrogation techniques”, and employ warrantless surveillance. While decried by critics as criminal sophistry, the Bush, and to a lesser degree, Obama administrations’ legal analysis claim such practices are generally compatible with domestic and international obligations. Rather than adjudicate this question per se, my paper explores the significance of this unusual coupling of legalistic justification and normatively transgressive policies for understanding the role of law in shaping state security practice. Moving between contending theoretical assumptions, I suggest the operation of legal argument in the “War on Terror” evades traditional paradigmatic conclusions. It is not merely a fig leaf for power, a source of reputation or sanction, or a normative, entrapping influence. Rather, law is simultaneously a constraining structure and an instrumental tool, at once a legitimating framework and an exculpatory tactic. As such, it has both succeeded and failed in substantively limiting abuses. By tracing these ambiguities, we can gain better insight into the events of the last years and draw valuable lessons for promoting human rights in the future.

**Sandor, Adam – adamsandor @ mac.com and Jamal, Sarah – sjama064 @ uottawa.ca**

*Opacity and Audience: Resistances to French Colonial Rule in Algeria*

Literature on the nature of colonial mechanisms of power have successfully highlighted the multivariate intricacies of rule, emphasizing the ideational as well as material relations of power, in the colonies that were constituted through regular patterns of formal and informal negotiation, albeit favouring the colonizer. From this research, one can plausibly deduce that the exploitative imperial position in regards to its native subject population was often ‘off-kilter’. By examining the French colonial experience in North Africa, this paper demonstrates how methods of French colonial rule (i.e. segregation, surveillance and repression of native groups) resulted in expressly hidden or otherwise nebulous forms of resistance to the colonial project by segments of the native population. The opacity of forms of resistance to colonial rule stresses that, while following Foucault’s insights that every site of power is equally a site of resistance, resistance often seeks to hide itself from a specific audience in its very constitution: it may seek not to be seen. In this vein, analysis of the hidden qualities of resistance may require more direct focus than the visible qualities of those site(s) of power and forms of modern rule that may instigate it.

**Saunders, Kelly – saundersk @ brandonu.ca**

*Claiming our Voice: Metis Women and Politics in Canada*

Historically, women across the Metis homeland of what is now Canada played a prominent role in both their families and in the larger community. While the processes of colonization and assimilation that are associated with Confederation led to the general disempowerment of Metis peoples within the larger society, Metis women have successfully managed to reclaim their voice as political actors within their own governments. In Metis political organizations at both the provincial and national levels women have served in a variety of leadership roles, in many cases constituting more than half of executive governing bodies. This stands in stark comparison to women in non-Metis governments, where an electoral glass ceiling has persisted for decades. Despite the advances of the feminist movement in Canada, women on average constitute less than a quarter of elected MPs and MLAs in the country. This paper will explore how Metis women have so successfully managed to carve out a place for themselves as legitimate political actors within their own governments, a success that continues to defy non-Aboriginal women in Canada.

**Saunders-Hastings, Emma – esaunder @ fas.harvard.edu**

*Valuing Philanthropy: The Charity Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

This paper considers several recent models for private international aid, including the Gates Foundation, the Clinton Global Initiative, and “venture philanthropy.” These models share roots or partners in private enterprise, a friendliness to markets, and a willingness to experiment with business-oriented methods in order to improve philanthropic efficiency. To evaluate these developments, I consider the arguments of Michael Sandel, Elizabeth Anderson, and other authors skeptical of markets. The market skeptic critique objects not (or not only) to the potentially inegalitarian consequences of markets but to the intrinsic inappropriateness of treating (or valuing) some good as commodities. This paper argues that international charity has been commercialized in significant ways, to the point of being treated as an investment. It then develops two possible market skeptic objections to this trend. First, charity may be a “gift relationship,” where an appropriate moral understanding of the practice would militate against its commercialization. Second, and more convincingly, the appropriate way to value international aid may be to treat it not as a gift relationship but as a political one: business-oriented models may be less equipped for a long-term focus on host-country autonomy and democratic accountability. The last section of the paper suggests that the case of charity also reveals the limitations of a position that focuses on markets rather than on the expansion of private power. Market skeptics have given us an additive model of the combined problems of inequality and inappropriate valuing, but they not yet given us a critique of the market that explains the interaction of these two factors.

**Savic, Ivan – is375 @ columbia.edu**

*The Political Economy of Coordinated Response to Financial Crisis: The Experience of the G7 and G20 in 1997–99 and 2007–2009*

In the last decade the world has seen two systemic financial crises: the Asian financial crisis and the current global meltdown. In both cases international coordination of the key financial actors was an essential element in dealing with the crisis. However, in both cases this coordination was neither automatic nor easy. This paper explores the problem of coordinating international crisis response. The main contention is that crisis response is often hampered by problems in reaching a consensus among the key players about: the nature of the problem, how the problem should be handled and how the burden of crisis response should be shared. Even when a consensus is reached policymakers still need to balance the need to restore financial markets with managing the inevitable domestic political opposition associated with bailouts. The paper models this problem through a formal dynamic coordination game. In the game a set of countries try to coordinate crisis response efforts. However, each country differs in both the market and domestic political pressures it faces. The model's propositions are examined through a comparative case study of the experience of the G7 and G20 (and its predecessors) during the Asian Financial Crisis (1997–1999) and the current global crisis (focusing on the first ad hoc efforts in 2007 to the G20 leaders meeting of April 2009).

**Sayers, Anthony – asayers @ ucalgary.ca and Banfield, Andrew – acbanfie @ ucalgary.ca**

*The Dispersal of Power in Federal States: Canada and Australia*

The limiting of executive power as a means of sustaining liberal democracy is a central concern of political science. Dispersal of power across federal political institutions in Canada and Australia is one means of achieving such a limitation. Yet despite their federal character, there remains concern in both countries as to the extent of executive powers. Although they share much common institutional ancestry, the character of this federal dispersal is distinctive in each country. Its operation reflects not only the development of central institutions, such as constitutions and parliament but also the operation of political parties and party systems, the exigencies of public policy and the impact of political and sociological variation across the federation.

We argue that this distinctiveness can be attributed, in part, to the phenomenon of “institutional drift.” This type of institutional change is not a result of deliberate planning, but rather a gradual adjustment in response to a range of institutional and societal pressures. Mapping this drift from institutional design to institutional function is the first step in properly characterizing the oft-neglected federal dimension of constraining executive power in Canada and Australia.

**Scala, Francesca – f\_scala @ sympatico.ca**

*Policy Change and the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies*

In 1989, the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies was appointed by the Canadian government to examine the social, legal and ethical issues related to the field of human biotechnology. Like policy-oriented commissions before it, the Commission established a research program and public consultations to gather expert knowledge and citizen input on highly controversial issues like embryo research and infertility treatments. Four years later, the Commission published its final report, *Proceed with Care*, which was favorable to embryo research, but prohibited some of the more controversial areas of research, such as the creation of animal-human hybrid embryos, cloning and sex selection. How influential were the recommendations of the Commission on government policy? Did the Commission contribute to a policy change in the area of human biotechnology? Drawing from the institutional approach to the study of public policy, this paper explores the relationship between the Commission's internal organizational structures and administrative processes, and the framing of the debate on reproductive technologies. The paper focuses on the 'formative decisions' taken by the Commission in organizing its work and examines how they impacted the framing or reframing of the official discourse on reproductive technologies. These decisions are important because they helped determine the trajectory for the Commission's research and consultations, and ultimately its recommendations. The paper argues that several decisions taken by the Commission directly or indirectly consolidated the authority of medical-scientific experts and marginalized the perspectives of groups critical of reproductive technologies.

**Schakel, Arjan H. – a.schakel @ ed.ac.uk**

*Regional Reform and Territorialization of Party Systems*

Recent findings in the party system literature present us with puzzling results. For example Caramani (2004) and Chhibber and Kollman (2004) find denationalizing trends in countries which have undergone significant regional reform (e.g. UK and Italy). This is according to expectations as the relative power of each level of government in a country is often considered as a key institutional variable capable of influencing electorates and party strategies (Hough and Jeffery 2006). However, Canada, France, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain have all experienced significant downward relocation of authority in recent decades (Marks, Hooghe and Schakel 2008) yet for none of these countries do Caramani (2004) and Chhibber and Kollman (2004) report denationalizing trends in the party system.

I argue that this contradiction might be explained by the exclusion of regional parliaments in Caramani (2004) and Chhibber and Kollman (2004) who focus on the national level. When regional reform is initiated by national parliament (e.g. UK and Italy) one may find a trend of homogenization of party systems coinciding with a decentralization trend. However, when regional reform finds its origin in regional parliaments (e.g. Canada and Spain) one may expect few implications for national party systems but significant effects for regional party systems.

These hypotheses are empirically tested using a cross-section-time-series (15 countries for 1950–2006) dataset which includes two levels of analysis, i.e. national and regional party systems, and has the Regional Authority Index which measures regional reform over eight dimensions annually as its main independent variable.

**Schatz, Donna – dschatz @ yorku.ca**

*Unsettling the Politics of Exclusion: Aboriginal Activism and the Vancouver Downtown East Side*

In recent years the Vancouver Downtown East Side (VDES) has become a symbol of "urban blight," notorious for high poverty rates, drug addictions, HIV-AIDS, and murdered and missing sex workers, in large part due to sensational media depictions which easily capture the imaginations of North American audiences. The urban zone, however, requires more nuanced analysis than has been applied through various academic discourse and media representations to date. In terms of material social relations, the VDES signifies a complex neocolonial history, a history of oppressive hierarchical power relations which began during the initial colonization of Aboriginal peoples and land appropriation, and which continue to exist, albeit, in diverse manifestations today. Despite such marginalization, however, there is a need to unsettle "the narrative ghettoization of racialized spaces [and identities] as eternally Othered" (Anderson, 1998, p.203). While the VDES represents one of the most documented cases of urban social exclusion in Canada, it has an often-ignored history of successful resistance and community activism which signal the potential for transformational Aboriginal urban politics. As part of a larger dissertation project, this conference paper first outlines the challenges that VDES Aboriginal communities face, asking: 1) How can the complex gendered, racialized, classist and ableist social processes of urbanization in the VDES be situated within colonial and neocolonial state practices? Secondly, it questions, 2) To what degree do community organizations influence both the formal and informal realm of politics in the VDES? In so doing, it focuses on resistance to the politics of exclusion. The paper demonstrates that while socially produced space in this context is a clear reflection of unequal neocolonial power relations and contestations, it can also be an important site of Aboriginal resistance, revolution, and transformation.

**Schiff, Jacob – jschiff @ uchicago.edu**

*Theorizing Crises*

Many analysts agree that the world is in an economic and financial crisis. But what exactly does this mean? This paper contributes to our understanding of the current crisis through a critical engagement with an important theorist of crises: Pierre Bourdieu. Our everyday lives are conducted according to habit, and this is as true in the global economy as anywhere else. Through what Bourdieu calls "misrecognition", everyday life comes to seem natural, even necessary. Crises like the current one expose the contingency of current economic and political arrangements, and remind us that things could be otherwise. They give rise to competing narratives that seek either to retrench the old order or give rise to new ones. A problem in Bourdieu's account of crises holds an important lesson for the present: If we are subject to misrecognition in the way that Bourdieu suggests, how can we recognize a crisis when we see one? This problem sheds

light on the odd way in which some clung to the power of free markets even as the untrammelled markets collapsed around them.

**Schilling, Markus – shimake25 @ gmail.com and Chiang, Lichun – lcchiang @ mail.ncku.edu.tw**

*Western Small Business facing Institutional Barriers in China: A Perspective of Institutionalism*

In previous decades China experienced an extensive inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). After a rush towards China investors became more aware of the risks of investing into business in China which can, for example, be illustrated by decreasing numbers of contracts between Western and Chinese companies whereas at the same time total FDI continued to rise. This development indicates that big business contributed a bigger share of total FDI in recent years and at the same time foreign investment by smaller business decreased. In this context one could ask whether formal as well as informal institutional constraints faced by western small business could have a more serious impact on FDI compared to big business.

The main questions of this paper are (1) "What institutional barriers is western small business confronted with when entering the Chinese market" and (2) "are these obstacles more serious for small business compared to big business?" Based on the perspective of constitutionalism, this paper analyzes both formal and informal institutional barriers as possible obstacles for foreign companies and in particular small business. The research analysis data of FDI in China from 1998 to 2008 and market failures of foreign small business as the dependent variables; the independent variables are determined by the institutional framework in China. Finally, the research findings based on qualitative analysis are expected to provide possible influential factors and institutional constraints which western small business is confronted with when entering the Chinese market.

**Schirmer, Dietmar – schirmer @ ufl.edu**

*The European Union, Variants of State, and Democracy*

Regarding the viability of democracy in the European Union, the Euro-skeptic argument largely revolves around the empirical nexus between democracy and the state: Since the EU lacks the attributes of proper state-ness – fixed territory, full sovereignty, and a national population capable of conceiving of itself as a demos – the prospects for realizing democracy at the level of the EU are considered dim.

This paper challenges this view from two opposite directions: On the one hand, it argues that empirical states – both with and without democratic regimes – show much more variation from the state as classically defined by Max Weber than the orthodox view allows. Examples include not only multilingual and multiethnic democratic states like India, but also comparatively new ethnofederal arrangements that combine asymmetric multilevel power sharing with solid democratic credentials, as in Spain or devolution-Britain. On the other hand, it proposes that the European Union displays more state-like features than axiomatic statements of the type "the EU is not a state" suggest.

Combined, these two arguments aim to reduce the gulf that is usually assumed to separate the EU from traditional states and instead proposes a continuum of state-forms that reaches from close approximations to the territorial, sovereign, national ideal-type to polities that deviate from it quite radically. The paper further argues that democratic as well as non-democratic regimes appear along the whole continuum, which in turn renders the question whether democracy can be realized at the level of the EU a problem of institutional design rather than principle.

**Schmitz, Gerald – gjschmitz @ sympatico.ca**

*Canadian Policy Towards Afghanistan Beyond 2011: Issues and Options*

Canada's post-Taliban Afghan mission already includes the country's longest single military deployment. The toll in blood and treasure keeps rising. Even as policy struggles to catch up it gets overtaken by events. Debates are taking place at all levels about: a deteriorating security context; conflicting strategies and commitments; dissension over both an escalating insurgency and appropriate counter-insurgency measures; increasingly unsupportive or disillusioned publics; the damaged of the credibility of international bodies including the United Nations; a broad legitimization crisis affecting Afghan institutions and civil society, and the role of outsiders.

The clouded future is as unpredictable as the timing of the next airstrike or fatal explosion. The aftermath of failed elections has left President Karzai in place but for how long? The presentation will use multiple unclassified sources to ask what's next for Canada in Afghanistan before the non-binding federal parliamentary 2011 combat-troop deadline. What realistic options remain? How viable and sustainable is the troubled post-Taliban project?

**Schneider, Steffen – steffen.schneider @ sfb597.uni-bremen.de**

*Good, Bad, or Ugly? Narratives of Democratic Legitimacy in Western Public Spheres*

This contribution explores the issue of political legitimacy in the post-national constellation. How much support do the nation state and international regimes enjoy today, and what are its normative foundations? The literature offers starkly different answers to these questions, but most contributions assume a tight link between democratic quality and legitimacy in the post-war Golden Age of the nation state and its core (representative) institutions. By contrast, whether the political developments of the last few decades have fostered a legitimacy crisis of established liberal democracies, and whether the international regimes to which authority has increasingly shifted are plagued by democratic and legitimacy deficits, remains disputed. We first propose a classification of extant crisis scenarios gleaned from Northrop Frye's fourfold typology of narrative modes and briefly review the attitudinal or behavioural indicators of support or discontent that are usually drawn on to corroborate the different scenarios. In the main part of the paper, we sketch the rationale for a constructivist perspective on a third, so far neglected dimension of legitimacy – namely, political communication – and present findings from a study of media discourses in four Western democracies in which the legitimacy of national political

orders and institutions, the EU, the G7/8, and the United Nations is evaluated. The tragic narrative of legitimacy crises or deficits, and even an ironic version of it, are more prevalent in public discourses than the comedy narrative put forward in more sanguine academic evaluations of democratic quality and legitimacy in the post-national constellation.

**Sehdev, Robinder – robinder.kaur.sehdev @ gmail.com**

*Lessons From the Bridge: On the Possibilities of Antiracist Feminist Alliances in Indigenous Spaces*

In the summer of 1990, we were called upon, Kanien'kehaka or not, Native or not, when negotiators and warriors reminded us that this crisis was produced by the state, and when they asked us where the honour of our leaders had gone. In these questions, we were challenged to consider our belonging in communities that seek justice or those that have benefitted from injustice or dispossession. Antiracist feminism is not freed of these questions of belonging and complicity. In taking up both the warriors' call to consider the constitution of us, we, ours and the imperative to remember and live up to treaty, this paper outlines the points of connection in the diplomatic tool of the bridge contained in Kaswentha, also known as Two Row Wampum, the formative treaty for Haudenosaunee–newcomer relations, and the figure of the bridge as enabler of coalitional politics in the Third World Women's Movement. I argue that antiracist feminism needs to readopt the politics of solidarity that it inherited from the Third World Women's Movement, and also that this politics of solidarity has many lessons to learn about Haudenosaunee politics of relation and the particularity of the land that Kaswentha provides.

**Seligman, Steven – sseligma @ uwo.ca and Steinberg, Gerald – steing @ mail.biu.ac.il**

*CIDA, Canadian NGOs and the Politics of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) exercise significant soft power in influencing public opinion and advocating for specific governmental policies. In Canada, a number of political NGOs apply for and receive varying amounts of funding from the Canadian government. This paper focuses specifically on Canadian NGOs concerned with the Arab–Israeli conflict and examines two questions. First, how does the government's decision making process operate in this realm, and which NGOs receive government funding as a result? Second, how are public funds used by NGOs to advance their goals? By examining these questions, we expect to contribute to the debates on the determinants of Canadian policy and the relative utility of statist and liberal–pluralist approaches, as well as to the analysis of the role of NGOs and soft power in the Canadian political process.

**Seri, Guillermina – serig @ union.edu**

*Police and the Political: Exploring Democracy's Regimes*

How do police practices affect the character of a government? Blending concepts from political theory and comparative politics, this paper assesses the effect of police practices on the regime. Governments are considered democratic when citizens' political rights, namely free speech and association, voting and competing for office in non-fraudulent elections guaranteed. However, the uneven course of democratization shows an also uneven access to these rights, in part due to non political, police mechanisms. Police practices constitute a direct form of governance that qualifies the scope of citizenship and the quality of democracy. At the bottom of the state apparatus, the police administer access to rights, life, and death. Yet except for vague references to the "rule of law," established notions of regime types give policing no consideration.

Drawing on empirical and theoretical sources, this paper considers such governing practices. Empirically, a corpus of 70+ interviews with police officers from several Argentine districts allows me to reconstruct their experiences in governing the streets and police mechanisms of exclusion. The contradictory dynamics of political and police governance in Argentina exposes a de facto multi-layered regime intertwining different governmental practices, all of them important in assessing the character of a political regime. The paper proceeds by, first, describing police mechanisms of governance, second, revisiting current regime definitions and the ways in which their indicators address them (or not), and finally, suggesting how to incorporate this dimension to the conceptual and empirical study of democracy.

**Sezer, Devrim – devsezer @ yahoo.com**

*Varieties of Cosmopolitanism and Politics of Hospitality*

The concept of cosmopolitanism has become one of the key terms of contemporary political theory and practice. In modern and contemporary political philosophy, cosmopolitanism is used to designate either a cultural outlook that emphasises the hybridity and interdependence of peoples and cultures or a politics of hospitality that is ultimately rooted in the universalistic principles of Kantian moral philosophy. However, both of these characterisations have been subjected to severe criticisms from a variety of perspectives. Cosmopolitanism is often times identified with rootlessness or abstract (and dangerous) utopianism by its communitarian, 'realist' and postmodern critics. This paper takes issue with these criticisms, arguing that the charges of rootlessness and utopianism are inattentive what is morally at stake in the politics of cosmopolitanism and hospitality. The paper has two main premises. In the first part, drawing on the works of Gadamer and Seyla Benhabib I would like to develop a hermeneutically informed conception of cosmopolitan culture which is critical of both the idea that cosmopolitanism is identical with rootlessness and the belief that 'authentic' cultures are hermetically closed entities with no interaction with other cultures. In the second part of the paper, I would like to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the politics of hospitality by critically examining the seemingly opposed perspectives of Kant and Derrida on cosmopolitanism with a view to highlighting both the tension and similarities between their moral orientations.

**Shahnawaz, Shishir – shishir.shahnawaz @ manchester.ac.uk**

*'Resource Curse' in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Institutional Challenges – A Case Study of Ghana's Mining Sector*

The 'resource curse' is a paradox that states that countries with abundant natural resources perform poorly economically as compared to their resource poor counterparts. Initial analyses of the 'resource curse' were based on economic explanations, however, recently the focus of interpretations have turned to institutions. It is now argued that inefficient institutions plague resource-rich countries and consequently, the 'resource curse' situation is worsened. The situation has led policymakers to formulate policies whereby strengthening institutions can promise to offset the 'resource curse' in the region. Although the institutional analyses of the 'resource curse' stress that institutions are important, however, the explanations do not say which types of institutions are more important – private sector institutions (mostly mining companies) or public sector institutions (mostly government institutions). Nevertheless, researchers have defined the quality of institutions, where 'quality' is ensured on the basis of how efficient institutions are. Recent literature has focused more on the issues of 'good governance' and 'transparency' in defining efficient institutions. It is apparent from several policy dialogues that Ghana's institutions should simultaneously ensure 'good governance' and 'transparency'. Whether the mining sector in Ghana has a potential to ensure these issues questions how the country has coped with policy prescriptions that are moving towards 'good governance' and 'transparency'. Currently, various stakeholders are pointing to this anomaly with no clear direction to resolve the dispute. In light of this debate in Ghana, this paper aims to provide an understanding of 'good governance' and 'transparency' using Ghana's mining sector as a case study.

**Sharaput, Markus – sharaput @ lakeheadu.ca**

*Virtual Realities, Real Problems: The Evolving Politics of Massive Multiplayer Online Games*

Over the past several years, massively multiplayer online games (MMOGs), such as World of Warcraft or EVE: Online, have risen dramatically in popularity. While the fields of economics and law have been quick to provide a substantive analysis of the economic and legal implications of these new virtual worlds, these new realms have been largely ignored in the discipline of political science. Based on both a survey of the existing literature and a combination of direct immersive observation and interviews, we argue that scholars of political science, political economy, and international relations have important contributions to make to this new field of study. Specifically, we outline four areas where scholars of politics can contribute to this emerging field: the state–legal interactions implicit in the development of virtual worlds, the emerging power relations and systems of governance within these environments, the political economy of emerging markets for virtual goods, and finally as tools for modelling and testing political theory.

**Sharaput, Markus – sharaput @ lakeheadu.ca and Zerbe, Noah – noah.zerbe @ humboldt.edu**

*Institutional Capacity, Policy Learning, and Path Dependency in the Canadian State*

There exists a wide range of literature on the development and "storage" of policy capacity. Although the terms emerge from different streams, there are definite links between the concepts of policy learning, path dependency, institutional capacity, social learning networks, and learning regions. To date, however, discussion of these issues has tended to be divided, and lacking in fertile cross–pollination. The primary argument of this paper is that significant theoretical insight can be gained by attempting to bridge these various themes in the academic literature. The argument will be illustrated with reference to the Canadian state, with particular attention paid to the current economic crisis, and way in which past practise has limited the federal's government's response. Based on a combination of document analysis and interview–based research, the core contention of the paper is that the federal government, having developed a considerable capacity for mitigating and surviving crisis, has atrophied its ability to solve the root cause of crisis in the political / economic system.

**Sharma, Ajay – asharm4 @ uwo.ca**

*From Rhetoric to Action: Can Cities Fulfill their Pledge on Climate Change Action?*

Over the course of the last two decades, environmentally proactive municipalities in North America have defined themselves as key actors in the policy field of climate change. For example, cities such as Chicago, New York City, Toronto, and Vancouver have rejected the traditional perspective that national governments have the most important, if not the only role to play, in both funding research and implementing policies that seek to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Municipalities have voluntarily adopted and implemented climate change policies that seek to mitigate the impact of municipal–based greenhouse gas emissions. Their actions are informed by the conviction that the Federal governments of Canada and the United States of America have shown a clear lack of leadership on climate change. Against this backdrop, a diverse range of American and Canadian municipalities have strategically entered this policy vacuum in their respective jurisdictions.

This paper provides a comparative examination of the impact of municipal action in these two countries. More specifically, it asks the following questions. First, how do municipalities frame climate change policy? Second, what role does the potential realization of co–benefits inform a municipality's decision to implement climate change policies? Third, what types of policy action do municipalities prioritize and why? Finally, has municipal action influenced policy–making at higher levels of government? Put differently, can we view municipalities as effective agents for domestic policy innovation? This paper presents findings from my doctoral research which addresses these questions through an analysis of several municipalities in Canada and the United States.

**Shaw, Karena – shawk @ uvic.ca and Low, Margaret – mlow @ uvic.ca**

*Indigenous Rights and Environmental Governance: Lessons from the Great Bear Rainforest*

In British Columbia, conflicts over First Nations' rights to natural resource management have become a common feature of the political landscape. A range of emerging issues—such as private hydroelectric developments, a resurgent mining industry, oil and gas exploration and proposed pipelines—combine with increasingly robust legal grounds for First Nations'

rights to suggest that significant challenges to effective regimes of environmental governance loom on the horizon, even as their necessity also looms large. This paper examines the negotiations that led to the novel forms of environmental governance being deployed in the Central and North Coast of British Columbia, also known as the Great Bear Rainforest. The process used to develop these ground breaking governance arrangements included a set of negotiations that took place between First Nations governments and the BC government, known as the “government-to-government” negotiations. The paper considers the character of these negotiations, exploring what their wider implications and applicability might be for the environmental movement, First Nations and the provincial government. Data were collected through semi structured interviews with individuals involved in the negotiations; the analysis of the interview data situates their insights within a wider consideration of strategies for achieving forms of environmental governance that are responsive to First Nations’ rights. The question that guides the analysis is: How might the model of government to government negotiations affect the evolution of environmental governance in British Columbia?

**Shaw, Timothy M. – Timothy.Shaw @ sta.uwi.edu**

*Perspectives on the Formal and Informal Commonwealths*

The Commonwealth has been rarely treated as an international organization let alone a regional one. However, it can be analyzed as a sub-global, inter-regional organization or network, both inter- and non-state, with its centre in the global South in the 21st century. The Commonwealth is quite compatible with a 'new regionalisms' perspective as it brings together four or five regions, informal and illegal as well as formal and official. This paper looks at corporate supply-chains and civil society networks as well as inter-governmental and illegal regionalisms, such as those of drugs and guns, in the Commonwealth's several regions.

**Shaw, Timothy M – timothy.shaw @ sta.uwi.edu and Ashworth, Lucian M – luke.ashworth @ ul.ie**

*Towards a Commonwealth School of International Relations: Belated Recognition in the Second Decade of the 21st Century?*

A Commonwealth School of IR would bring insights to the field from an overlooked international organization or network which is distinguished by its emphases on non-state actors & the global South. Such an analytic & applied perspective might have been recognized much earlier in the 20th century. It may be contrasted with the more exclusive English School & the current trans-Atlantic debate about distinctive Anglo-American approaches to IPE. It also resonates with continuing claims from the South about African & Asian contributions to global IR. The Commonwealth journal of IR – The Round Table – is about to celebrate its centenary, which should reinforce such belated recognition. And the Commonwealth Summits – non- as well as inter-state – in T&T in November 2009 should enhance such claims.

**Sheppard, Ken**

*Antidotes to Atheism in Late Seventeenth-century England*

His paper will examine the Stoic and Platonic responses of Henry More and Ralph Cudworth to the presentations of Epicurean themes in the writings of Thomas Stanley, Walter Charlton and others.

**Shlozberg, Reuven – reuven.shlozberg @ utoronto.ca**

*The Political Salience of Common Humanity – The Case From Arendt and Ricoeur*

In the past, the notion that common humanity entails a shared responsibility for individual wellbeing was one of the most politically salient normative underpinnings of social policy. However, this political salience appears to be rapidly eroding in today's Western democracies, as the paucity and roundaboutness of appeals to it in current social policy debates (such as the current healthcare reform debate in the United States) exemplify. In this paper I wish to explore this worrisome political development through the aid of thinkers Hannah Arendt and Paul Ricoeur.

I will first turn to Arendt for an account of the perniciousness of a potential loss of the political (and consequently moral) salience of common humanity. I will then turn to Ricoeur for a rethinking of the relationship of selfhood and otherness that shows their mutual compatibility and complementarity. I will then return to Arendt, showing her later analyses of thinking, judging and willing to presuppose a rethinking of the relationship of selfhood and otherness along lines similar to Ricoeur's.

This conception of selfhood and otherness, I will then argue, is an alternative to a more prevalent conception which posits others as first and foremost 'not-myself' and therefore care for oneself and concern for the wellbeing of others as being in a zero-sum game, which results in an erosion of concern for others, especially in uncertain times. Ricoeur's and Arendt's alternative, I will argue, provides a decisional alternative that can help reinvigorate the political salience of common humanity even in such times.

**Siaroff, Alan – alan.siaroff @ uleth.ca**

*Either the People can Pick — and Actually Remove — Those in Power or they Cannot: For an Overall Dichotomy of Regimes Without any Hybrids Between (Only Within) Democracies and Autocracies*

In recent years the concept of hybrid regimes has become popular. However, to the extent that such classifications involve a hybrid of democracy and autocracy, they are vague and problematic. Taking the definition of electoral democracy as the ability of voters to pick and remove a government responsible to the people and not (mainly) to a tutelary power, and with the assumption of (near) universal suffrage, regime classification can — and should — involve nowadays a basic (initial) dichotomous distinction between democracies and autocracies, allowing no hybrid regimes between these two.

Of course, there are distinctions to be made between electoral and liberal democracies. Likewise, there are distinctions based on which aspects of democracy are lacking in given autocracies. Specifications as to particular types of democracies or autocracies are helpful in regime classification, as long as the overall dichotomous concepts of democracy and autocracy remain.

This paper will thus assess and criticize the hybrid regime notions used by Morlino 2009 and the Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy, as well as Freedom House's analogous notion of "partly free" countries. It will also note how most of the "highly defective democracies" so classified by the Bertelsmann Transformation Index are in fact autocracies. Lastly, what might be problematic in terms of regime classification is whether the aforementioned traits exist in a given country, thus allowing for what Diamond 2002 calls ambiguous regimes. Even here, though, it will be shown that by focussing in particular on election fairness a dichotomous classification can be made.

**Simmons, Julie – simmonsj @ uoguelph.ca**

*Is Deliberative Democracy Incompatible with Effective Voluntary Agreements?*

This paper seeks to answer the question, "Is Deliberative Democracy Incompatible with Effective Voluntary Agreements?" It examines the evolution of decision making within the National Forest Strategy Coalition (a group of non-governmental organizations and provincial and federal governments) over three iterations of the negotiation of the National Forest Strategy (1992–1997, 1997–2003, 2003–2008). Public management scholars have pointed to the integration of non-governmental policy expertise as a "horizontal management" strategy. Theorists of deliberative democracy have offered compelling reasons for involving citizens and advocacy organizations in policy development, and devised practical approaches to developing shared understandings among participants en route to policy development. Case study analysis tends to be evaluative, focusing on the extent to which consultative exercises measure up to deliberative democracy or citizen engagement criteria. Shortcomings are explained through participants' lack of understanding or "buy-in" to deliberative democracy, as well as facilitators' lack of skill.

This paper will examine why, despite understanding, "buy-in," skill, enthusiasm for and experience with citizen engagement in the negotiation of Canada's National Forest Strategy in 1992, government officials and non-governmental actors have drifted farther away from deliberative democracy in the subsequent iterations of the Strategy development process. Drawing upon theories of government learning (Etheredge) and lesson drawing (Rose), this study examines the "causal stories" (Stone) of participants from all three processes, gleaned from interviews collected in 1997 and 2009. This research will be of interest to advocates of deliberative democracy, public administration scholars and practitioners, and the community of policy theorists who study policy learning.

**Singh, Anita – anita.singh @ dal.ca**

*The Indo-Canadian Diaspora, Nuclear Politics and Canadian Foreign Policy*

Diaspora influence is becoming an increasingly salient factor in the study of foreign policy within Western states. The effects of globalization, transnational relations, and the War on Terror, coupled with an unprecedented level of diversity and economic power in Canada's multicultural society, demand that academic attention be given to Diaspora influence on foreign policy. My paper addresses this central problematique, examining the Indo-Canadian Diaspora's influence in the negotiations for the proposed Canada-India civilian nuclear deal. On the heels of its parent deal between the US and India, Canada has effectively reversed 35 years of nuclear policy, shifting focus from a policy of disarmament and non-proliferation to one of containment and tacit admission of India's nuclear program. In effect, the deal paves the way for an "India-specific exception" for nuclear technology and material transfers, notwithstanding India's past proliferation, its rejection of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and its military nuclear programme. Proponents of the deal argue that India is a powerful and responsible international player and should be invited into the nuclear family. Therefore, using the Indo-Canadian Diaspora as a central case study, due to its high-level of organization, governmental access points, electoral concentration and fiscal success, my paper will ask: How interdependent are domestic and international politics? Is the cohesiveness of salient ethnic groups a relevant explanatory variable in international relations and Canadian foreign policy? If so, what are the most successful means Diaspora groups use to reach their international objectives? Given alternate explanations of foreign policy making, how can Diaspora influence be measured? What elements of this influence are specific to Canada, and which findings can be applied to other political systems?

**Singh, Anita – anita.singh @ dal.ca**

*The Structural Side of Terrorism: Female Terrorists in Pakistan, Iraq and Israel*

Most explanations for why individuals choose to join terrorist organizations examine the individual psychological and social motivations. Individual trauma, relative deprivation and familial socialization are the most common explanations. Those that do attempt to find structural explanations rely on the terrorist organization itself, explaining the strategic component to recruitment and training practices. This trend is even more acute when looking at female terrorists. At the individual level, explanations vary from emotional and revenge motivated recruitment, including rape and loss of family members, forced recruitment, drugging and kidnapping. Strategic explanations rely on women's use of cultural sensitivity to forgo searches at checkpoints, access densely populated areas and create a larger media response to the act of terrorism. But this leads to an unsettling and misfit puzzle – if women are so strategically useful in acts of terrorism, why are women not engaged in some conflicts while becoming intrinsically involved in others? To examine this puzzle, this paper compares the insurgencies in Iraq, Israel/Palestine and Pakistan/Afghanistan to explain why women are involved in some conflicts and not others. These case studies were chosen because of varying role of women in suicide terrorism, an unambiguous measure of this phenomenon. While Iraq has seen a sustained and consistent contribution from women in its insurgency since 2003, Pakistan has not had any women involved in its fighting activities. Palestine fits somewhere in

between, as women were involved during the strategic moments of the Second Intifada, but has declined with the rise of Hamas in Gaza.

**Singh, Shane – shane.singh @ mcgill.ca, Roy, Jason – jason.roy @ umontreal.ca and Dumitrescu, Delia – delia.dumitrescu @ umontreal.ca**

*The Impact of Complexity, Political Knowledge, and Party Mobilization on Voter Turnout*

How does the complexity of the vote decision environment – e.g. type of electoral system, number of political parties, and the ideological dispersion of parties – affect voter participation? Using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), this research examines the relationship between voter turnout and the complexity of the environment in which the decision is made. Our expectation is that voter participation is negatively correlated with complexity. However, complexity may not affect all voters equally. Instead, the complexity of the decision environment will have a stronger impact on low and moderately informed individuals relative to their more informed counterparts. That is, political knowledge offsets the dampening effect of complexity. We test this possibility by examining the interaction between political knowledge and decision environment complexity on turnout. Finally, we consider whether political parties attempt to minimize the influence of complexity via increased mobilization efforts. The results of this research allow us to identify institutional deterrents to political participation and how these deterrents may be reduced.

**Skeaff, Christopher – cskeaff @ umich.edu**

*A Singular Power: The Right to Expression in Spinoza*

Spinoza's vindication of free thought and speech is a signature feature of his political theory and is widely celebrated in the literature. Yet a careful reading shows that this defense is highly contradictory, a key moment when his politics of natural right and his metaphysics of power are at odds. In this essay, I detail the precise manner in which the right to expression in Spinoza is aporetic. Against received views, I show that his political theory of expression is compelling precisely because of, rather than despite, his strong metaphysical commitments and the tensions they present for a normative account of individual rights. Spinoza's conception of the right to expression needs to be understood within a broader scheme of three interrelated conflicts that his work diagnoses but does not itself look to resolve: 1) a conflict between the faculties of theology and philosophy in the mid-17th century Dutch republic; 2) an affective conflict that traverses selves and societies alike; and 3) a conflict between politics of mastery and mutual empowerment. An appreciation of the fecundity and irreducibility of these conflicts reveals Spinoza's critical challenge to the familiar view of rights as individual immunities. On his view, the right to expression is no longer simply the property of an individual but rather the singular form of a common power.

**Slowey, Gabrielle A. – gaslowey @ yorku.ca**

*The Northwest Territories: A New Day?*

**Small, Tamara A. – tsmall @ mta.ca**

*Twittering Canadian Politics: A Content Analysis of Political Hashtags*

Twitter is the latest social networking tool said to be reshaping politics. Politicians worldwide, from Barack Obama to Stephen Harper, are twittering. Twitter is the pre-eminent microblogging platform. Microblogging "lets users share brief blasts of information to friends and followers from multiple sources including web sites, third-party applications, or mobile devices" (DeVoe, 2009: 212). Twitter allows subscribers to write a 140-character status update called a "tweet" to the question: "What are you doing? Nielsen News reported that Twitter had more than seven million users in February 2009 (McGiboney, 2009). Another study shows that "47% of Canadians use Twitter" (6S Marketing, 2009). Many federal and provincial politicians operate Twitter accounts (Small, 2009). One key aspect of Twitter is the hashtag. Designated by a 'hash' symbol, hashtags identify the intended audience or topic of a tweet. For instance, #roft or 'Right of Twitter' is the hashtag for right-of-centre Canadian politics. Political hashtags serve many purposes; first, hashtags allow for the sharing of information to relevant audiences. Moreover, hashtags can be used to tweet messages to a larger audience. Next, hashtags are thought to create an ad hoc channel for a conversation. Finally, hashtags allow for community by signifying messages of a group of people. To date, there is little to no academic study of Twitter and politics. This paper seeks to rectify this lacuna through a content analysis of prominent Canadian political hashtags including #roft. This paper concludes by considering the democratic implications of Twitter.

**Smythe, Elizabeth – elizabeth.smythe @ concordia.ab.ca**

*Food Sovereignty: The Right to Know the Origins of Food and the Struggle Over Trade Rules*

Food sovereignty has emerged in the past decade as a major challenge to the globalized system of food production. It claims the right for communities and states to organize food production according to local needs, giving priority to production for local consumption. This poses a challenge for international trade rules that explicitly reject measures which privilege local food and articulates an alternative vision of agricultural production that focuses on what foods is produced, where it is produced and how it is produced. Civil society organizations are increasingly challenging global food trade and agri-business through efforts to re-localize the food system. This effort however, is premised on a capacity for citizens to know where and how their food is produced. Yet international and many national policies on food labeling limit citizen access to such knowledge. This paper examines the political struggle over food labeling, particularly related to country of origin labeling and regulations which limit consumers' (more properly food eaters) access to knowledge about where and how what they eat is produced.

**Sokolon, Marlene – msokolon @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Euripides' Alkestis: A Stand-In for Reciprocal Justice*

Euripides' *Alkestis* tells the story the sacrifice of Alkestis who voluntarily agrees to die so that her husband Admetos may live. In return, she asks only that he not remarry; he agrees not only to this but also to no longer enjoy life. However, he immediately welcomes his friend Herakles with guest-hospitality (*xenia*) and throws a drunken party. In the sober light of day, Admetos regrets his decision to let his wife die in his place, but his grief is short-lived as Herakles returns her from the dead. This rich play, our only representation of a Greek play which is not tragic, comic, nor a true satyr-play, variously has been argued to focus on the themes of female sacrifice as a fetishized victim (Rabinowitz 1993), *kharis* or obligation and repayment (Story and Allan 2005), violence and benefits of *philos* or friendship (Belfiore 2000), and the space between life and death (Buxton 2003; Rosenmeyer 1963). This analysis explores how the act of Alkestis' sacrifice as a replacement figure problematizes the politically significant relationships of *kharis* (obligation) and *xenia* (guest-friendship) and reveals an underlying limitation in the idea of reciprocal justice.

**Sossin, Lorne – lorne.sossin @ utoronto.ca**

*The Goudge Commission: The Criteria for Success*

Following revelations into the flawed pathology of Dr. Charles Smith over a twenty year period, including as least 20 cases of possibly wrongful convictions for serious crimes, the Inquiry into Pediatric Forensic Pathology in Ontario was called on April 25, 2007, with Ontario Court of Appeal justice Stephen T. Goudge as Commissioner. The Goudge Inquiry had a mandate to conduct a systemic review, but not to inquire into any specific instances of wrongful convictions. Hearings and policy roundtables were held in the Fall of 2007 and Spring of 2008. The Goudge final report was released on October 1, 2008. Most, though not all of the Inquiry's 169 recommendations have been implemented by the Government. Indeed, the speed of the implementation is almost unprecedented. Major legislation responding to the Goudge Commission report was passed in the Spring of 2009. New institutions including a death investigation oversight board and a forensic pathology register have been established. While the impact of the Inquiry on the culture of police investigation and prosecutorial discretion is uncertain, the change in the institutions and culture of forensic pathology is palpable. The success of the Goudge Commission may be attributed to several factors, principal among which was the political capital for change caused by the Smith scandal, the broad coalition which emerged in favour of policy reform, and the absence of any significant opposition to change.

**Sparling, Robert – rsparlin @ uottawa.ca**

*Towards a Theory of Corruption*

Books on public policy generally speak of corruption as the misuse of public authority for private ends. But such definitions entail assumptions both about what entails 'misuse' and about the line dividing public from private. The nature of corruption depends very much on the nature of the pure in a given society. In particular, it depends upon the virtues necessary for the flourishing of an existing regime. The virtues required for civic republicanism tend to clash with those required for commercial republics and monarchies. This paper will attempt to gain a better sense of the nature of corruption in mixed regimes by exploring shifts in the conception of corruption that took place in the long eighteenth century.

**Speight, Jeremy – speight.jeremy6 @ gmail.com and Poteete, Amy – amypoteete @ gmail.com**

*The Prevalence of Dominant Party Systems in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1973 – 2006*

Since the most recent wave of democratization began in Portugal in the mid-1970s, dominant parties have been removed from power via competitive elections all around the world (Giliomee and Simkins 1999; Pempel 1990). Yet, many countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere are still governed by parties that have held power for a decade or longer. Are dominant parties any less common than they were before the third wave of democracy? What features – institutional, regional, social, or economic – are associated with party dominance? Has the geographic distribution of dominant parties or the features associated with party dominance changed since the mid-1970s? To answer these questions, we have constructed a new database on party systems in Africa, Asia, and Latin America at two time points: the end of 1973, immediately before Portugal launched the third wave of democratization, and the end of 2006, more than three decades later. For each time point, we have accumulated cross-national data on the longevity of party rule, vote distribution, seat distribution, party fragmentation and institutional differentiation across electoral and legislative systems. This research will move beyond comparative case studies to highlight temporal and cross-case differences and trends across party systems in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Finally, this paper will suggest some implications of these trends in terms of democracy, policy formation and state-society relations more generally.

**Spicer, Zac – zspicer @ uwo.ca**

*Was There Learning In The System? Making Sense of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs and the Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities*

Canada has experienced two formal federal line ministries created to address urban issues: the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs and the Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities. Established in the 1970s, the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs was shut down amidst widespread concerns from the provincial governments that the ministry was encroaching on their jurisdiction. Nearly thirty years later, the Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities was established. The Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities found more success in urban policy coordination. This paper seeks to answer why one ministry met with such resistance, while the other found relative success. Using a

policy learning and lesson drawing framework, this paper examines both ministries, concluding that the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs went through three distinct phases, evolving from a policy coordinator to a policy partner with Canada's municipalities, eventually excluding the provincial governments. The experiences of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs gave way to a process of policy learning on the part of those establishing the Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities. Canada's second attempt at an urban policy coordination ministry would find more success because of the more cooperative approach employed towards intergovernmental relations. Unlike the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, the Ministry of State for Infrastructure and Communities would include the provinces as partners, as opposed to attempting to exclude them from the policy process.

**Spicer, Zac – zspicer @ uwo.ca**

*Exploring the Logic of Corporate and Business Giving During Municipal Election Campaigns: The 2003 and 2006 Civic Elections in Ottawa, Ontario*

Unlike many other jurisdictions in Canada, municipal politics in Ontario still allows corporate and business giving. How and when corporations and businesses donate to municipal campaigns in Canada is still largely unexplored though. This paper will examine the logic of corporate and business giving during the 2003 and 2006 municipal campaigns in Ottawa, Ontario. 2,478 individual corporate and business donations supplied to 83 candidates will be examined, in an effort to extrapolate clear trends in these contributions. Using a rational model of political participation, this paper finds that corporations and businesses donate to multiple candidates in single ward races during municipal contests. Additionally, it is found that corporations and businesses donate primarily to incumbents and candidates with strong chances of winning their respective wards. This paper concludes that corporations and businesses employ a strategy and "hedge their bets", so to speak, by financially supporting multiple candidates during municipal campaigns.

**Stanley, Charmaine – charmaine.stanley @ utoronto.ca**

*Seeing Like a State at War: Technological Surveillance and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*

Events of the past decade have dampened hopes in Israel for a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians, and have increased support for unilateral disengagement from Gaza and the construction of a West Bank barrier. However, these measures, along with a growing reliance on private security, have resulted on the ground in what looks less like disengagement than a new form of occupation—more streamlined, and ultimately more sustainable. This paper focuses on the role that recent technological developments in Israeli surveillance have played in this process. While recognising Israel's genuine security concerns, it argues that the Palestinian territories increasingly resemble a panopticon in which the fenced-in population is more easily surveilled by the Israeli state and private firms. If James C. Scott was correct that the modern state attempted to make its population 'legible', what we are seeing here is an attempt by a state at war to render a population not merely countable, but searchable and mappable (in terms of its social networks) in a manner unthinkable prior to the Information Age.

This paper is based on a chapter from my doctoral dissertation which combined my research interests in new media and peacebuilding by investigating the impact of ICT on the relative power of civil society and the state in Israel/Palestine. Theoretically, it drew on debates in the ICT literature in order to address a gap in the peacebuilding literature concerning the impact of ICT in conflict zones. Empirically, it relied upon elite interviews and qualitative analysis.

**Stanley, Ruth – ruthstanley402000 @ yahoo.de**

*Telling It Like It Ain't: Crime Fighting as Media Performance in Buenos Aires*

For a period of at least a decade (1993–2003), Argentina's Federal Police regularly staged fictitious crime-fighting activities in the capital city, Buenos Aires, as performances designed to generate a favourable media response. Crime fighting as performance involved framing in a double sense: innocent victims were framed as the perpetrators of non-existent crimes, and the mises-en-scène conceived and executed by the police were designed to fit pre-existing interpretative frames identifying immigrants and shanty-town dwellers as a threat to society, as well as to influence debates on police powers and public security policy. The paper situates this strategy in the wider context of the country's return to democracy (1983) and the consequent opening of a public sphere of debate leading to massive criticism of the police, as well as in the narrower context of specific controversies on police reforms, and shows how the police constructed these episodes as narratives that fed into specific discourses. The ambivalent role of the media as both watchdogs publicizing police abuses and as willing vehicles for the transmission of policing as a public performance is highlighted. Democratization studies tend to view the opening of the public sphere of debate as an unmitigated good and to conceive of the media as agents of accountability; this analysis shows how contestation in the public sphere provided the impetus for the police to enlist the (unwitting) support of the media in a strategy of what Ericson has termed "account ability" – the ability to offer a coherent narrative justifying police action.

**Staver, Anne – anne.staver @ utoronto.ca**

*Family Reunification Policies and Diverse Family Relations: A Fraught Relationship*

Family reunification is simultaneously the most under-researched and the most numerically significant form of immigration. The challenges facing multicultural societies as they develop family reunification policies are apparent. A diversity of meaningful relationships is increasingly recognized domestically, for example through the acceptance of same-sex marriage. Yet the evolution of family reunification policies has been slow, and the nuclear family remains the relevant benchmark. I will explore how conceptions of the family are negotiated in immigration policy, in order to see who has a claim or right to family reunification. Some notoriously "hard cases", such as polygamous families, will be investigated.

The paper will be qualitative, relying on scholarly sources and analysis of policy and legal documents, with material drawn mainly from Canada. I will undertake a necessarily brief survey of anthropological literature on the family in the context of change and culturally diverse practices, and evaluate how this literature can inform discussions on rights and policies. This, again, will be tied to a discussion on immigration control and selection, which will help explain the perceived lag between relationships that are legitimate domestically and admissions criteria.

There is little existing scholarship on family reunification, and authors have frequently left the concept of "family" intact and unquestioned. Taking family rights seriously, however, requires a richer understanding of family life. As such, this paper will fill a gap in research on rights as well as immigration policy. It is part of a larger comparative project on family reunification policies undertaken toward a PhD.

**Stavro, Elaine – estavro @ trentu.ca**

*Artistic Practice and Concrete Freedom: Anticipating Affect and Radical Democracy*

In exploring the experience of the artist, Merleau-Ponty sees Cezanne "abandoning himself to the chaos of sensations" and capturing the "native synaesthesia" of primordial perception. This is as much as an expression of freedom, he tells us, as the actions of the Resistance during the occupation. How this is so will be explored. Shuffling between his aesthetic concerns, psychological insights and political reflections, Merleau-Ponty hopes to re-energize the narrow economism associated with the freedom fighters around him, in particular the mechanical materialism and teleological thinking of contemporary Marxists. Further to this end, I will show, he and Simone de Beauvoir engage the concepts of alterity and abjection to identify new sources of oppression and new agents/agencies of radical change and new approaches to the political. In doing, so I will argue, they anticipate the trajectory of many theorists of affect and radical democracy (Laclau and Mouffe) appreciating the equivalence of projects of change and the intertwining of the aesthetic, the sensible, the psychological and political to enrich democratic politics.

**Steeves, Valerie – Valerie.Steeves @ uottawa.ca**

*Democracy v2.1: How Canadian Judges Talk about Privacy and Democracy in the Context of Anti-Terrorism Legislation*

This paper examines the discursive construction of the meaning of privacy, democracy and citizenship present in Supreme Court of Canada decisions dealing with the Anti-Terrorism Act. In pre-9/11 cases, the Court tended to define privacy in terms of informational exchange and efficiency; this un-problematized the impact of surveillance on democratic relationships and shut down earlier discourses about the role of privacy in a democratic society. In addition, terrorism was treated as a criminal act. Immediately after 9/11, the Court placed terrorism outside the continuum of "regular" criminal activity, and justified a harsh response by "othering" the terrorist writ large. Ironically, although the presence of such an enduring and yet unknowable foe calls out for efficient methods of investigation and surveillance, this call for effective tools was immediately constrained by a countervailing need for "us" to attend to and protect our fundamental values. The mutually-defining connection between the Terrorist Other and the Canadian subject returned the Court to earlier discourses in which private was an important way of protecting the citizen against the power of the state. In many ways, judicial discourses in post 9/11 cases are a morality tale that reminds us of the abiding relationship between democracy, security, publicity, and secrecy. Interest in efficiency as a countervailing model has waned, as the Court has struggled to reassert the democratic elements of the public-private boundary into judicial discourses about terrorism. Ironically, one of the more enduring legacies of 9/11 may be the reinvigoration of that public-private boundary and its importance to human dignity and democratic relationships.

**Steflja, Izabela – izabela.steflja @ utoronto.ca**

*Identity Crisis in Post-Conflict Societies: ICTY's role in defensive nationalism among the Serbs*

Attentiveness to initial patterns of reconstruction of identities in post-conflict environments is critical because robust group images are often absent, and time and space for intervention in policies remain. This paper applies theories of social psychology, frequently ignored in literature on ethnic conflict and violence, post-conflict, peace-building and reconciliation, to illustrate the significance of collective narratives in inter-group relations and reconciliation. An analysis of empirical research to date points to three emerging socio-psychological trends in post-conflict Serb narratives. The paper focuses on the characteristics and possible consequences of the currently prevailing trend of 'defensive nationalism,' and argues that two major factors in this self-image of the Serbs are the issue of 'individual versus collective' guilt and the issue of 'legal versus political' trials in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Specifically, the paper argues that the proceedings of the Tribunal have contributed to an identity crisis among the Serbs. The destabilization of the ethnic group's collective sense of self and place on the global scene has proven counterproductive to the stated objectives of the Tribunal by instigating new and furthering old forms of defensiveness. The supporters of the Tribunal have failed to adequately acknowledge the degree of agency groups have in interpreting their ethnic story – feelings of international humiliation, blame, shame, and bias can lead to the dismissal of prosecutions of leaders, ignorance of verdicts, and support for contradictory and conspiratory accounts. Conducting fair and effective investigations and prosecutions is unfounded if reconciliatory opportunities are simultaneously diminished.

**Sterba, James P. – jsterba @ nd.edu**

*Reparations and the Requirements of Distributive Justice*

It is frequently argued a very large payout of money and resources is required for reparations to Native Americans and African Americans. Some even suggest that if appropriate reparations are paid, some of the rich and poor would change places – poor Native Americans and African Americans would become rich and some of those who are currently rich would become poor. The question that I wish to pose is how does this sort of argument for reparations relate to an

argument for distributive justice that says that each and every person living today is entitled to have his or her basic needs met – just the resources required for a decent life and nothing more? Part of the justification for this limitation on the use of resources imposed by distributive justice is to make it possible for every person living today around the world to have sufficient resources for a decent life. Yet a greater part of this limitation is justified to preserve resources for future generations so that they too will be able to have a decent life. Given what we know about the limits of the earth's resources, the best way to ensure that future generations have sufficient resources for a decent life is for us not to use up any more resources ourselves than we need for a decent life.

Assuming then that this is what distributive justice requires of us, how should we weigh these requirements against arguments for reparations? Could it be that reparations would have to be met in a more symbolic way so as not to take away resources that are required to secure a decent life for both existing and future generations? Could it be that when defenders of reparations assume that large sums of money and resources should be transferred, making a new group of rich people and a new group of poor people, they are also assuming a much less demanding theory of distributive justice? But what if they are wrong and distributive justice is as demanding as I just suggested is the case?

**Stevenson, Garth – g Stevenson @ brocku.ca**

*Contrasting Images: "Multiculturalism" as Conceptualized in Canada and the United States*

The word "multiculturalism" has figured prominently in North American political discourse in recent years. This paper seeks to explain why the word has acquired different symbolic meanings in Anglophone Canada, Quebec, and the United States.

In Anglophone Canada the word has its critics but is generally viewed favourably and is even regarded by some Canadians as a defining characteristic of the country. In Quebec the word tends to be viewed with suspicion although Quebec's policy of "interculturalism" is little different from Canadian "multiculturalism" in practice. In the United States opponents of the word have been more numerous, or at least more articulate, than its supporters, and it has become a weapon in the culture wars that divide the country ideologically. Yet American practice in relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities is little different from what is found north of the border, despite a persistent Canadian myth to the contrary. The paper argues that contrasting impressions of "multiculturalism" can be explained partly by the different histories of the three societies and partly by events that coincided in time with the emergence of the word, particularly Quebec's quiet revolution, the African-American struggle for civil rights, and changing patterns of immigration.

**Stewart, David K. – dstewart @ ucalgary.ca and Sayers, Anthony – asayers @ ucalgary.ca**

*Alienated and Conservative? Continuity and Change in Alberta Political Culture*

Descriptions of Alberta's political culture focus on Western Alienation, Populism, conservative values, and support for the dominant industry. In this paper we examine each of these issue areas in order to assess continuity and change in the province's political culture. Based on a survey of 1500 Albertans taken in the week following the 2008 provincial election, we present public opinion data on each of the issue areas outlined above. Analysis of these views takes into consideration factors such as partisan choice, length of residence in the province as well as a variety of socio-demographic variables. Where possible we make comparisons with attitudes reported in the last academic election study in Alberta, 1971.

**Stewart-Harawira, Makere – makere @ ualberta.ca**

*Disappearing into the Breach? What Possibilities for Indigenous Counter-hegemonies in the 21st Century*

As we approach the end of the first decade of the 21st century Indigenous participation in the national and global arenas is notably framed by issues of land rights and treaty negotiations, market capitalism and constructions of citizenship, and environmental justice and the politics of terror. In this paper I utilize a Coxian critical political economy approach to argue two points; that adoption of the language of the juridical norms of the nation-state by Indigenous communities limits the possibilities of self-determination by enabling nation-states to frame the issues for us, and that the bifurcated nature of Indigenous responses to issues of social, economic and environmental justice severely circumscribes the potential of counter-hegemonic possibilities, redefines Indigenous political ontologies and impedes access to any real form of social and environmental justice for Indigenous communities. I argue that, if we are to avoid becoming active participants in our own demise, a re-interrogation of the discourse and meaning of Indigenous political ontologies is urgently required. Such interrogation must open up questions such as the place of ethical relationality in shaping of questions of land, resources and territory in the context of globally encompassing crises of sustainability, democracy and human survival.

**Stienstra, Deborah – d\_stienstra @ umanitoba.ca**

*What Happens to Sex and Gender When we Include Disability?*

When we look at the major successes of addressing sex and gender in political science, we see some major shifts or changes. Yet when we consider the extent to which analysis of disability permeates our academic literature, we see little inclusion of disability analysis.

As feminist academics we bow to the need to look at class, race and gender and occasionally sexuality or we tack on disability or ability on the list. But we don't understand that including the experiences of women with disabilities will not simply add more stories of exclusion that illustrate how important it is to ensure gender equality. By listening to the stories of women with disabilities and addressing what they raise, we fundamentally alter how we understand gender equality. This paper signals where some of the changes occur, including the complexity and variations of corporeal citizens, the jarring dissonance we face as we think about independence, autonomy and those whose bodies require dependent care relations, and the challenges to discourses of vulnerability and protection that arise when we address disability.

**Stockdale, Liam – stockdlp @ univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca**

*Securitizing the Future? Critically Interrogating the Logics of Risk, Precaution, and Pre-emption in the Theory and Praxis of Contemporary Security*

This paper seeks to explore and problematise the particular logics informing contemporary security practices by proposing and subsequently unpacking the notion that their referent object is the future. I first contend that a shift from a reactive security logic to one of pre-emption conceptually informed by the precautionary principle is characteristic of contemporary security praxis, particularly among Western states. This generates a condition whereby the exercise of sovereign power serves to “take the present hostage” in the name of securing an idealized and imagined future, as the logic of pre-emption enables the unchecked proliferation of exceptionalizing practices rooted in discourses of risk management, opening the door for an Agambenian logic of the camp to penetrate all aspects of contemporary life. I argue that the basic premise of this security climate is fundamentally absurd, however, as what is ostensibly being “secured” is by definition never realizable: what was the future invariably becomes the present, whence it too is taken hostage in the name of securing what has yet to come to pass. I then explore how the extension of sovereign power to the temporal realm in this way necessitates a derogation from the purported benefits of sovereignty—i.e. the “securing” of those within the sovereign boundary—in the present, and conclude by arguing that such temporal exercises of sovereignty in fact represent the latter principle’s logical conclusion. Accordingly, Derrida’s notion of an “autoimmune crisis” provides a useful lens through which to interpret (the) state (of) sovereignty in the present international security climate.

**Stoett, Peter – pstoett @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*A Question of Indictment: Preventing Crimes Against Humanity or Promoting the ICC?*

One of the more perplexing questions facing war crimes tribunals is whether or not to pursue the indictment of accused war criminals in positions of power, be they state or non-state actors. Absolute justice would demand indictment proceed regardless of the immediate consequences; yet if this either delays or exacerbates the cessation of violence, it is not a utilitarian choice unless it can be argued such indictments serve as severe deterrents for similar future crimes. This paper will examine the conceptual dilemma inherent in prosecutorial decision-making by international legal bodies, with principal reference to the historic case of Milosevic in Serbia, and the extant cases of Joseph Kony of the Lord’s Resistance Army in Uganda and President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan; it will conclude with argumentation to support a compromise position.

**Stolz, Klaus – klaus.stolz @ phil.tu-chemnitz.de**

*Professional Politicians in Scotland and Catalonia: Towards a Regional Political Class?*

The study of recruitment and retention of political elites is heavily biased towards the national level. Subnational elites are generally either ignored or treated as integral part of the national elite. This holds in particular for professional politicians who can be seen as the nucleus of the political elite.

Empirically, however, we can observe that the career patterns of professional politicians at the subnational level vary considerably. They differ with regard to recruitment, with regard to tenure, with regard to their congruency with national patterns as well as with regard to the direction of career movements. Very special cases in this respect are “subnational” units that feature a high level of regional or national identity and a virulent regionalist/nationalist movement.

In my proposed paper I will have a detailed look at professional politicians and their careers in Scotland and Catalonia – two subnational units that together with Quebec have often been labelled “stateless nations”. The paper will ask whether professional politicians in these regions can (and should) be treated as a separate and distinct regional political class, or whether we are better off understanding them as a part of a statewide group of professional politicians. In order to find out, I will have a look at career patterns of Catalan and Scottish politicians with a particular reference to differences vis-à-vis UK and Spanish politicians and with regards to patterns of movement between the regional and the national level.

**Stoney, Christopher – cstone @ connect.carleton.ca, Shepherd, Robert – rpshepherd @ rogers.com and Hilton, Robert – rhilton @ connect.carleton.ca**

*Public-Private Partnerships and the Role of Municipal Government: the Proposed Development of Ottawa’s Lansdowne Park*

Following a decade or more of amalgamations that have seen many of Canada’s municipalities grow significantly in size and scope, doubts persist about administrative efficiency and the effectiveness of municipal governance in some of Canada’s largest cities. In particular, debate has focused on the ability to provide the leadership and strategic capacity needed to plan, fund and deliver major capital projects through a transparent, inclusive and accountable decision-making process.

The continued dominance of ward centric decision-making, a weak mayoral system, the absence of party political discipline, dependence on developer funding, poorly contested elections, severe restrictions on debt financing and a growing dependence on the still largely sporadic funding from higher level governments are some of the key factors blamed for ineffective municipal governance.

Using the City of Ottawa as a case study, our ongoing research has examined these issues in relation to strategic areas and aims including long-term planning, ‘smart growth’, transportation and sustainability. In this paper we focus on the role of senior managers, councillors and the mayor as the city enters into a public-private partnership with local businessmen to develop Lansdowne Park. Located in the urban core and surrounded by the city’s world heritage canal, the so-called ‘jewel in the crown’ site became the subject of an unsolicited bid from local developers OSEG (Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group) in 2007 and has since been the focus of a heated and sometimes bitter struggle between proponents and opponents of the development.

**Stoney, Christopher – [cstoney @ connect.carleton.ca](mailto:cstoney@connect.carleton.ca) and Krawchenko, Tamara – [tkrawche @ connect.carleton.ca](mailto:tkrawche@connect.carleton.ca)**

*A Comparison of Special Purpose Local Government/Governance in Canada, the UK and USA*

Special purpose bodies are becoming an increasingly common form of local government institutional arrangement in many western countries. The term 'special purpose body' is broad and can imply governance at different geographic scales and with differing institutional composition and policy or service delivery focus. Such bodies are typically either directly elected or appointed from a lower or upper tier government. In many cases, special purpose bodies have been created across metropolitan regions so as to take advantage of economies of scale in the provision of services. This type of institutional arrangement has been adopted to varying degrees across western countries. In the United States, special purpose bodies have now become the most common type of local government in the United States, far surpassing the total number of municipalities. This paper surveys the different types of special purpose bodies in Canada, the United States and the UK and creates a typology for institutional comparison. The merits and drawbacks of special purpose bodies are discussed, with a focus on the implications of special purpose body adoption in the Canadian context.

**Suchowlansky, Mauricio – [mauricio.suchowlansky @ utoronto.ca](mailto:mauricio.suchowlansky@utoronto.ca)**

*Spectacular Tumulto: Michele di Lando in Machiavelli's Florentine Histories*

In the third chapter of his Florentine Histories, Niccolò Machiavelli discusses the rebellion led by the Ciompi or wool carders, who directed a so-called revolutionary government in Florence in 1378. These, as Machiavelli explicitly calls them, 'lesser people' began a series of tumults at various public locations in Florence that culminated with the proclamation of Michele di Lando, a "poor barefoot wool carder," as Gonfaloniere di Justizia or Standardbearer of Justice. This man, Machiavelli tells his readership, "commanded [the plebs] to seek out for Ser Nuto... who was 'carried by the multitude to the piazza and hung on the gallows by one foot...' I propose, first, that Machiavelli purposefully re-structures this historical event and makes of it a 'spectacle' meant to carry his parochial political lesson on the distinctive qualities necessary for a potential founder and innovator of Florentine republican affairs. Machiavelli proposes a view of republican politics that encompasses civic violence as a permanent and, most of the time, healthy aspect. Second, I argue that his characterization of di Lando is particularly coherent with the problems of the post-1512 Medici regime: political disenfranchisement of the upper social sectors, co-optation of the middle merchant class and lack of political knowledge on the part of the young Medici leaders. Hence, Machiavelli mythologizes di Lando as the 'mirror' image for a new redentore of republican Florence.

**Sutcliffe, John – [sutclif @ uwindsor.ca](mailto:sutclif@uwindsor.ca)**

*Critical Discourses on Integration in North America and Europe: The Domestic Roots of Criticism*

Economic and political integration are features of North America and European politics. North America integration has evolved since the Free Trade Agreement through NAFTA to the Security and Prosperity Partnership. In post-war Europe, integration has developed primarily through the European Union. Critics have attacked both projects on a number of different levels. At their most extreme, critics claim that integration poses a threat to the future of the participating states. It is frequently argued that the integration projects are secretive, elite-driven and anti-democratic. This paper analyzes these critical perspectives in several different national settings, including the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. The paper argues that to understand the critical perspectives fully, it is necessary to examine the critics' internal characteristics and their domestic political setting. The criticisms frequently reflect the critics' pre-existing political ideologies and it is this, combined with a (deliberate) misunderstanding of integration, which explains the differences that exist in the critical perspectives.

**Sutherland, Liz – [liz.sutherland @ rogers.com](mailto:liz.sutherland@rogers.com)**

*The Divergent Cosmopolitanisms of Hannah Arendt*

Several attempts to update and defend the doctrine of cosmopolitanism in international political theory have relied on the work of Hannah Arendt to make their case. Patrick Hayden argues that Ulrich Beck's term, "cosmopolitan realism," can be applied to Arendt's position on responsibility for humanity, in that she argues for a politico-legal framework that would limit the right of states to kill their own citizens, even as she remains skeptical about the actualization of such a framework. Robert Fine extracts a "worldly cosmopolitanism" from Arendt's insistence that we reconstruct the idea of humanity in the face of its eradication. Seyla Benhabib argues for a shift toward cosmopolitan norms, based in part on her interpretation of Arendt's claim that an attempt to eradicate a group constitutes an offence against 'the human status' because it aims to reduce human diversity. Each of these theorists navigates the tension between Arendt's call for a "new law on earth" that would prevent another Holocaust and her insistence on the bounded polity as the space for political action. I examine these attempts to extrapolate a cosmopolitan theory from Arendt's writings, and I evaluate the possibilities they hold for a truly Arendtian cosmopolitan approach to crime against humanity. This article is part of a project in which I examine several approaches in political theory and global ethics to explore whether a re-thinking of the concept of 'responsibility' is useful in theorizing the challenge that the notion of 'crime against humanity' poses to the foundations of international law.

**Swaine, Lucas – [Lucas.Swaine @ dartmouth.edu](mailto:Lucas.Swaine@dartmouth.edu)**

*The Moral Statesperson: A Call for Character*

Should those who hold high office in democracies be any more inclined than the average citizen to violate common moral principles or standards? Various theorists have answered this question in the affirmative. They note that democratic leaders are in a different position than most people: duties of high office require leaders to consider very difficult questions

that average citizens never face. Democratic leaders may be required to authorize sending troops to war; they will have to be ready to take action in cases where innocent lives hang in the balance; and leaders shall need to be prepared to act in situations where their decisions may, regrettably, cause a slew of civilian deaths.

In this essay, I argue that people who occupy high office in democracies should have dispositional and attitudinal constraints that prevent them even from considering various possible courses of action. I argue against the view that democratic leadership requires a kind of flexibility to “do what it takes” in office, and also show what is wrong with the view that morality is not, or ought not to be, a guiding light for political leaders on the world stage. I propose that democratic leaders should be people with developed moral character, and describe how elements of moral character, properly understood, can rightly constrain one’s will, deliberations, and action. I then apply this view to the cases of nuclear deterrence and torture, forestall objections to the effect that the argument is excessively perfectionist for a non-ideal world, and conclude with suggestions of how citizens can more reliably choose moral statespersons for the future.

**Sykes, Patricia – ptsykes @ gmail.com**

*Gender and Anglo–American Democracies: Structures Facilitating the Election of Female Prime Ministers*

This research compares Canada with the United States and four other nations in a book that assesses the impact of Anglo–American institutions, ideology, and political development on women as political executives. Anglo adversarial institutions tend to generate norms and expectations of the executive that are highly masculinist and favor traditional masculine traits such as strength, determination, and confrontation. In addition, the dominant ideology of liberalism with its emphasis on individual rights often limits the ability of female executives to change public policy in ways that benefit women as a group. The nature of institutions and ideology fluctuate, however, and in political development, two types of time – linear, historical and cyclical, political – affect the prospects and performance of female leaders. To explore the obstacles and opportunities they encounter, this study examines their experiences as prime ministers and party leaders, cabinet ministers, governors/premiers/first ministers, and ceremonial heads of state. Their common institutions, shared ideology, and links in political development present similar leadership challenges to the women holding executive positions across the Anglo–American world. To conduct this research, I employ more qualitative than quantitative methods and draw on a variety of sources including field work and elite interviews with female executives.

**Talukder, Shamim – eminenceassociates @ yahoo.com**

*Gender Position in Governance System and Nature of Governance: Autocratic or Democratic*

Linkage between ‘presence of women in organizational governance’ and ‘gender friendly policy making and implementation’ is indubitably accepted by the academician and practitioner. In this perspective, an equal and effective participation of women is indispensable for any governing system. This paper aims to identify the status of women’s participation in decision making process of non–governmental organizations in Bangladesh. The study team collected both primary and secondary (content review of NGO documents) data to support the specific arguments. To collect the primary data, head of the organizations and senior staff of seven local NGOs were interviewed.

The study found that 36 percent of the executive committee’s members are female and three organizations are found as headed by female among the seven selected local NGOs. There is also correlation exist that female head organizations have higher number of women executive committee members compare to male headed organizations where average women participation is 34.69 percent and 45.02 percent in the female headed organization and average participant in the male headed organization is 29.95 percent. In male headed organizations average 80 percent of decisions are taken by head of the organization, contrary in female headed organizations average 90 percent of decisions are taken by the head. In case of male headed organization, head use to take support from male senior management team and in female headed organization, head usually rely on relatives.

Above mention findings depicted that gender position determines the representation but real democratic participations depends on ground reality which shapes the gender role.

**Tanguay, Brian – btanguay @ wlu.ca**

*The Action Démocratique du Québec, 1994–2009: Epitaph for a Conservative Insurgency in Quebec*

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. Many observers at the time claimed that the ADQ’s electoral breakthrough was largely due to its exploitation of the issue of “reasonable accommodation” and immigration more generally. In the election held one year later, however, the ADQ suffered a crushing setback, losing all but seven of its seats and taking a meagre 16% of the popular vote. This paper seeks to shed light on the factors that contributed to the ADQ’s short-lived success in 2007 and to account for its precipitous decline a year later. It asks 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.

**Tania, Gosselin – gosselin.tania @ uqam.ca and Lafontaine, Thomas – lafontaine.thomas @ courrier.uqam.ca**

*The Influence of Politics on Turnout in Local Elections in Post–Communist Europe*

Few studies have examined regional or local elections in Eastern Europe. The gap is all the more glaring as the EU integration process has started to bring greater resources to sub–national governments and organizations. The relative neglect of local elections is not limited to post–communist countries. The “second–order elections” model, arguing that citizens largely take cues from national politics to cast their vote in non–national elections, left little room for the study of

local contexts and their impact on political involvement. However, national factors do not explain the variance observed in turnout between municipalities. Furthermore, the perceived importance of local governments cannot fully account for the varying size of turnout gaps observed between levels of governments in different countries. Lesser politicization has been put forth as an explanatory factor for the relatively modest involvement in local elections but we know little about the reasons why mobilization works – or not – on the local political scene. The paper seeks to further our understanding of the sources of variations in local turnout with a comparative analysis including more than 2,000 municipalities located in five post–communist countries, and covering a span of at least two electoral contests in each country. It explores the role of the socio–economic make–up of localities, electoral arrangements and the formal powers of local governments, as well as local party competition.

**Tatalovich, Raymond – rtatalo @ luc.edu and Frenreis, John – jfrendr @ luc.edu**

*Fiscal Frugality: The Heart of Canadian Conservatism*

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century the United States held sacrosanct the ideal of a balanced federal budget. Economic historians termed this mindset the “fiscal Constitution” because, although the Constitution does not mandate fiscal frugality, the public philosophy of the nation (supported by both political parties) disavowed deficit spending. Even Franklin D. Roosevelt campaigned on a balanced budget in 1932, despite the Great Depression. Nor did the great British economist John Maynard Keynes disparage balanced budgets, unless deficit spending was needed to recover from an economic downturn. After World War II, however, the “fiscal Constitution” of the United States was dead, and deficit spending has become commonplace for the national government. This record stands in stark contrast to the Canadian experience, and this paper will evaluate Canadian budgets in terms of the macroeconomic health of the Canadian economy. It is not enough to compare revenues, expenditures, and resulting deficits or surpluses (with the United States) since World War II. More important has been the use or abuse of deficit spending in terms of the business cycle and the overall health of the Canadian economy, as measured by unemployment, inflation, economic growth, productivity, and balance of trade. Also relevant to this analysis are interest rates and the Canadian debt ratio as compared to the United States.

**Tavaglione, Nicolas – nicolas.tavaglione@unige.ch**

*Non–Ideal Theory and Humanitarian Healthcare*

Even according to the most minimalist proposals about global justice in healthcare (e. g. Sreenivasan 2007), our world is clearly unjust – or at least very imperfectly just. It is a non–ideal world. However, like many other individual agents, healthcare professionals, particularly in situations of humanitarian aid, are asked to do their best to distribute health « benefits » as fairly as possible.

Ideal theorizing is commonly characterised by two counterfactual idealizations (Robeyns 2008). Firstly, it assumes socio–political contexts within which background institutions are perfectly just. Secondly, it assumes that individual agents living in these contexts are fully compliant with the demands of justice.

This talk will focus on the first source of non–ideality : the injustice of background institutions. It will explore what can reasonably be required from good–willed agents trying to cope with their unjust background. They cannot be fully compliant with non–existent just institutional rules (cf. Phillips 1985). So what should they do ? I shall examine and evaluate several moral strategies open to good–willed healthcare professionals – from the most demanding strategy of transformative activism to the less demanding strategy of « moral tinkering ».

**Taylor, Zack – zack.taylor @ utoronto.ca**

*Varieties of Regionalism*

The search for effective metropolitan or regional governance arrangements is an enduring theme in North American urban politics and public administration. While earlier postwar literature sought to specify ideal institutional frameworks, scholars have more recently turned their attention to the institutional and social dynamics of contemporary efforts at intraregional collaboration. By treating metropolitan regions as a priori territorial units and focusing on the contemporary period, however, the literature has diverted attention from the historical processes through which metropolitan political spaces have been constructed by collections of actors. Adopting an historical institutionalist and constructivist approach, this paper advances four propositions: (1) The spatial definition of a metropolitan region is not an a priori fact. Due to the unbounded nature of urbanization processes, it is produced, reproduced, and modified through political contestation. (2) How actors perceive policy problems shapes the choice of territorial scale at which to seek their solution. (3) These processes are conditioned by combinations of contextual factors — the natural and built environment, structures, and ideas — which change over time. (4) How problems and their solutions are defined and "scaled" can shape subsequent actions in the same or other policy domains. Through examination of political problem–solving over the long term in several North American examples, this paper identifies four general "patterns" of metropolitan politics, or "varieties of regionalism," each defined by distinct configurations of ideas, interests, enabling or constraining institutions, and structural influences: "infrastructural," "ecological," "social," and "competitive."

**Tedesco, Delacey – delacey @ shaw.ca**

*Apothetic Urbanization: Foucault and Derrida on Kelowna's Impossible Progress from K–Town to Sustainable City*

My dissertation uses an analysis of the shared logic underlying ostensibly incompatible models of urbanization in Kelowna, BC, to contribute to theoretical understandings of how 'nature' and 'the city' work together to constitute politics in the West. This work has been started by Latour (1993 and 2004) in relation to nature, and by Magnusson (1991 and

2000) and Isin (2002) in relation to the urban. Yet the relationship between nature and the city, which together can (even must) enable such political constitution, is not well analyzed. Attempts to characterize nature and the urban alternately as either the condition of possibility or the condition of impossibility of politics are incomplete as such, but point to the aporetic logic at the core of politics. In this paper, I use Foucault and Derrida on aporia (the simultaneous and unresolvable possibility, necessity, and impossibility of politics at an ontological level) and the regulative ideal (the invocation to embody and make ontological a model of politics) to develop an integrated reading of the importance of nature and the urban in Western political thought. I apply this theoretical framework to three different models of sustainable urbanization in Kelowna – eco-friendly suburbs, downtown densification, and intentional communities – to demonstrate how claims about nature and the urban continue to make necessary, possible, and impossible the definition and materialization not only of particular political ontologies, but an impossible ideal of politics as ontological. I therefore suggest an analytical move away from political ontologies and toward practices of politicization.

**Tellier, Geneviève – gtellier @ uottawa.ca**

*Public Consultations in the Budget Process: Toward a New Form of Participatory Democracy in Canadian Provinces?*

The principle of budget secrecy has long prevailed in Canada, within the federal government as well as at the provincial level: fiscal measures were to be announced only at the time of the budget speech so that no one would take advantage of privileged information. Nowadays, however, budget secrecy is not as important as it used to be. Although finance ministers are not expected to announce publicly fiscal measures before budgets are brought down, few new budget initiatives come as real surprises: months before the budget speech, ideas are circulating and commented in the media, public reports are released, economic statements and speeches are made, and pre-budget consultations are set up. Although pre-budget consultations have been part of the budget process for many years in Canada, their format has changed recently in many parts of the country. For instance, more and more provincial governments are seeking the opinion of the general public before presenting their budget. They ask ordinary citizens to respond to surveys, to send suggestions to the finance minister, to testify during legislative committee hearings, to take part in town hall meetings, etc. How can we explain the emergence of these new forms of pre-budget consultations? Should we see them as a new phenomenon, participatory democracy, in the budget process? Or are they a new method used by elected officials to communicate more effectively their budget to the population? Our objective is to provide answers to these questions, by looking at popular pre-budget consultations in the Canadian provinces.

**Thomas, Melanee – melanee.thomas @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Gender, Generation, and Political Engagement in Canada*

In the 1970s, gender gaps in political engagement were assumed to reflect women's confinement to the domestic sphere and their gender role socialization. Since then, women have moved into the labour force in massive numbers and conceptions of gender roles have been radically altered under the influence of the feminist movement. Yet women remain less confident of their political abilities and less interested in politics than their male counterparts.

In order to resolve this puzzle, this paper will use data from the Canada Election Studies (1965–2008) to analyze gender and generational differences in political interest and political self-confidence across time. The central argument is that countervailing factors (most notably, the demands of the “double day”) have offset the potentially politicizing effects of the transformations in women's lives and roles over the past 40 years. Pooling the data will make it possible to disentangle the effects of life cycle, generation and period and to examine how the impact of key explanatory factors has changed across time and across generations.

**Thomas, Paul – paul.thomas @ utoronto.ca**

*Are All Networks Created Equal? A Study of Power Relations Within the Transnational Advocacy Network Seeking to Increase Access to Treatments for HIV/AIDS in Developing Countries*

This paper explores the power relations between actors within Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) by examining patterns of cooperation and participation within the TAN seeking to increase access to treatments for HIV/AIDS in developing countries. In their 1999 work “Activists Beyond Borders” Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink argue that TANs are collections of predominately non-governmental actors from several countries that cooperate to advance a particular principled cause, such as changing the behaviour of an international organization. Keck and Sikkink assert that these international alliances should be described as “networks” because they lack a hierarchical structure and are instead “characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange.” However, an analysis of several dozen press releases, declarations and sign-on letters published by the TAN to increase access to treatments for HIV/AIDS reveals that while almost 1,400 organizations participated in the network between 1998 and 2005, fewer than 20 organizations appeared to control the movement's strategic decision-making while the rest were restricted to supporting the actions undertaken. This finding casts doubt on the premise that TANs are non-hierarchical, particularly since the majority of the decision-making organizations are based in developed countries. The results also raise concerns about legitimacy and accountability within TANs and the extent to which they actually represent the organizations involved in their activities. Interviews will be held with representatives of the Canadian organizations involved with the TAN to increase access to HIV/AIDS treatments to gain further insight into these findings and the relationship between its member organizations.

**Thompson, Debra – debra.thompson @ utoronto.ca**

*The Comparative Study of Race*

Comparative studies of race or processes of racialization are exceedingly rare. Though the origins of racial discourse are not unique to any one nation–state, the evolution and consequences of race relations are often solely attributed to domestic factors, making comparison between countries seem inconceivable. In particular, the Canadian literature emphasizes a normatively driven and theoretically–orientated focus on multiculturalism, often rendering invisible empirical analyses of the prevalence of racism and racial discrimination, the evolution and consequences of race policies, and the state's role in promoting integration or maintaining circumstances of racial inequalities. Thus, the study of race in Canada and in comparative context is an area of inquiry with a great deal of potential. The comparative method holds particular merit, given that many diverse societies face new and similar challenges to race relations regimes and integration schema. Specifically, there are However, there are a number of epistemological challenges to overcome in determining how and what to compare, moving beyond American exceptionalism, and considering the relative weight of history, culture and transnational ideas about race in race–related political outcomes. This paper will situate the Canadian experience in comparative context via reference to the United States and Great Britain, finding ways forward to overcome these challenges while adhering to principles of social scientific inquiry and demonstrating the ways in which race politics can and should be studied in comparative context.

**Thomson, Susan – sthompson @ uottawa.ca**

*The Unity–Generating Machine: The Role of State Power in Identity Formation in Rwanda's Gacaca Courts*

In this presentation, I show how the repressive power of the Rwandan state is enacted through people's everyday interactions with gacaca. Drawing on life history interviews conducted in 2006 with thirty–seven ordinary Rwandans and an extended period of participant observation, I argue that the neo–traditional gacaca serves to reinforce a particular version of justice that renders ordinary people largely powerless in individual processes of reconciliation. Instead, it creates an opposite environment of fear and insecurity in their everyday lives. The government seeks to maintain control of the gacaca process through its policy of national unity. On the surface, the policy is an ambitious social re–engineering project that seeks to create a unified national identity of “one Rwanda for all Rwandans”. In practice, it recreates the very identities of genocide survivors (read Tutsi) and genocide perpetrators (read Hutu). I use the state–sanctioned space of the gacaca courts to examine first how ordinary Rwandans consider them to be an oppressive form of state power that forces them to reconcile with one another in ways that are counter–intuitive to their lived experiences of the 1994 genocide. I then analyse how the gacaca courts reinforce individual identities of being Tutsi or Hutu in ways that reinforce the power of the current Rwandan government. Specifically, I examine the ways in which the gacaca courts represent a contested state space that seeks to eliminate Hutu from political life. The presentation concludes with an analysis of the impact of gacaca courts on contemporary Rwandan politics.

**Thorlakson, Lori – lori.thorlakson @ ualberta.ca**

*Party Organizational Strategy in Multi–level Systems*

The vertical integration of political parties has been said to be a key element in ensuring the stability of federations (Filippov et al, 2004). However, when do parties in multi–level settings seek to build and maintain integrated organizations and when do they seek autonomy even at the cost of organizational rupture? When are state–level and federal–level parties united by the pursuit of common goals and what factors shape the costs and benefits of cooperation for state parties? Knowing how and predicting when party organizational linkages occur can also be important for better understanding how the political context shapes voter behaviour in multi–level contexts. However, understanding these problems has been limited by weak operationalization and lack of empirical data on various forms of party organizational cooperation or integration. This paper seeks to answer these questions by drawing upon survey research from over 200 sub–national parties across eight multi–level systems (Canada, the United States, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, the UK and Australia). First, it tests three possible factors shaping party organizational strategies: the interlocked nature of federal decision–making, the decentralization of federal decision–making, and social heterogeneity. Finally, it tests whether integration as a strategy delivers results by affecting the party's electoral strength.

**Thorlakson, Lori – lori.thorlakson @ ualberta.ca**

*Impacts of Party Organization and Party System Strategy on Federalism*

The style of federal politics is of central importance to the operation of federalism, influencing whether a federal system captures the purported normative benefits of a federal design. William Riker (1964:104) and Daniel Elazar (1987:221) argue that the internal centralization of parties is a key factor affecting the allocation of authority in federations. These arguments have been taken up more recently by a literature that posits that the style of parties and political competition affects the development of centripetal or centrifugal tendencies in federations, and therefore affect the stability and de facto centralization of the federation (Kramer, 2000; Bednar, 2004). More recently, Filippov, Ordeshook and Shvetsova (2004) have highlighted the interactive effects federal structure and political parties have on each other. While their argument underscores the importance of party systems as a variable that influences the stability and operation of federalism, they also regard the institutional design of a federation as capable of encouraging the development of a particular type of party system (2004:182).

The literature repeatedly argues that federalism needs ‘appropriate’ parties and party systems in order to work. However, it also leaves us with an incomplete account of how ‘appropriate’ party systems can be engineered. Drawing on party organizational and party system data from democratic industrialized countries, this paper first identifies styles of federal politics resulting from the combination of party organizations and party systems. It then discusses the prospects for facilitating optimal party and party system development through state design.

**Thunert, Martin – martin.thunert @ web.de**

*The Performance of Canadian Democracy and Governance in Comparison to other OECD Countries through the Lens of the Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) Project*

Despite the limiting effects of growing interdependencies in a globalized world, national governments still have a considerably broad scope of action when it comes to ensuring sustainable policy outcomes. The key question is, however, to what extent governments can identify, formulate and implement effective reforms that render a society well endowed to meet future challenges. The goal of the “Sustainable Governance Indicators 2009” (SGI) project, of which the author is a participant, is to answer this question for all 30 member states of the OECD. Using the SGI’s comprehensive data pool on government–related activities in the world’s developed democracies, this paper locates the performance of Canadian democracy and its governance capabilities within the context of OECD member states in general and compares Canada’s performance to other important G8 countries such as the United States, Germany, Britain and France in particular. Two guiding questions will be addressed: Have Canadian governments between 2005 and 2008 been successful in their policy reform efforts? How well–developed is Canada’s capacity for reform? Findings are based on quantitative data from international organizations, supplemented by evaluations provided by renowned country experts. In the conclusion, expert’s views on what Canada’s key challenges are, and what policy strategies might best address them, will be discussed.

**Tieku, Thomas Kwasi – tom.tieku @ utoronto.ca**

*The AU Commission: A New Supranational Actor?*

International bureaucrats are central and ubiquitous feature of new regionalisms. Yet we know little about them except the limited insights provided by European Union (EU) studies. This paper examines the African Union Commission (AUC), showing that the AUC does not perform merely functional role for states as the functionalists seem to think nor serves as a mere servant of African politicians as the liberal inter–governmentalists suggest. The Constitutive Act of the African Union and major AU policy documents have given the ten–member AUC powers and functional responsibility that go beyond traditional role assigned to administrative authority of regional institutions. The AUC however lacks the critical institutional and technical capacity needed to play the role of an effective supranational actor.

**Tiessen, Rebecca – rebecca.tiessen @ rmc.ca**

*Canada’s Contributions to Good Humanitarian Donorship*

In this paper I examine Canada’s contribution to the international Good Humanitarian Donorship Initiative and Canada’s Good Humanitarian Donorship (GHD) programs in complex humanitarian emergencies. Canada provides a substantial amount of funding for humanitarian aid and emergency relief with over \$5 billion committed in 2004 (Good Humanitarian Donorship – GHD – initiative, 2004). Canada also participates in the Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development’s (OECD’s) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) GHD initiative which requires all its members to evaluate each other’s program through a unique system of peer reviews. The peer reviews monitor individual members’ policies and efforts in the area of development co–operation. These reviews, combined with reports and guidelines prepared by Canadian government agencies and partner organizations, provide the context for an understanding of broader strategies to promote effectiveness in humanitarian aid delivery in disaster– and conflict– affected communities. In this paper I examine what good humanitarian donorship means and what Canada is doing to promote good humanitarian donorship abroad. Based on these findings, I interpret why Canada’s contributions to specific countries/regions are significant and how humanitarian aid is being delivered.

**Timpson, Annis May – a.m.timpson @ ed.ac.uk**

*Recognizing and Protecting Indigenous Languages: The Territorial, National, and International Significance of Nunavut’s new Language Legislation*

In 2008 Nunavut introduced legislation that recognized the indigenous Inuit language as an official language of the territory and, at the same time, sought to protect the Inuit language from further erosion. Following the approach developed in Northwest Territories, Nunavut’s 2008 Official Languages placed the Inuit language on par with English and French as an official territorial language. Nunavut’s 2008 Inuit Language Protection Act introduced significant measures to promote and monitor Inuit language use in public governments, the private sector, and the territorial education system. It is the first legislation in Canada designed to protect an Indigenous language from further erosion.

This paper examines the politics of developing Nunavut’s new language legislation (2001–08), the intergovernmental dimensions of securing the required federal concurrence with the Official Languages Act (2008–9), and the consultation process currently underway to facilitate the implementation of the Inuit Language Protection Act in Nunavut (2009–10). The paper assesses the territorial, national, and international significance of Nunavut’s double–edged approach to Indigenous language recognition and protection. It draws on international comparisons to consider the value and limitations of adding Indigenous languages into established settler–oriented official languages models, the potential for protecting the Inuit language in a territory with limited resources to deliver Inuit language education, and the significance of developing language legislation to impact on both the public and private sectors. It asks whether Nunavut’s approach is proving effective in reducing language erosion in the Eastern Arctic.

**Tomini, Luca – luca.tomini @ sumitalia.it**

*Bridging Gaps of EU Democratic Deficit Debate. The Quality of EU Democracy*

The debate that has developed on EU democratic deficit since the early nineties has been fruitful regarding the scientific results and for the important contribution that it has given in placing the problem of democracy at the centre of the attention of European studies. However, there are still several limitations that have not yet been solved. Two questions have not yet had a convincing answer: is it possible to assess empirically the quality of EU democracy, even in a comparative perspective? Is it possible to use the definition of democracy developed at the national level also at European level? First, this essay critically traces the debate on democratic deficit, highlighting the different theoretical approaches and different contributions during these years. In the second section three main gaps are highlighted: from a theoretical, empirical and methodological point of view. The last part contains the proposal of a strategy of an empirically-oriented comparative research of the analysis of the quality of democracy in EU.

**Tozzo, Brandon – 7bt2 @ queensu.ca**

*Can Theories of Empire Explain the Political Responses to the Financial Crisis?*

The repercussions of the 2008 financial crisis, which began in the United States, were felt around the world: credit markets froze, consumer demand collapsed, and major banks and industries required government money to avoid bankruptcy. Thus far, it seems the intervention of governments prevented a global depression. Given the severity of the crisis and the political responses that increased market intervention, the financial crisis presents an ideal case for a critical reassessment of major theories of empire. While there is a wide array of ways to conceive empire in the critical literature, each offering a distinct analysis of the relationship between the nation-state and the international capitalist system, the purpose of this paper will be to examine whether several major theories of empire can explain the responses to the financial crisis. There are three prominent, yet distinct, views of empire that will be examined in this paper. The first will be the version of "Empire" offered by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. The second theory of empire is that of Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin. Finally, I will assess David Harvey's 'new imperialism'. This purpose of this paper is to challenge several limitations in each theory of empire, and concludes that Harvey's 'new imperialism' offers the greatest insight into the myriad of political responses to the economic crisis.

**Tremblay, Manon – Manon.Tremblay @ uottawa.ca**

*Revisiting Women's Presence in Representation across Canada*

A benchmark concerning the electoral representation of women at the federal, provincial and territorial level was established in *In the Presence of Women* (1997). This roundtable returns to that benchmark discussion of women's descriptive and substantive representation 13 years later to measure the progress, or lack of it, that has occurred, with a view to identifying enduring and new factors shaping women's representation. A previous roundtable on the topic held in 1992 resulted in the first book-length publication looking at women's electoral representation at the sub-national level. Revisiting the subject is timely in the lead-up to the 100th anniversary of the enfranchisement of some but not all women across Canada.

**Trentadue, Jonathan – jonathan.trentadue @ gmail.com**

*Scrutiny, Responsibility, and the Enhanced Role of the Integrity Commissioner of Ontario*

The politics of the Ontario legislature, over the course of the past year, has been focused on the McGuinty government's handling of arms-length agencies. The Ontario government has been accused of misappropriating public funds for agencies wrought with administrative difficulties. The Ontario Lottery and Gaming Corporation and E-Health scandals have attracted media attention, and have provided opposition parties easy avenues of attack. The response by the McGuinty government was to pass legislation that would expand the role of the Integrity Commissioner, giving her the responsibility to oversee the expenses of twenty-two of the largest government agencies in Ontario. This paper will examine how the expanded role of the Integrity Commissioner impacts both on the executive and on the legislative branches of the Ontario government. Would an expanded role for the Integrity Commissioner hinder or support the scrutiny function of legislators? Furthermore, is her new role engulfing an aspect of ministerial responsibility, in which ministers oversee the finances of agencies and are responsible to the public for those agencies? Therefore, the paper would contribute to the existing body of literature that examines the independent officers of the Legislative Assembly and their impacts on responsible government. This will be done using government and legislative documents, interviews with MPPs and cabinet ministers, and officials, including the Integrity Commissioner, in The Office of The Integrity Commissioner.

**Trimble, Linda – ltrimble @ ualberta.ca**

*Revisiting Women's Presence in Representation across Canada*

A benchmark concerning the electoral representation of women at the federal, provincial and territorial level was established in *In the Presence of Women* (1997). This roundtable returns to that benchmark discussion of women's descriptive and substantive representation 13 years later to measure the progress, or lack of it, that has occurred, with a view to identifying enduring and new factors shaping women's representation. A previous roundtable on the topic held in 1992 resulted in the first book-length publication looking at women's electoral representation at the sub-national level. Revisiting the subject is timely in the lead-up to the 100th anniversary of the enfranchisement of some but not all women across Canada.

**Trimble, Linda – ltrimble @ ualberta.ca, Way, Laura – lway @ ualberta.ca and Sampert, Shannon – s.sampert @ uwinnipeg.ca**

*Drawn, Framed and Quartered: Representations of Party Leaders in Editorial Cartoons*

Our paper analyzes representations of national party leaders in election-related editorial cartoons printed in the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* during the 2004, 2006 and 2008 Canadian federal elections. We use content and discourse analysis techniques to examine the stories told in the cartoons about the party leaders, looking for rhetorical and visual patterns as well as shifts over time. Were editorial cartoon portrayals of the leaders universally negative and critical, or were there differences between leaders that reflected the appearance of new leaders (Stephane Dion and Elizabeth May in 2008) or changes in party and leader standings in the polls? While editorial cartoons are not often scrutinized as examples of opinion-shaping media texts we believe they deserve greater attention from scholars because of their discursive potency. Political cartoons are designed to communicate a sharp political message at a glance, thus are quickly understood by readers. As well, in order to be easily and satisfactorily “read” by audiences, editorial cartoons must reference commonly understood meanings about politics and party leaders. As a result, the impressions of Canadian national party leaders’ campaign performances communicated by editorial cartoons in the national newspapers provide a unique viewpoint on everyday understandings about political leadership.

**Troester, Nicholas – nrt @ duke.edu**

*Customary International Law and the Claims of Justice*

Customary international law (CIL) is intended to serve as a counterpoint to treaty law. Where treaty law is set, CIL is open to innovation and the changing practice of states. The pressure of the international system, however, has led CIL to become more sharply defined and, therefore, more hostile to change. This paper considers the ways in which contemporary CIL doctrine hinders justice-claims in the international setting. Looking first to the work of international legal scholars like Michael Byers and Bruno Simma, the paper identifies four pressures that have distorted CIL: (1) the demand of progressive legalization, in which ‘soft’ forms of law are made into ‘hard’ forms of law, restricting the scope of custom; (2) the difficulty in establishing desuetude; (3) the difficulty in derogating from a custom; (4) the rise of jus cogens, or customs from which it is impermissible to derogate. The implication of these positions will be spelled out in the topic of humanitarian intervention. International legal scholars raise considerable barriers to a practice of intervention, going so far as to suggest in some cases that it would be impossible for such a practice to arise through CIL. Drawing on earlier theorists on custom and justice, including Coke, Blackstone and Hale, the paper will propose alternative understandings of custom more useful in an international context.

**Tungohan, Ethel – ethel.tungohan @ utoronto.ca**

*(Un)Coordinated Chaos?: A Critical Assessment of Federalism and Canadian Temporary Labour Migration Programs*

Canada’s reliance on foreign labour is not a new phenomenon. From the late 19th century onwards, foreign migrant workers were recruited to fill labour shortages in industries as diverse as agriculture, manufacturing, and construction. In many ways, Canada’s temporary labour migration programs, which include the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) and the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) reflect past migration trends. Nevertheless, unlike previous labour migration programs, today’s temporary labour migration programs suffer from an absence of policy coordination and a lack of standardization federally and provincially. In theory, federal, provincial and municipal roles are clearly delineated: while federal bodies like Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Social Development (HRSD) set national labour migration policies provincial governments enforce these policies and act as a liaison between employers, migrants, and federal bodies. Municipal bodies, in turn, are tasked with establishing standards to protect migrant workers. In practice, however, such roles are not well-established, potentially undermining federal-provincial-municipal relations. This paper critically assesses how different types of temporary labour migration programs affect federal-provincial-municipal relations and how migrants entering each program fare as a result. Ultimately, this paper hopes to highlight the challenges temporary labour migration programs pose to federalism.

**Turcotte, Andre – Andre\_Turcotte @ carleton.ca**

*Political Marketing, Market Intelligence and Winning Elections in Canada*

This paper will examine the practice of market intelligence in Canadian election as defined by the emerging literature in Political Marketing. Specifically, the paper will identify how, and what, marketing intelligence data are collected in Canadian politics, particularly by political parties. It will examine how political marketing is currently practiced in Canada by discussing the types of consultants/firms which advise parties, political leaders and government, including pollsters, strategists, public opinion researchers, advertisers and organizers of public consultation. What types of qualitative and quantitative data are gathered during the inter-election and election campaign period?

To achieve this objective, a series of in-depth interviews will be conducted with practitioners currently involved in market intelligence in Canada. The paper will focus on reliance on primary data sources, such as opinion surveys and focus groups, and secondary sources ranging from voting records to past election results. The paper will ascertain the extent to which these data are used for platform development, communications formulation, and opposition research. Specifically, this paper will discuss how market intelligence is used to design the political product and the extent to which the market-oriented concept is applied. Efforts will be made to put practices in Canada within a comparative context.

**Turenne Sjolander, Claire – cturenne @ uottawa.ca**

*The National/International Divide: Policy Divergence and Incoherence in Canada’s Foreign Service*

This paper will examine the divergence between Canada’s espoused international policy commitments with respect to the promotion of women and of women’s rights globally, and its inability to meet – or arguably, to even try to meet – these commitments nationally. In doing so, the paper will pay particular attention to the Canadian foreign service, which has

long described itself as a leader in the promotion of women's rights on the global stage – arguing that issues of women's rights and gender equality “are central to Canada's foreign and domestic policies. Canada is committed to the view that gender equality is not only a human rights issue, but is also an essential component of sustainable development, social justice, peace, and security. These goals will only be achieved if women are able to participate as equal partners, decision makers, and beneficiaries of the sustainable development of their societies.”

This paper will explore at least two ironies (and contradictions) with this espoused commitment to the advancement of women and of gender equality internationally. The first, and the clearest, is that the Canadian government has moved away quite dramatically from the notion of gender equality as a goal of Canadian policy – its representations of its international aspirations notwithstanding.

**Turgeon, Mathieu – turgeon @ unb.br and Matsubayashi, Tetsuya – tmatsubayashi @ unt.edu**

*Citizen Competence and the Institutional Environment*

Several decades of empirical research has shown that most people know very little about politics. Low levels of political knowledge are not only an American reality but also extends to other well-established democracies. In recent years, the scholarship has moved on to examine the consequences for democratic politics of ill-informed mass publics. For some scholars the consequences of ill-informed electorates are not worrying as most people manage to vote for the "right" candidates by using cues, or shorthand information, provided by their environment and party labels. The balance of evidence, however, suggests that the ill-informed would vote differently if they knew more about politics like candidates and parties' issue positions.

The consequences for electoral democracy of ill-informed mass publics cannot be ignored because elections influence the kinds of policies and laws enacted. Taken as given that information matters, are the effects of ill-informed publics on votes and political attitudes the same across different country? Are there specific institutional arrangements that reduces (or increases) the distortions in political preferences and attitudes? This is the question we wish to explore using data from the CSES.

**Turner, Terisa – terisatu@uoguelph.ca**

*Food Freedom Fighters*

The food sovereignty movements appear to be expanding worldwide. Does this herald a tectonic shift from corporate sovereignty to popular sovereignty - a kind of radical democracy in countless forms? This paper seeks to understand the connections between four developments in the past four years (2007 through 2010). The first is a strong upsurge in what the corporate world called 'food riots' and what we call food non-riots or 'food fights.' These hundreds of dramatic popular actions from mid-2007 and since were impressive, varied, successful and manifest at every link in the global food chain. They provoked ramifications everywhere. Second, the food fights spurred third world governments en masse to jettison neo-liberal rules. Third, the world financial system of capitalism plummeted towards collapse. And fourth, the neoliberal monomania of OECD governments was eclipsed by an emergent and militarized state capitalism. In what ways are these four sequential and simultaneous developments connected? What brought together specific popular forces in more than fifty recorded countries? What has emerged from the sudden coming-together of pre-existing social movements concerned with food sovereignty (including the outstanding Via Campesina) with ordinary people outraged at escalating food prices and shortages? With neoliberal capitalism in shambles north and south, what positive capacities were revealed by participants in the food resistances? What was being defended and affirmed? Given the terminally ill status of capitalism and the urgency of climate change and starvation; crucial insights for social transition on a world scale in the future may be found in the example of food freedom fighters breaking up neoliberal corporate rule and affirming the commons.

**Tutunzis, Natalie – ntutunzis @ hotmail.com**

*Provincial-International Relations: Exploring the Involvement of the Ontario Legislature in International Affairs*

The proposed paper seeks to explore the intersection between the provincial and the international levels by outlining and explaining various initiatives undertaken at the Ontario Legislative Assembly that leap beyond provincial boundaries and have a direct impact on foreign affairs. The various connections to be explored include a more general overlook of interparliamentary relations between the Ontario legislature and foreign legislatures. Through such things as delegations, as well as a more focused look at specific international initiatives advanced by members of the legislature, including both MPPs and various officers of the Legislative Assembly, this paper will examine an underresearched area of provincial politics. In addition to describing the actions that have and are taking place, the paper will begin a discussion about the effectiveness of such endeavours as well as draw conclusions about whether there should be a greater push for provincial-international relations in the future.

The methodology of the paper will proceed in two parts. The first, and largest, component will consist of personal interviews with MPPs, officers of the Legislative Assembly, as well as with the directors of specific legislative branches involving international involvement.

Second, the original research will enumerate the international contacts for the Fall, Winter and Spring sittings of the Ontario Legislative Assembly. These events will be categorized, described and on the basis of this examination and the interviews described above, conclusion about the effectiveness of the international contacts will be made.

**Valentini, Laura – laura.valentini @ queens.ox.ac.uk**

*Justice, Political Justice, and Democracy*

This paper investigates the complex relation between justice and democracy. While democracy seems to be a necessary requirement of justice (indeed, how could an undemocratic society be just?), we know all too well that democracy often fails to live up to standards of justice. Is it possible to reconcile these conflicting considerations? Can we make philosophical sense of the idea that democracy is an integral part of justice even though it may hinder its realisation? In this paper I argue that we can, depending on how we conceive of the circumstances under which questions of justice arise.

I begin by distinguishing between two accounts of such circumstances. On one account (famously defended by David Hume), the circumstances of justice correspond to moderate scarcity and limited altruism, on the other, they also include epistemically reasonable disagreement about what justice requires. I call them, respectively, the circumstances of justice (CJ) and the circumstances of political justice (CPJ). I argue that, under CJ, justice is indeed separate from democracy: we can identify what justice requires independently of any democratic procedure, and implement it autocratically. By contrast, under CPJ, the only normatively authoritative way of determining the demands of justice includes resort to democratic deliberation and majority rule. I therefore conclude that, if we take epistemically reasonable disagreement about justice seriously, we must also acknowledge that justice goes hand-in-hand with democracy.

**Valiquette Moreau, Nina – nina.valiquette @ mail.mcgill.ca**

*Method, Madness, Magic: Plato's Phaedran Dialectics in Politics and Understanding*

The “old quarrel between philosophy and poetry” identified in the Platonic dialogues is most often understood as a quarrel between knowledge, reason, rationality and truth on the one hand, and opinion, emotion, mania and fiction on the other. On this understanding, philosophy assumes a self-evident distinction from “fiction.” Anything that cannot be circumscribed by its rationality is simply madness. Consider what is said in the Phaedrus, the locus classicus for the relationship between poetry and madness, in support of philosophy’s rational endeavor. Here philosophy’s discursive method is explicitly defined as a systematic art that aims to discover and uncover truths rather than persuade or convince. Yet, this supra-rational method is here applied to an investigation of the emotional and irrational to reveal that god-given madness is better than human sobriety. The investigation itself also embodies what it reveals: dialectics here reaches its own methodological limits transposing itself from the sensible to the intelligible as a type of “vision of the soul.” This move from method to “vision” is manifest as a move from discursive analysis to myth mediated through an act of sheer erotic mania: the philosophical enquiry at hand is completed by an act of poetry. The confluence of philosophical wisdom and poetic knowledge – or the correspondence of what we can know and talk about through dialectical method versus through what is here termed dialectical “vision” – displaces authority away from the poet to the Athenian citizen and mediates the dynamic interrelationship Plato envisaged between the individual and society.

**Vallée, Julien – julien.vallee @ umontreal.ca**

*Adding Economic Ideas to the Transnational 'Rights' Discourse: A Study of the Maquila Solidarity Network*

Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN) is a labour and women’s rights organization based in Toronto, active in Mexico, Central America and parts of Asia. While the impact and the diffusion of economic ideas has been studied in comparative politics (Hall 1989, Blyth 2002) and in IR with the epistemic communities approach (Chwieroth 2007, see also Simmons et al. 2007), the literature on transnational advocacy networks is often silent about the “material” side of advocacy. The starting point of this paper is thus to take the economic ideas of the alter-globalization movement seriously. Since economic ideas are not limited to academic theories, it is interesting to understand where those ideas come from, that is to say how they are produced, diffused and appropriated by the network under study. In order to unravel the process underpinning the diffusion of economic ideas, the approach outlined in this paper will be empirical and inductive, following the process tracing method put forward by George and Bennett (2005). First, we will show that “heterodox” economic ideas –namely feminist, Keynesian and Post Keynesian– are privileged by MSN. Second, that “boundary crossing” is a key mechanism in the diffusion process. Third, economic ideas, while seldom at the forefront of the rights discourse, are strategically deployed to produce a “two-pronged attack”, stressing the efficient side of the normatively “good” human rights. These results are a significant departure from the standard studies of advocacy networks focusing on frame resonance (see Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

**Vallet, Élisabeth – vallet.elisabeth @ uqam.ca and David, Charles-Philippe – chaire.strat @ uqam.ca**

*The Return of the Wall in International Relations?*

Since the end of the Cold war, the omnipresent “borderless world” discourse has therefore led many analysts to sidestep the issue of walls and the building of walls during the last decade. Our purpose here is to raise the issue and to analyze the factors that have led to the possible resurgence of the wall, if not in fact at least in discourse. And embrace the fact that the possible “return” of the wall as a political tool may be symptomatic of a new era in international relations.

**Van Shoik, Rick – D.Rick.Vanschoik @ asu.edu**

*Environment and Border Walls*

The impact of the US-Mexican Border wall on the locals is already substantial and its extension is already being assessed in the light of both its impact on the local ecosystems and the local economy.

**Van Veen, Elspeth – e.vanveeren @ bris.ac.uk**

*Stepping 'Inside the Wire': Guantánamo Tours and the Politics of U.S. Military Detention in the Global War on Terror*

In the eight years since its opening, thousands of visitors have now made their way to the detention facilities at JTF Guantánamo to inspect the site. Whether lawyer, journalist, politician, aid worker or senior military staff, these visitors (and

the members of the public who access the site through JTF–Guantánamo’s ‘virtual tour’ available on its website) are invited to view the ‘modern’ amenities and ‘humane’ way that detainees are being treated by the US military. Central to these tours and to communicating this message is a visit to Guantánamo’s ‘Tour Cell’ where detainee uniforms and ‘comfort items’ are neatly laid out, and to the detainee hospital where force feedings take place. In other words, the US military uses these tours and the objects that are showcased within them to help constitute and embody subject positions within the competition over the definition of the site in the wider war on terror discourse. Objects and practices which do not fit with a narrative, including those that detainees choose for self–representation are kept hidden from view. By drawing on theories of visual and material culture and in particular, Jean Baudrillard’s notions of the hyperreal and simulacra, the complex processes at Guantánamo which work to constitute identities in the Global War on Terror for those ‘outside the wire’, nationally and internationally, are understood as founded in these spectacular politics.

**Vander Valk, Frank – Frank.Vandervalk @ esc.edu**

*Micropolitics and the Dawn of Neuroselves*

The noted neuroscientist V.S. Ramachandran has described neuroscience as “the new philosophy”. And, Ramachandran reminds us, neuroscience ultimately will take up many of the issues currently addressed by political theory since “politics, colonialism, imperialism, and war also originate in the human brain”. Political theorists have lagged behind colleagues in other fields who have integrated findings from neuroscience into emerging fields such as neuroeconomics, neuroethics, neuroaesthetics, and cognitive neuroscience. William Connolly’s *Neuropolitics* is one of the first books in the field of political theory to address the importance of neuroscience for understanding political life and political concepts such as democracy, pluralism, identity, and justice. One of the important, yet underdeveloped, findings in Connolly’s work is the degree to which neuroscience highlights the centrality of micropolitics in political life. Connolly celebrates the light shone by neuroscience on the “fugitive layers of intersubjectivity that exceeds our best powers of representation”. *Micropolitics*, Connolly tells us, can be thought of “as a cultural collectivization and politicalization of arts of the self”.

This paper reconsiders the concept of micropolitics in light of neural mapping, unconscious habit formation, and the nature of our extended consciousness. In addition to Connolly’s work I will draw on emerging theories of consciousness from the likes of Joseph LeDoux, Antonio Damasio, V.S. Ramachandran, and Daniel Dennett. The aim is to develop a deeper understanding of the manner in which social assemblages are subject to “cultural collectivization” and the degree to which a neural understanding of intersubjectivity allows for the concept of liberty.

**VanNijnatten, Debora L. – dvannijnatten @ wlu.ca**

*Climate change policy in Canada and United States*

In recent years, the importance of the interplay between United States and Canadian climate change policy has increased greatly. First, the Canadian government explicitly states it will harmonize Canadian policy with that of the United States. Second, policy in some provinces and States is being influenced as much by their cross–border alliances (WCI, New England/Atlantic) as by federal–provincial/State policy making. Thirdly, some important players, such as the Alberta oil sands industry, appear to be influenced more by developments in United States policy than by Canadian. Questions addressed by the roundtable include: who are the most influential actors in climate change policy in each country and is there a difference between US and Canada? What is the impact of change in the executive branch on climate change policy? Did new diplomatic initiative or international negotiation have a determinant role to play in the development of domestic climate change policy? What evaluation can we make of the efforts accomplished so far in Canada and United States at the sub–federal or federal level? Why have States and provinces been relatively more active than federal governments so far? To what extent has policy, in Canada and United States, been influenced by the will to harmonize policy between the two countries (or between sub–federal jurisdictions)?

**Velji, Muhammad – muhammad.velji @ gmail.com**

*Fashionable Religiosity: Consumer Culture, Secularization and Changes in Religious Practice*

The purpose of this paper is to problematize and change how we theoretically view concepts such as secularization, privatization and commodification of religion by looking at changes in religious practice through a different lens of analysis. I begin with two emerging, seemingly unrelated phenomena in religiosity: the phenomenon of al–Qaeda and the commodification of Islam as it relates to veiling practices in Indonesia. I show with these examples how the theory of secularization as expressed by Charles Taylor in “A Secular Age” and the theory of privatization of religion as expressed by Wade Clark Roof in his book “Spiritual Marketplace” cannot explain these phenomena. To better analyze these two examples, I reappropriate Lipovetsky’s theory of fashion that was originally used to analyze modern political practice and turn its analysis instead to changing modern religiosity. I will use this theory of fashion to argue that al–Qaeda’s embrace of fashion has been all encompassing, but that in resorting to such extremity and violence in its religiosity, al–Qaeda has become the ‘haute–couture’ of religious practice in that it is too avante–garde for others to take up and practice. In order to become relevant to the modern Muslim al–Qaeda must therefore change to peaceful practices. I argue that when women use the veil as fashion, faith and fashion are not mutually exclusive. It is instead via this fashionable personal self–expression that women bring individualization and democratization of religious authority back into the political and public spheres while skilfully negotiating religious, aesthetic and political pressures.

**Vergari, Sandra – vergari @ albany.edu**

*Education Governance and Policymaking in Canada and the United States*

Canada and the United States differ in terms of constitutional structure, governance, geography, population, and historical and cultural factors. However, the two countries exist in the same competitive global environment and face similar

political and technical challenges with regard to K–12 public education policy. Public education policy has numerous consequences for economic development, social cohesion, and democracy.

This paper addresses three research questions for both Canada and the U.S.: 1. What does the balance of government power over K–12 public education look like and why? 2. What factors have encouraged the development of “national” education policies (as distinguished from federal government mandates) and why? and 3. In what ways are subnational roles in education policy different and similar across the two countries and why?

Canada is the only industrialized federation without a federal department of education and the Canadian Constitution grants provinces exclusive power to adopt education law. The U.S. federal government has been increasingly active in trying to promote several uniform objectives believed by many to be in the national interest. However, the states have shown varying levels of interest in equity and excellence and, as a whole, have worked to safeguard federalism. Indeed, the states enjoy the bulk of power over education policy in the U.S. This paper suggests that global competitive pressures, the national interest, and the appeal of particular policy ideas based on logical analysis (rather than solely political criteria) encourage subnational governments in both countries to adopt some similar education policies.

**Vermilyea, Jen – vermiljr @ mcmaster.ca**

*Rethinking the City as a Translocal Site of Contestation: Urban Camps and Tent Cities in Calais, France*

This paper investigates how the city takes on, produces, and contests various forms of ‘transnational threats’ – i.e. immigration, asylum, terrorism, over–population – and explore how these contestations reshape perceived understanding of citizenship and political space. Thus, following Engin Isin, this paper explores the city as a ‘site of the social’ where rights are negotiated and acts of citizenship come into being. I look at the ongoing contestation of citizenship, space, and rights carried out through the ‘jungle camp’ in Calais, France. In particular, I explore how a second camp – an expansive new tent city in Steenvoorde, complete with kitchen, bedding, lounge and washing, which emerged to counter the shut down of the ‘jungle camp’ by French authorities – reveals the city as a ‘site of the social’ where various claims to the city itself are made. An analysis of the politics surrounding the ‘jungle camp’ and the tent city in Steenvorde brings to light the ways in which the city operates not simply as a legal entity with fixed territorial boundaries, but as a ‘translocal’ site through which social relations are formed and acts of citizenship are made.

**Vézina, Valérie – valerie.vezina @ gmail.com**

*Re–reading Machiavelli. Danny Williams: A Strategic and Effective Leader.*

Centuries ago, Machiavelli, in *The Prince*, outlined different skills to be an effective leader. Too often considered in a bad sense, a re–reading of Machiavelli can be very insightful in evaluating political leaders. In leadership studies, Machiavelli's work is often associated with strategic leadership. Strategic leadership/thinking can be summarized as follow: "The art of outdoing an adversary, knowing the adversary is trying to do the same to you." (Dixit & Nalebuff, 1991: ix). Based mostly on Machiavelli's principles and the strategic leadership literature (Riker, 1986; Dixit & Nalebuff, 1991), in this presentation, I will argue that current Newfoundland and Labrador's Premier, Danny Williams, since he held office in 2003, has been a strategic leader. Machiavellian towards the federal government, he has earned the love of his followers in his own Province.

First, this presentation will briefly outline Machiavelli's principles and summarize the literature and arguments on strategic leadership. Then, some of the most important "strategic" moves (including the ordering down of the Canadian flags, the walking out of Hebron discussions with big–oil firms, the 'Anything but Conservative' strategy) made by Premier Danny Williams will be evaluated from a Machiavellian perspective. An evaluation of the effectiveness of Williams as a Machiavellian strategist will finally be made.

**Viguié, Sébastien – viguiersebastien @ yahoo.fr**

*The Internal Division of the Modern Individual*

This paper aims to examine the development of the concept of the individual and attempts to document the emergence of a psychology focusing on the motivations behind individual actions and choices and to demonstrate how this enterprise became one of the fundamental underpinnings of political liberalism.

Central to this study is a conceptual and historical exploration of the very notion of the individual. The conditions of emergence of the modern individual will be traced from the perspective of his release from a double determination, that is, nature (physis) and God's law. It will be shown that these two exterior foundations of individuality were effaced to produce a new, radical individual with exclusive relations only with himself: being his own end he came to be defined for himself beyond whom there was no final end. Providing a psychological analysis of this new self–constitution of the individual, I go on to demonstrate the internal division within the individual: a certainty in the uncertainty of what the individual is, and also a subjectivity.

How this individual then related to society and his political existence in the midst of a collectivity, which itself shapes the perception each individual has of himself, is the question raised and analysed by two thinkers, Rousseau and Benjamin Constant. I intend to discuss how such authors treated the response of the individual to political power, to the separation of the interiorly defined self from the state and society.

**Villagomez Velazquez, Yanga – yanga\_v @ yahoo.com**

*La territorialité et les ressources naturelles dans les revendications ethniques de la population indigène au Mexique*

Le territoire ne répond plus à la conception géographique classique, c'est-à-dire, un espace écologique fixe, délimité et contrôlé par une certaine souveraineté ou une manière institutionnelle d'appropriation, mais d'une portion de l'espace géographique individualisé par un tissu socio–culturel et des manières propres de production, d'échange et de

consommation, régi par des institutions formelles et non formelles et des modes d'organisation sociale et individuelles. Le local–régional, le territoire et ce qui est rural s'identifient dans une autre stratégie de développement, puisqu'il est nécessaire d'intégrer des espaces, acteurs sociaux, marchés et politiques publiques dans des territoires spécifiques socio–historiquement. L'État cesse d'être l'acteur essentiel et il se transforme en un des acteurs principaux qui coordonnent et facilitent les activités d'un plan de développement rural.

Pour cela l'identité culturelle ou « le regard vers l'intérieur », est une forteresse qui permet les alliances et les relations avec des acteurs publics et privés d'autres domaines territoriaux.

En ce sens, les défis auxquels font face les peuples indigènes sont les suivants : 1). – la vision occidentale ignore la vision culturelle que les indigènes ont des ressources naturelles 2). – les Communautés indigènes ne font pas partie de la politique environnementale et encore moins de la planification dans l'utilisation des ces ressources, 3). – l'organisation paysanne et indigène est en train de contruire des dispositifs sociaux pour gérer l'accès aux ressources qui risquent d'être privatisées actuellement.

**Vlassis, Antonios – vlassis.antonios @ gmail.com**

*La politique étrangère de la France au moment de la diversité culturelle: La "société civile internationale" en matière de culture, contrainte ou ressource pour l'action extérieure française ?*

Le 20 octobre 2005, l'adoption par l'UNESCO de la Convention sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles vise à reformuler les paramètres de l'enjeu sur la circulation des produits culturels au niveau mondial, à sécuriser le droit légitime des Etats de mettre en œuvre des politiques culturelles, ainsi qu'à reconnaître la spécificité des biens culturels.

D'une part, l'adoption de la Convention s'est considérée comme un des plus grands succès diplomatiques de la France dans la mesure où depuis une dizaine d'années, la diversité culturelle s'est inscrite dans les dossiers prioritaires de la politique étrangère française et de Jacques Chirac personnellement. Faisant partie intégrante d'une doctrine plus étendue, à savoir « l'humanisation de la mondialisation », la diversité culturelle paraît être un instrument politique afin d'atteindre des objectifs principaux de l'action extérieure de la France.

D'autre part, les milieux culturels français sont à l'origine de l'établissement d'un réseau transnational des ONG – de la Fédération internationale des Coalitions pour la diversité culturelle – qui travaille de manière intentionnelle sur l'enjeu et réussit à occuper « les parts de marché » de la cause de la diversité culturelle, en s'identifiant ainsi au représentant légitime de la société civile en matière de culture.

Dès lors, une grille de questions doit se dégager : Quel est l'impact de l'action des Coalitions sur les pratiques de la politique étrangère française ? Est–ce qu'ils entretiennent des relations concurrentielles, parallèles ou complémentaires et pourquoi ? Est–ce que les acteurs « hors souveraineté » se considèrent comme des contraintes ou des ressources politiques pour l'action extérieure de la France ? La distinction entre « monde stato–centré » et « monde multi–centré » dispose–t–elle encore d'une utilité analytique ?

**Voelsen, Daniel – daniel.voelsen @ fu–berlin.de**

*Promoting Democracy by Means of Foreign Occupation? On Legitimate and Illegitimate Goals of International Transitional Administrations*

In places like Bosnia, Kosovo or East Timor, international transitional administrations (ITAs) have been established in the wake of armed conflict. Beyond numerous practical challenges, ITAs raise fundamental normative questions: Is it ever morally justifiable to set up an ITA? And if so, what should be the goal of an ITA? A full–blown liberal democracy or just the absence of violent conflict? John Rawls touches upon these questions in his discussion of the duty of assistance, where he argues for a moral obligation to help "burdened societies" reach a certain level of decency. My paper takes this as a starting point and tries to specify in more detail what decency might mean in the context of ITAs. It presents ITAs as a tension between three basic human interests: autonomy, equal moral status, and freedom from harm. Based on this understanding, in a first step it argues that ITAs can be justifiable to secure freedom from harm as the prerequisite for autonomy and equal recognition. In a second step, it discusses whether this also mandates institutional change towards democracy. It argues that the basic interest in equal recognition and, to a certain degree, also the interest in autonomy legitimize the establishment of basic democratic institutions but, absent consent by the local population, cannot justify the whole range of liberal democratic institutions. In the final part of the paper, the implications for the practice of ITAs are illustrated by reference to the cases of Kosovo and Iraq.

**Wagner, Angelia – angeliawagner @ yahoo.ca**

*On Their Best Behaviour? Newspaper Journalists' Coverage of Women Council Candidates During the 2007 Alberta Municipal Election*

Do women in municipal politics encounter the same level of media bias as women in national politics? Do all types of newspapers exhibit a bias against women municipal politicians, if at all? These questions guided a study of how three daily and three community newspapers portrayed women council candidates during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. Using content and discourse analysis, the study compared how journalists reported on female and male candidates' personal traits such as age, appearance, family situation, gender, and emotions as well as their policy ideas and public utterances. Results from the study indicate that while local women politicians do face a subtle sexism, the media environment they encounter while campaigning is generally more gender–neutral and hospitable to them than the one awaiting women vying for elite national office. Thus, scholarly belief that the media can act as a psychological barrier to women's candidacy are largely unfounded at the municipal level. Women contemplating a bid for council should not be concerned that local journalists will obsess about their looks or otherwise overtly gender them before prospective voters.

**Waligore, Timothy – waligore @ queensu.ca**

*Non-Ideal Theory and Contexts of Historic Injustice*

I aim to adapt John Rawls' discussion of the "Law of Peoples" to argue for a "Law of World Citizens" that sees both peoples and individuals as being different types of citizens of the world, and as both being fundamentally important. I reject how liberal cosmopolitans defend normative individualism. At the same time, I agree with cosmopolitan critics who say there is a discontinuity between the normative individualism of Rawls' domestic theory and the respect he accords peoples in his international theory. I think that Rawls' discontinuous approach needs principles for specifying when and how a transition between the domestic and international contexts occurs, such that it is now appropriate to accord fundamental respect to only individuals, and not to peoples. John Rawls' theory of social justice constructs principles that are meant to hold only in the context of a closed, domestic society. Rawls should not deny reparations for transnational historical injustice without a theory about contextual change. Rawls constructs his theories of domestic and international justice without due attention to the context of a violent past history of interaction. Nor is this myopia limited to Rawls. Even Thomas Pogge, a self-identified cosmopolitan contextualist, claims that his theory has a cosmopolitan scope because it now encompasses all existing contexts on Earth. In my view, which I call historical relational contextualism, a truly cosmopolitan contextualist theory should consider not simply all present-day contexts. It should also consider at least a limited range of "nearby" past contexts, especially past contexts whose violent destruction or alteration led to our present world.

**Walters, William – wwalters @ ccs.carleton.ca**

*Foucault and the International: 'Governmentality' after the Lectures at the Collège de France*

The reception and influence of Foucault's thought on political analysis has been shaped by the vicissitudes of its translation. We have recently seen the publication in English of three series of lectures he delivered originally in the late 1970s at the Collège de France – Society must be Defended (2003), Security, Territory, Population (2007), and The Birth of Biopolitics (2008). This paper argues that a careful reading of these publications requires us to revise some common arguments often made about Foucault's relationship to international relations. These arguments include: (1) that Foucault is a theorist of the microphysics of power, a fact that confounds attempts to 'scale up' his approach to study international relations (2) that he theorizes the regulation of bodies and populations but largely neglects capitalist systems (3) that his fascination with liberal modes of governance overlooks the persistence and centrality of violence and domination within international life. The paper argues that these arguments should be revised in light of what we now know about the depth and extent of Foucault's thinking on 'governmentality'. While Foucault's thought certainly does not offer a finished 'theory' of international politics, it contains insights that can go some way to addressing the concerns of his IR critics. This point will be developed via a discussion of what Foucault calls 'political laboratories'. It will be argued that the idea of political laboratories has much to offer contemporary debates about securitization and the policing of mobile populations, while suggesting the limitations of criticism (1) above.

**Ward, Ann – Ann.Ward @ uregina.ca**

*Moral Strength and Moral Weakness in Aristotle*

Scholars typically believe that the avoidance of vice through the pursuit of virtue is comprehensive of Aristotle's virtue ethics. However, in book 7 of the Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle argues that the morally serious person needs to avoid three character traits: vice, moral weakness, and brutishness. While the opposite of vice is virtue, the opposite of moral weakness is moral strength, and of brutishness some form of divinity. In this paper I will explore Aristotle's analysis of moral strength and weakness, focusing on the phenomenon of moral weakness.

Moral strength is the possession of excessively base desires that are nevertheless resisted; the morally strong person knows the "good" and masters their desires accordingly. Moral strength therefore differs from virtue, as the virtuous person does not have the desires of the morally strong. The virtuous person can pursue rather than master their desires because those desires are "good" or moderate to begin with.

Like moral strength, moral weakness involves the experience of excessively base desires, but unlike the morally strong, the morally weak person gives in to these desires; the morally weak person knows the "good" but does what is "wrong." Moral weakness differs from vice, therefore, as the vicious person indulges in what is "wrong" without knowing it. Aristotle discusses two possible causes of moral weakness. The first is the overpowering of reason by desire characteristic in the young who lack the habituation to virtue. The second cause, I argue, is theoretical thinking or philosophy.

The relationship between philosophy and moral weakness, with which I will conclude my paper, and the denial of Socrates' famous dictum that "knowledge is virtue" that it implies, makes the condition of moral weakness an important subject of study in Aristotle's ethical theory.

**Ward, Lee - Lee.Ward @ uregina.ca**

*Spinoza on the Problem of Theocracy*

At a crucial point in the Theological-Political Treatise, immediately following the chapter devoted to explaining the foundations of the state, Benedict Spinoza turns to an in-depth examination of the "Hebrew state in the time of Moses". As is well known, these two chapters are significant because they represent Spinoza's most sustained treatment of what he calls "theocracy." What is less well understood, however, is the connection Spinoza draws between theocracy and democracy, the latter being by his own account the most "natural" regime, for as he insists: "The Hebrews did not transfer

their right to another person but rather all gave up their right equally, as in a democracy...It follows [therefore] that they all remained perfectly equal as a result of this agreement” (TPT chap 17, sec 9).

This paper will examine the relationship between theocracy and democracy in Spinoza’s Theological-Political Treatise. The paper will focus primarily upon illuminating the implications of Spinoza’s account of the egalitarian foundation of both of these regime types. In particular, the paper will consider the question of how Spinoza’s account of theocracy in the Mosaic Republic of the Bible helps us understand his assessment of the dangerous authoritarian potentialities associated with, or even intrinsic to, democracy. As such, the paper will also analyze what Spinoza’s account of theocracy adds to our understanding of his seminal treatment of political covenants and the limits and scope of sovereign power.

**Way, Laura – lway @ ualberta.ca**

*Dissent in Ralph’s Kingdom?: Exploring Oil Sands Discourses Found in Alberta Newspaper’s Op-ed Pages and Columns*

From the outside, Alberta politics are commonly perceived as homogenous. This is most often attributed to the electoral dominance of the Conservative Party at both the provincial and federal levels. Nowhere is this “homogeneity” more evident than in how Albertans and their government’s view oil and gas development, and the oil sands in particular. Even today, three letters, NEP, can be used by a columnist to stoke public sentiment against perceived government interference. However, this paper will challenge this perspective. It argues that a more nuanced view of Alberta conservatism and alternative viewpoints emerge when one examines the degree of diversity found within the portrayal of oilsands in three Alberta newspapers: the Fort McMurray Today, the Edmonton Journal, and the Calgary Herald. Each of these papers serves a community intricately linked to oilsands development — ground zero, the capital and service centre, and the head office respectively. During the study’s time period of October 1, 2005 to October 31, 2007, there were two public reviews about the future of oilsands development and a leadership race to replace Ralph Klein as leader of the Conservative party and Premier of Alberta. As such, the very nature of oilsands development was open for debate presenting the media a newsworthy topic. Unlike hard news stories, the data set used in this study (editorials, commentaries, and letters to the editor) is not as constrained by a “balanced” journalistic perspective as such they are often designed to communicate a sharp message to their readers.

**Wee, Leslie – leslieweelh @ gmail.com**

*Emile’s Anti-egalitarian Egalitarianism: The Limits of Emilian Compassion*

Emile is ostensibly the education of the democratic man. To this end, its eponymous hero is afforded a moral training in which compassion features prominently. But an examination of the nature of Emilian compassion reveals the inherent tension which puts it at variance with its purported end. This may be illustrated by Emile’s attitude towards his fellowmen, whether higher or lower than him in social station. Rich, he pities them for purchasing wealth at the expense of their felicity. Poor, he pities them for adding envy to their indigence. Rich or poor, they are slaves to the empire of opinion from which Emile is free.

It is this “pathos of distance,” to use a Nietzschean term, that enables Emile to identify with the suffering of his fellowmen, which suffering his education spares him and leaves him at liberty to respond with compassion. Indeed, the very success of his education, and by extension the continued existence of the putative democratic virtue of compassion, revolves around Emile’s difference from, if not superiority over, his fellowmen (notwithstanding Rousseau’s protestations to the contrary). Compassion is thus that virtue which channels Emile’s not inconsiderable superiority over others into benevolence and fellow feeling: hence his anti-egalitarian egalitarianism. By way of highlighting its paradoxes, this proposal seeks to outline how Emilian compassion is limited and limiting of the education of the democratic man.

**Weibust, Inger – Inger\_Weibust @ carleton.ca**

*Climate change policy in Canada and United States*

In recent years, the importance of the interplay between United States and Canadian climate change policy has increased greatly. First, the Canadian government explicitly states it will harmonize Canadian policy with that of the United States. Second, policy in some provinces and States is being influenced as much by their cross-border alliances (WCI, New England/Atlantic) as by federal-provincial/State policy making. Thirdly, some important players, such as the Alberta oil sands industry, appear to be influenced more by developments in United States policy than by Canadian. Questions addressed by the roundtable include: who are the most influential actors in climate change policy in each country and is there a difference between US and Canada? What is the impact of change in the executive branch on climate change policy? Did new diplomatic initiative or international negotiation have a determinant role to play in the development of domestic climate change policy? What evaluation can we make of the efforts accomplished so far in Canada and United States at the sub-federal or federal level? Why have States and provinces been relatively more active than federal governments so far? To what extent has policy, in Canada and United States, been influenced by the will to harmonize policy between the two countries (or between sub-federal jurisdictions)?

**Weinberg, Justin – jweinberg @ sc.edu**

*A Little Reality Is a Dangerous Thing*

How realistic should normative political philosophy be? Ideal theory, which makes use of some idealizing assumptions in the place of empirical information, has recently been subject to the “bad effects” criticism. This criticism holds that ideal theories, if advanced in our non-ideal circumstances, would have suboptimal or disastrous results. Some suggest that the bad effects criticism can be avoided by turning to non-ideal theory, which replaces some idealizing assumptions with empirical accounts of the kinds of people we are and institutions we have, and the kinds of possibilities open to us. In this

paper, I argue that this reason for turning to non-ideal theory is mistaken, since non-ideal theory is also subject to the bad effects criticism. This is because it risks preserving features of our lives and world whose badness we tend to overlook and whose existence we unwarrantedly assume as static—a claim supported by empirical research in social psychology, behavioral economics, and history. In short, incorporating a little reality into political philosophy may bring bad effects, and this is something we learn by bringing in even more reality. That the bad effects criticism applies to non-ideal theory teaches us about ideal theory. It provides both reinforcement for a traditional role for ideal theory and direction in conceiving of a new role for it. The success of ideal theory in these roles does not depend on avoiding bad effects. I discuss these roles, particularly the new one, which conceives ideal theory as a template for social experimentation.

**Weinstock, Daniel – danielweins @ gmail.com**

*Schools as Political Institutions*

In this paper I argue for a conception of the purpose of schools that attempts to focus schools around the needs of children rather than those of parents or of states. The argument is in three sections. First, I argue that schools should be thought of as political institutions, in the sense that the authority that is exercised there upon children stands in need of justification. I argue that the kind of justification that is morally most appropriate revolves around the hypothetical consent of children. I then argue that the two most prominent models of schooling, which I term "schools as extensions of parental dominion" and "schools for citizenship" prioritize the interests that adults have for children rather than the interests of children themselves. The first does this by viewing children primarily as vehicles of intergenerational cultural continuity, while the second views childhood as best construed as a way station toward full democratic citizenship. Both fail to satisfy the justificatory test laid out in the first section. Finally, I argue for a conception of schooling that gives a place to what I term the "intrinsic goods of childhood" as the most fully justified conception of the school.

**Wesley, Jared – wesley @ cc.umanitoba.ca**

*Slack in the System: Turnout and Proportionality in Canadian Provincial Elections, 1967–2009*

Discussions of disproportionality in Canadian elections typically focus on the distorting effects of the country's single-member plurality electoral system. The translation of votes into seats is only one element of this democratic deficit, however. As turnout continues its decline throughout much of Canada, significant legislative majorities are being built on the support of a shrinking proportions of the electorate. In the 2008 Alberta election, for instance, the governing party received 87.8 percent of the seats in the legislature on the strength of 52.7 percent of the popular vote. Taking the province's 40.6 percent turnout rate into account, however, the massive Conservative majority is based on the expressed support of just 21.4 percent of eligible voters. By staying home on Election Day, an increasing proportion of citizens — in Alberta and elsewhere — are creating "slack" in their respective jurisdictions. Drawing on data from all Canadian provincial elections since 1967, this study examines the multiplying effect of the turnout decline on the disproportionality of election outcomes. The paper compares these figures across provincial boundaries and over time, revealing a noticeable — but uneven — upward trend. Disparities and inconsistencies are explained using the tools of macro- and historical comparative analysis. The paper serves as a valuable source of data for students of electoral and provincial politics, and offers a novel examination of the relationship between turnout and disproportionality in Canadian elections.

**Wesley, Jared – wesley @ cc.umanitoba.ca**

*Selecting Selinger: The 2009 Leadership Race and the Future of NDP Conventions in Manitoba*

In a traditional, delegated convention held in October, 2009, the Manitoba New Democratic Party (NDP) selected former Finance Minister Greg Selinger to replace Canada's longest-serving and most popular premier, Gary Doer. Official appeals filed by the victor's chief rival, Steve Ashton, and persistent criticism of the process in the media raised significant concerns over the method by which the new premier was selected. These complaints proved a fleeting fixation of the media, and have not harmed the NDP's popularity or affected the smooth transition of the premiership from Doer to Selinger. Yet, questions persist as to whether the 2009 leadership race marked the last delegated convention in the history of the Manitoba New Democratic Party. This paper examines the 2009 leadership race in the context of contests past, analyzing the list of criticisms directed at the process. Grounding its findings in the comments of delegates to the 2009 Convention, it concludes with a series of probable choices for the party, as it begins the process of considering reforms to its leadership selection process. Leading contenders for adoption include a pure one-member, one-vote system and a modified version similar to that of the federal NDP.

**White, Stephen – steve.white @ utoronto.ca and Bilodeau, Antoine – abilodea @ alcor.concordia.ca**

*Political Integration of Canadian Immigrants in a Comparative Perspective*

Immigrants' political integration is a complicated process that involves both "culture shedding" and "culture learning" (Berry 1997). The evidence from Canada (Black 1987; Black et al. 1987; White et al. 2008) and such other traditional immigrant receiving countries as Australia and the United States (Finifter & Finifter 1989, McAllister and Makkai 1991, 1992, Arvizu & Garcia 1996, Wong 2000, Bilodeau 2008) indicates that immigrants "unlearn" some political outlooks and behaviours acquired in their previous cultural context, while adopting new outlooks and behaviours that reflect their new cultural context. However, the vast majority of scholarship on the political integration of immigrants focuses on single-country studies, particularly on Anglo-democracies with strong legacies of large waves of immigration. Using data from the 2002–2003 wave of the European Social Survey and the 2000–2006 Canadian Election Studies, this paper compares the political integration of immigrants in Canada to that of immigrants in over 20 European countries with diverse rates and sources of immigration. Focusing on a fundamental form of political participation, voter turnout, this paper examines

both the extent to which turnout levels among immigrants are similar to those of their native born counterparts in Canada and other countries, as well as the rate at which immigrant populations adopt similar turnout behaviour as they gain additional exposure to the new host country.

**Whitfield, Greg – gjwhitfield @ gmail.com**

*The Priority of Liberty: Political not Kantian*

Rawls viewed the priority of liberty over fair equality and the difference principle as an essential and distinctive element of justice as fairness. Critics, however, have not been kind to this claim, and in a powerful recent contribution to this line of criticism, Robert Taylor has argued that while Rawls's arguments support a strong presumption of priority for liberty, this priority does not amount to lexical priority. To sustain the stronger ordering Rawls needs, and is best read as adopting, a commitment to Kantian autonomy stronger than has generally been supposed. But Taylor's argument gives short shrift to the strains of commitment and concerns about stability, both critical elements of Rawls's view, and which, together, obviate the need for an appeal to Kantian autonomy which Taylor thinks essential to support the priority of liberty.

**Widdowson, Frances – fwiddowson @ mtroyal.ca and Howard, Albert – albehoward @ hotmail.com**

*Justifying the Unjustifiable? "Chosenness", Difference and Political Conflict*

In studies of nationalism, it has been noted that one deep source of collective identity, even predating the emergence of modern nation-states, is the idea of "chosenness" – that an ethnic group has been elected by God for a covenant or mission. This notion has played a role in the nationalist aspirations of ethnicities in many countries, including Thailand, Russia, South Africa, and especially, Israel. It also forms the basis of many aboriginal claims to national self-determination within the Canadian state. But what impact do assumptions of chosenness have on political conflict and the capacity for ethnic groups to reconcile their differences with one another? Can conceptions of chosenness co-exist alongside attempts to achieve equality between all peoples, enabling human dignity to be respected and peace and social justice to become a reality? By comparing and contrasting conceptions of chosenness, an attempt will be made to investigate these questions. The paper will examine whether accepting the idea of chosenness constitutes a legitimate recognition of difference or is actually an attempt to use religious mythology to mystify political goals that cannot be justified by rational argument.

**Wiebe, Sarah M. – swieb103 @ uottawa.ca**

*Bodies on Reserve: Harm and Heterotopia in Aamjiwnaang*

This paper explores the history of accumulation in a particular space:

the heterotopia, empirically located in the toxic Aamjiwnaang First Nations reserve, near Sarnia, Ontario. The heterotopia presents a juxtapositional, relational space, a site that represents incompatible spaces. This space – "reserved" – for Indigenaiety reveals a paradox, at once it is a place to "be" Indigenous, simultaneously, it is a place colonized by toxic environments. Surrounded by the highest concentration of chemical production in North America, the community has revealed a declining male birthrate, high autism, asthma and miscarriage rates, as well as other contested illnesses. For Aamjiwnaang, the blurring of environment/body is strikingly clear. In this environment, as the chemical alert sirens sound, individuals are encouraged to remain indoors, where home becomes at once sanctuary and prison. The irregular, exceptional "accident" – the chemical leak or spill – is normalized. This paper asks what accounts for the lack of recognition for this chaotic corporeality in such a harmful environment. In response, this paper employs a heterotopology, an examination of the relationship between heterotopia and "natural" political space, through an examination of the six features of Foucault's "heterotopia", many of which resonate with Aamjiwnaang and the place of a toxic reserve.

**Wiebe, Sarah – swieb103 @ uottawa.ca and Mutlu, Can E. – cmutil074 @ uottawa.ca**

*A "Toxic Wonderland": Jurisdictions, Scales, Reserves*

Overlapping social injustices construct a space – the reserve – that resembles an inverted rabbit hole. Reserves represent a site of contested discourses of land, territory, and environments. This paradoxical place permits Aboriginal identity while simultaneously pushing that identity into what we call a "toxic wonderland" – both in terms of the colonial legacy – and the literal toxicity stemming from industrial production in nearby urban centers. At the intersection of Canadian public policy, Aboriginal politics and political theory, our paper explores the nature of multi-level governance in Canada by focusing on overlapping jurisdictions and the placement of the reserve as it relates to the privileged scales of Canadian politics: federal, provincial, regional and urban. Rather than asking questions about where sovereignty "is" or "should be", we examine how effects of sovereign scales construct the space of the reserve as a "toxic wonderland". To situate the analysis, we discuss the history and social topography of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation reserve, located near Sarnia, Ontario and surrounded by Canada's "Chemical Valley". This paper begins with a discussion of multi-level governance in the Canadian context. We then introduce interstitiality, social topography and critical territoriality. Drawing on the case of the Aamjiwnaang reserve, we problematize the discourses of multi-level governance to critique the fixity of scalar analyses. To conclude, we present an alternative conception of multi-level governance and politics of scale by using Foucault's concept of heterotopia.

**Wiens, David – wiens @ umich.edu**

*Testing Design Hypotheses: Using Formal Models to Test Institutional Design Proposals*

Each nonideal institutional design proposal is a hypothesis that the proposed institution, if implemented, will effectively bring about the intended improvement under a particular specification of the actual state of affairs. Given the stakes, we

can't accept such hypotheses blindly. Thus, as hypotheses, design proposals are answerable to a testing requirement: design proposals must be tested for potential weaknesses.

Philosophers have typically ignored this testing requirement. When they have tried to meet it, they have typically relied on intuitions about counterfactual scenarios. But intuition can be informed by an unjustified optimism (or pessimism), making it a poor guide here.

A shortage of useful tools for analyzing counterfactual scenarios makes meeting the testing requirement difficult. In this paper, I argue that formal game theoretic models provide a useful tool for testing design proposals. Formal modelling has two key advantages. First, it forces us to be explicit about our assumptions about the conditions under which the proposed institution is designed to operate. Second, it brings clarity to our analysis of the strategic logic required to make a design proposal work effectively. These advantages permit us to examine the joint logical implications of a set of premises about the strategic interactions from which institutions arise. This constitutes a useful test.

To illustrate this use of models, I test two well-known design proposals in the global justice literature: Pogge's (2002) proposal to overcome the negative effects of the 'international borrowing privilege' and Wenar's (2008) 'trust and tariff' proposal to overcome the resource curse.

### **Williams, Paul – stand @ worldchat.com**

*1990–2009: What Have We Learned?*

Twenty years after the collapse of negotiations between the Haudenosaunee (the Iroquois Confederacy) and the governments of Canada and Québec, most of the matters identified as the causes of the "crisis" remain unresolved. The agreement that was nearly achieved in those negotiations would have addressed these matters, or at least created processes to address them. Instead, most significant Haudenosaunee land issues remain unresolved, and all three governments probably lack the will and the mechanisms to address them pragmatically. Haudenosaunee communities lack viable, sustainable, culturally appropriate economies, and the tobacco-based enterprises that have grown during the past twenty years provide a certainty of confrontation. Despite the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Canada has avoided repairing its relationship with traditional indigenous governments, its most likely partners. Questions of law and order – whose law, and the nature of order – remain unresolved. Meanwhile, Canadian courts have recognized that there are procedural as well as substantive treaty rights and relations: these decisions may show a path toward a badly-needed reconciliation. However, the idea of "reconciliation" has interpreted by Canada mainly as reflecting a need for indigenous nations to reconcile themselves to political assimilation by Canada. In its place, the three steps of the Covenant Chain – respect, trust and friendship – ought to form the basis of a renewed effort.

### **Williams, Russell – russellw @ mun.ca**

*Canadian Financial Services Regulatory Responses to the 2008 Financial Crisis*

In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, much attention was devoted to why banks in some jurisdictions (Canada and Spain for example) weathered the crisis more successfully than those in other jurisdictions. Most analyses of global financial services regulation focus on the role of global governance arrangements in setting regulatory standards for banks and other kinds of financial institutions – such as Basel I and II and the work of the Financial Stability Forum. These global institutions are intended to harmonize regulations and ensure minimum regulatory standards for banks. However, the financial crisis illustrated significant variations in national banking regulations. Explaining these differences requires a shift in focus from theories of global governance to the study of domestic policy subsystems. This paper will illustrate the value of contemporary public policy approaches in explaining differences in how states' adapt to the globalization of the financial services industry through an examination of Canadian regulatory responses to the financial crisis. Canadian authorities have responded with an array of confusing and somewhat contradictory initiatives. In some areas, regulation, and capacity to enforce regulations, have been strengthened (Williams 2009), while in others little serious effort has been made to close existing gaps. The complexity of the Canadian policy response is driven by the existing institutional relationships and policy demands of the Canadian financial services policy subsystem.

Williams, Russell Alan (2009). "Exogenous Shocks in Subsystem Adjustment and Policy Change: The Credit Crunch and Canadian Banking Regulation," *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol 29. Issue 1.

### **Williams, Zachary – zchancew @ ucla.edu**

*The Violent Limits of Discourse Ethics*

Habermas's discourse ethics attempt to ground political progress in an ideal practice of communication. Recent critiques attack his increasingly constrained conception of consensus and its connection to social progress. My paper explores the limits discourse ethics faces through its difficulty accounting for transitions in and out of discourse and its negligence of the structural violence invoked by a deliberative and discursive politics – a problem also present with some critics of Habermas, such as Chantal Mouffe.

Critical attacks on Habermas which try to move from a supposedly unitary conception of society in his theory to a more pluralist account miss the open character of Habermas's philosophical project in discourse ethics while often leaving untouched the problems even a pluralist, agonistic account faces in defining the limits of liberal toleration. This difficulty rests on a tension between truth and action, between the establishment of a criterion for decision via a truth procedure such as deliberative consensus and actual engagement in political projects.

Without a necessary connection to progress in claims of moral truth, and without an ability to mediate movement in and out of discursive practice, Habermas's theory potentially re-inscribes the sort of coercion it hoped to escape. The practice of discourse emerges as a means of sublimating violence and deferring political action, without the ability to

guarantee a pacific progressus anchored in a politics oriented towards consensus. The ideal theorization papers over a non-ideal reality without an ability to guarantee any spillover from the enactment of an idealized communicative practice.

**Wilner, Alexandre – wilner @ sipo.gess.ethz.ch**

*From Rehabilitation to Recruitment: Canadian Prison Radicalization and Islamist Terrorism*

Convicted terrorists are heading to Canadian prisons. Lessons from the United States, Europe, and Australia – where levels of terrorist-related incarcerations are significantly higher – suggest there are concomitant problems with imprisoning dedicated, homegrown, Islamist terrorists: the radicalization and recruitment of members of the general prison population. Prisons are filled with young and often dangerous individuals who have a predisposition for violent anti-social behaviour. Some inmates consider themselves victims of society and may be especially susceptible to ideologies that espouse retaliation and retribution. And the prison system itself incubates gang identification. Already, Crown prosecutors have revealed that one Toronto 18 member, Ali Mohamed Dirie, “took an active role in recruiting other inmates to adopt extreme jihadi beliefs” while under remand. This paper traces the emerging phenomena of prison radicalization, terrorist recruitment, and homegrown terrorism in Canada. It does so by first offering a comparative assessment of international trends and showcasing high profile cases of Islamist recruitment in prison. The paper then relates prison radicalization to the broader processes of Western jihadi radicalization and illustrates how the prison variant diverges from general trends identified in the literature. A multifaceted strategy for impeding prison radicalization in Canada is then proposed, combining elements of restriction (denying radical diffusion), isolation (identifying and separating at-risk populations), intelligence-gathering (training prison staff and establishing security liaisons), and deradicalization (pacifying and reintegrating inmates into society).

**Wilton, Shauna – swilton @ ualberta.ca and Polkinghorne, Sarah – Sarah.Polkinghorne @ ualberta.ca**

*Research is a Verb: Building Skills in an Undergraduate Methods Course*

In a recent Inside Higher Ed article entitled “The Kids Are Alright” (2009), Lewandowski and Strohmetz argue that while many professors complain about students, and particularly their research, writing, and critical thinking skills, these complaints are nothing new. In fact, they suggest that the responsibility to address them lies with professors as much as with students. This paper outlines one potential solution: a new activity-based, discipline-specific undergraduate research methods course. This paper describes the design and implementation of this course, Political Studies 200, taught for the first time in 2009. The course was originally designed to address the feeling, articulated above, that students did not possess the abilities expected of them during their degrees, including research design skills, awareness of common political science methods, and critical thinking and information literacy skills. This paper also presents preliminary results from the researchers’ multi-faceted examination of the course’s effectiveness, which has included course materials analysis, student and instructor reflections, skills resumes, and follow-up interviews. By gathering and analyzing a variety of data types, the researchers explore the course as a complex event that can and should be evaluated on numerous bases. This research is interesting to participants at this conference because of its potential to inform our understanding of possible pedagogical approaches to the development of research and information literacy skills among undergraduate students.

**Winstanley, Katharine – winstakl @ mcmaster.ca**

*Sport, (Middle)Power and Prestige: The Olympics and Canadian Identity*

The Olympics in Vancouver represent an opportunity for Canada to showcase itself at the global level. Canadian athletes will be cast under a spotlight, and their victories and losses will be correlated with the success of the Games and the health and vitality of the Canadian nation. From this point of view, sporting events are significant sites of international politics as they allow us to explore the everyday negotiations of various social codes upon which the ‘international’ is imagined. This paper examines the ways in which Canadian identity is constructed and (re)imagined at the Olympics. Importantly, this analysis critiques the realist emphasis on the struggle for power by examining the importance of prestige. I argue that, in the absence of the kinds of political power games which typified the Cold War, prestige becomes the elusive marker which states strive for, and sport is one of the many ways through which prestige is garnered. Moreover, perception matters in international relations, and sport is a conduit for the ways in which these perceptions are manifested in what is considered to be the international political realm. In consideration of this, the paper examines how hosting the Olympics for the third time plays into Canadian notions of international prestige by promoting Canada as a site of fair play and equality, while also advocating for the inclusion of sport as a variable worthy of consideration in the study of international politics.

**Winston, Carla – carlawinston @ gmail.com**

*Non-Profit Product Placement: can Activism be "Sold"?*

There is a growing trend among non-profit and non-governmental organizations to spread their name and message using some of the traditional tools of for-profit marketing, including “product placement” in popular (i.e. Hollywood) entertainment venues. This trend falls into two main categories: marketing the organization itself, and public education on specific issues. A “product placement” from an NGO may try to accomplish either goal, or both. But does it work? Under what conditions might this strategic marketing tactic best accomplish its various goals, and how might an organization measure success?

This research project will focus on one organization in particular, Amnesty International. With a history in Hollywood spanning over a decade, and prominent “placements” in several types of entertainment and in both the “organizational outreach” and “issue education” formats, Amnesty has had time to explore this new territory, experiment with forms and types of placement, and begin to evaluate its effectiveness. Using interviews with current and former Amnesty staff and

archival research to build a dataset of cases, elaborate procedural questions and refine expected results, this project will analyze the effectiveness of various types of "product placement" upon organizational outreach and citizen issue awareness. Results will be identified through increased hits on Amnesty's website or on higher web-search traffic on the specific issues in question, as well as (possible) increases in membership or donations, either for the organization or the cause itself. Finally, the implications of these results for generating new participation in transnational activist networks will be discussed.

**Wiseman, Nelson – nelson @ chass.utoronto.ca**

*American Influences in Alberta Politics*

This paper asks: Why have American influences been more pivotal in shaping Alberta's political landscape than in any other province? Alberta came to resemble the classical liberal society Tocqueville described in *Democracy in America*: high status accorded the self-made man, not the family man, an economic order defined by laissez-faire, and a multiplicity of churches and sects competing in the market for salvation. This paper traces back Albertans' predilections for rugged individualism, market capitalism, egalitarianism in the sense of equality of opportunity, and fierce hostility toward centralized federalism and socialism to the province's charter group of American immigrants. The method of analysis applies the Hartz-Horowitz theory of ideological fragmentation in new societies. It analyzes Alberta's partiality for classical liberalism and the relative weakness of Toryism and socialism in the provincial political culture. The paper will draw on political demography and point to ideological and cultural affinities between Alberta and western American states. It will examine Alberta's political economy and its government's policies in the oil and gas, electricity, and liquor distribution industries and point to its postures on issues such as Senate reform, the principle of provincial equality, and same-sex marriage. The analysis is located within and builds on my wider research interests in comparative provincial political cultures.

**Wlezien, Christopher – wlezien @ temple.edu and Soroka, Stuart – stuart.sorola @ mcgill.ca**

*Federalism and Public Responsiveness*

A principal function of representative democracy is to provide a mechanism through which public opinion and public policy are reliably and regularly connected. On the one hand there should be policy representation: public preferences for policy should be reflected in policy itself. On the other hand there should be public responsiveness: public preferences should be informed, and should react to public policy.

Much work on federalism focuses on the former — on the ways in which multiple levels of government might enhance policy representation, by institutionalizing the representation of minorities, for instance, or by allowing for greater degree of regional policy variation. But the critical incentive for policymakers to represent is an attentive, monitoring public. Put simply, representation in policy is more likely where the public notices policy change. By increasing the number of different governments making policy, federalism may make less clear what 'government' is doing; the 'policy signal' which the public receives may be confused. Federalism may thus pose a serious problem for public responsiveness — and representative democracy — across all levels of government.

The proposed paper explores this issue, drawing on time-series data of public spending and public opinion across a range of domestic policy domains in Canada. The extent of federalism, as well as the nature of fiscal federal regimes, varies considerably across policy domains in these countries, and this variance is used here to examine the relationship between federalism and public responsiveness — specifically, the varying capacity of citizens to monitor and respond to policy change. Results suggest that federalism may pose serious challenges for the strength of public responsiveness and policy representation.

**Wolfe, Robert – robert.wolfe @ queensu.ca**

*Did the Protectionist Dog Bark? Endogenous Learning in WTO Crisis Monitoring*

When the Great Recession began in the fall of 2008, many observers feared an outbreak of protectionism, but after a year it had not appeared. Enhanced monitoring and surveillance of emergency measures was central to the international effort to mitigate the effects of the crisis. Did it help? Transparency, one of the fundamental norms of the trading system, is increasingly seen as an essential tool in the governance of international trade. This paper extends a new analytic framework for thinking about World Trade Organization (WTO) transparency provisions in an examination of efforts to monitor and constrain protectionist responses to the crisis. It will be a critical examination of the reports prepared by the academics who collaborated as "Global Trade Alert" with the reports prepared by the WTO secretariat, sometimes in collaboration with other international organizations. The first expectation is that the academic exercise will have added little to the data collected by international organizations either as a tool for analysis or as an influence on governments. The second expectation is that we will see an increase in the notifications of trade policy measures by Members to the WTO secretariat. The theoretical contribution will be in looking for evidence of endogenous learning or the evolution of consensual understanding among Members of how particular trade measures ought to be interpreted. The policy implication will be in ideas for strengthening regular WTO transparency and surveillance mechanisms.

**Wolfgram, Mark – mark.wolfgram @ okstate.edu**

*The Memory-Market Dictum: Gauging the Inherent Bias in Different Data Sources Common in Collective Memory Studies*

Scholars should view collective memory formation as a social process in which individuals encounter bits and pieces of the past as represented in different social artifacts. These artifacts may be a social practice, such as the telling and retelling of epic poetry, or a physical artifact such as a drawing, painting, photograph or film. The individual interprets

these artifacts in a social setting and thereby comes to generate meanings and understandings about the past, which are then shared and exchanged with others.

To present, scholars have drawn upon many different social artifacts in pursuing their studies of the collective memory process, but often without much systematic critical reflection on what biases might be imbedded in these different social artifacts. Collective memory scholars have drawn upon both social practices such as oral history, theater, elite discourse, narratives within families and social movement protests, as well as physical artifacts such as historiography, literature, paintings, photographs, films, monuments, names of streets, maps, and buildings.

In this paper, I will further develop what I have called the “memory–market dictum.” The dictum suggests that the more “capital,” which can take many different forms in terms of time, money or ideology, a given practice or artifact requires the more likely this artifact will conform with given social norms of interpreting the past. Through reflection on my own work and a survey of others, I will help collective memory scholars think critically about the choices they are making regarding their data sources.

**Yenkey, Koffi – kyenk059 @ uottawa.ca**

*L'architecture institutionnelle de l'Accord nord–américain de coopération dans le domaine de l'environnement (ANACDE) et l'efficacité du régime environnemental nord–américain*

La participation des citoyens est considérée par certains auteurs comme l'un des facteurs pouvant rendre plus efficace la gouvernance de l'environnement. Jørgen Wettestad (2001;1999) faisait d'ailleurs de la participation citoyenne l'un des six facteurs clés du design des régimes internationaux efficaces portant sur l'environnement. L'Accord nord–américain de coopération dans le domaine de l'environnement (ANACDE) qui réunit le Canada, le Mexique et les États–Unis a été le tout premier accord international dans le domaine de l'environnement à avoir institutionnalisé la participation des citoyens au processus de prise de décision.

Pourtant, quinze ans après la signature de cet accord et la création de la Commission de coopération environnementale (CCE, un consensus semble se dégager au sein du milieu académique et surtout des citoyens que le régime environnemental nord–américain présente des signes d'inefficacité.

Comment expliquer l'inefficacité de la Commission de coopération environnementale (CCE) malgré son ouverture à la participation citoyenne ? Quel rôle joue l'architecture institutionnelle dans l'inefficacité de la CCE ?

Nous avançons l'idée selon laquelle l'architecture institutionnelle adoptée lors de la signature de l'ANACDE est l'un des facteurs pouvant nous aider à comprendre les succès ou défaillance de la CCE. En effet, c'est aux ministres de l'environnement des trois États qu'il revient de statuer sur l'issue des plaintes de citoyens, le rendant ainsi juge et partie. Le recours à une étude de cas s'appuyant sur des interviews (États et ONG) et l'analyse de documents pertinents permettra de souligner l'importance des acteurs non étatiques dans la théorie néo–institutionnaliste.

**Zekulin, Michael – mzekulin @ ucalgary.ca**

*Post–9/11 Models of Terrorism: A Comparative Study*

Are recent terror attacks against Western democratic states a new variant of terrorism which has not previously be seen, identified, or analyzed? Is the contemporary terrorism literature accurately representing terrorism which is unfolding around the globe? What might it reveal about terrorism's ability to continuously evolve, transform and “mutate”?

In an effort to address these questions I survey the contemporary terrorism literature to create a conceptualization of terrorism, identifying key elements or factors that are said to be important in facilitating a terror attack. Selecting terrorist groups across different times, ideologies, and geographic locations and examining them in–depth, I hypothesize that common elements will present themselves which transcend the differences among the groups. These common elements represent a conceptualization of “traditional terrorism.” Preliminary research has identified several key elements: leadership, organizational structure, group dynamic and socialization, which dominate contemporary discussions about terrorist groups and organizations.

This paper applies the traditional conceptualization as a testable model and examines newer case studies which have arisen in the past five years. Specifically, do the 2004 Madrid attack, the 2007 London attack, the disrupted 2006 “Toronto 18” and 2005 Melbourne plot share any of these elements? Examining these new cases and identifying the absence or presence of these elements will help determine whether contemporary terrorism literature remains relevant and applicable today. I argue that there is an emerging gap between the applicability of the contemporary terrorism literature and the reality which is currently unfolding in the field of global terrorism

**Zolkos–Kavalski, Magdalena – m.zolkos @ uws.edu.au**

*The Subject of Political Apology and the Freudian 'Undoing'*

Critical theory has traditionally viewed the political project of reconciliation as the coming to terms with historical injustice and harm with a degree of distrust. This was, partly, because of the disciplinary techné developed by reconciliatory discourse and institutions, and extended towards its subjects, as well as because of its founding eschatological mythologies. Wendy Brown, among others, has critiqued its implied linear, progressive and teleological temporal hegemony, and has argued instead for “spatializing” history. Taking as its starting–point the event of apology as symptomatic of (though nor reducible to) the contemporary engagements with “the past,” this paper explores critical possibilities and limits of “spatializing” history, by focusing on the literary and philosophical work of the psychoanalytic trauma theory. In particular, it traces alternative ideas of time and temporality of “undoing” (the Freudian *Ungeschehenmachen*) in the Holocaust–related apologies in Europe, and of living with/in the past, in the literary texts by Imre Kertész, Anne Michaels and Ida Fink.

**Zorbas, Jason – jason.zorbas @ usask.ca**

*A Red Tory in Foreign Affairs: Analyzing John Diefenbaker's Foreign Policies from an Ideological Perspective*

Shortly after he lost the 1963 election, Diefenbaker was declared a “Red Tory” by Gad Horowitz while his defeat was lamented by George Grant, and in the process a Canadian ideological variant of conservatism was born (or perhaps more correctly, identified). This paper examines Diefenbaker's foreign policies from this particular ideological perspective and argues that they demonstrated a remarkable consistency when viewed through this lens. From his attempt to create more autonomy for Canada in foreign affairs, to his rejection of unqualified support for US policies and his embrace of the Commonwealth and Great Britain, Diefenbaker was, to borrow from H. Basil Robinson, a Red Tory in Foreign Affairs.

**Zyla, Benjamin – ben.zyla @ gmail.com**

*In-between European 'Paradise' and American 'Power'? Canada's Security Culture in the Transatlantic Alliance after 9/11*

Where is Canada located in the transatlantic alliance? Strategically speaking, is it closer to the Europeans or to the United States?

Based on constructivist scholarship on security cultures, the article compares the security strategies of the United States, the European Union, and Canada. It identifies Canada's strategic location in Robert Kagan's “Mars and Venus world.” The hypothesis of the paper is that Canada is the “earthlings” – sharing elements of the American as well as European security cultures. More specifically, Canada's national security policies, which are defined as collective predispositions towards fundamental questions of national security, are driven by short-term 'realism' and long-term idealism. Canadian 'realism' derives from an understanding that Canada could not become a 'strategic liability' to the United States. In the post-9/11 world it is forced to address American insecurity by increasing its share in the defence of the North American homeland. Long-term 'idealism', however, can be found in Ottawa's normative convergence with the EU in terms of sharing a strong commitment to international institutions, the principles of multilateralism, democracy, and the rule of law. Unilateralism à la America has no place in Canadian and European security cultures.