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The Coal Industry and Electricity Policy in Ontario and Alberta

In an attempt to tackle climate change governments have looked to their energy policies and portfolios to help mitigate carbon. Current efforts by Canadian provinces to shift electricity policy toward renewable sources can be expected to encounter political resistance from fossil fuel industries. We look at two Canadian provinces with very dissimilar electricity policies: Ontario and Alberta. Ontario has chosen to eliminate coal-fired electricity generation and invest heavily in renewables, supported by subsidies in the form of a Feed-in-Tariff. Alberta, on the other hand, has stayed its policy course and continues to rely on coal for a majority of its electricity needs. This paper examines the extent and means by which the coal industry has worked to influence policy in Alberta and Ontario. We investigate to what degree industry political action explains the two contrasting policy directions. Using qualitative methodology, we draw on literature on agenda setting and public policy development, as well as the role of business in environmental politics, to contribute to understanding of industry lobbying (among other factors) as an explanation for the progression of Canadian climate change policy. To date, there has been almost no scholarly study of the political activities of the coal industry on Canadian climate policy and this paper is intended to help fill that gap. The paper will draw on research currently being done by the authors on distributive impacts of Canadian climate change policy.

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Military Prerogatives, Authoritarianism and the Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

This paper explores the prospects for democratic consolidation in Nigeria after more than a decade of civilian rule. The past decade in the country has witnessed an apparent increase in cases of authoritarianism directed by the political elites in Nigeria, who have justified their actions based on the rise of domestic ethno-religious terrorist groups, wide-spread kidnapping, sectarian violence and the general struggle between the haves and have-nots in the country. Part of the analysis of this paper is based on the author's field research in Nigeria during the first half of 2011, during which he interviewed serving and retired Nigerian military officers, and also analyzed media reports on the military over the past decade, utilizing national archival collections. The paper explores the degree to which extensive military prerogatives accorded to the Nigerian military after their handover of power in 1999 have further helped to strengthen authoritarian tendencies in the period following formal military dictatorship, and argues that a thorough democratic consolidation requires effective civilian oversight. It examines the degree to which such oversight has been legislated and implemented, and the possibility that shortcomings in this area explain the apparent recurrent and rising incidence of authoritarianism in Nigeria today.

Agocs, Carol (cagocs@uwo.ca)

Representative Bureaucracy? Employment Equity in the Public Service of Canada

It has been argued that a representative bureaucracy is an essential component of governance in a diverse society, and that it is the responsibility of government to be a model employer that exemplifies progressive human resource management practices. Canada's employment equity policy has been in force in the federal sector for a quarter century. Has employment equity delivered on its potential to create a representative bureaucracy in the public service of Canada? An overview of the Canadian experience with employment equity in the federal public service reveals some advances for women, visible minorities, Aboriginal people and persons with disabilities. Yet patterns of under-representation and inequality persist for each of the equity groups, notably for visible minorities, and the Government of Canada has yet to truly become a model employer. Canada's labour market is increasingly diverse, suggesting the possibility of a more diverse public service as turnover takes place. Yet a political commitment to lean government, driven by neo-liberal ideology and restrained economic growth, is hindering the potential of employment equity policy to deliver a federal bureaucracy that is representative of the diversity of Canadian society.

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Visualizing the Limits of Finance

The sub-prime financial crisis in 2008 and the more recent Eurozone crisis raise urgent political questions relating to the future of global financial governance. Similarly, the recent forms of political action inspired by 'Occupy Wall Street' have targeted the practices of financialization and those who benefit most from those practices. Taken together, these recent episodes provoke questions regarding the very meaning and reach of 'finance'. Most forcefully, they provoke questions about the very 'ends' of finance: Where are the borders of finance? Given the expansive reach of financial innovation over the past two decades (witnessed, for example, in the securitization of mortgages designed for 'sub-prime' clients) are there any serious limits to the kinds of practices that can be converted into financial objects? This paper explores these questions by reviewing a cluster of public-art responses to the 2008 financial crisis mounted by artists critical of the expansive logic of financial abstraction. This paper,

partly based on interviews with artists, interprets these art engagements as interventions designed, following Foucault, to recover the forms of 'subjugated knowledges' that were expunged over the course of the twentieth century as finance became recast as a rational, scientific and, by extension, legitimate pursuit. If limits are to be (re)imposed on finance, I conclude, we need critical strategies which can reclaim those subjugated knowledges and which can, by extension, question the self-image of finance as a rational domain. These are strategies which can interrupt the technocratic discourses which dominate the contemporary cultures of finance; strategies which, in the words of one artist, evoke 'plausible states of uncertainty' about our faith in financial abstraction.

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The Effects of Cameras in the House

Title of Panel: Politics Inside the Legislature with Sylvia Kim (presenter), Craig Ruttan (presenter), Patrick DeRochie (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Graham White (discussant) It is claimed quite widely that cameras in the legislature have changed the nature of political debate, and it is generally agreed that such change is for the worse. Politicians are focused more on playing to the cameras than on contributing meaningfully to the debate; theatrics have superseded substance. Such claims, however, are often the stuff of observation or anecdote, rather than sophisticated empiricism. This paper is an attempt to subject the effect of cameras on political discourse to empirical rigour by conducting a content analysis of Question Period sessions in the Ontario Legislature, using Hansard transcripts. Drawing from a content analytic dictionary of emotional keywords, this study will attempt to track the level of theatricality in Question Period, comparing the periods before and after the introduction of cameras into the legislature, and explain what such patterns mean for substantive and constructive debate. The content analysis will be supplemented with a review of the scholarly literature on the effect of cameras on political discourse, as well as interviews with prominent figures at Queen's Park, from politicians to journalists. The content analysis may draw a distinction between how cameras are perceived (by scholars, journalists, and politicians), and their actual quantifiable effects.

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Early Childhood Education and Care "Clearly not a 'Woman's/Mother's Issue': Assessing the Coverage of ECEC in Canadian Newspapers during the 2004 and 2006 Federal Elections

We begin with the premise, like Minic (2008, 302), that as a central public forum, mass communication systems, like newspapers, help shape and precondition political rights and attitudes, since they help manage public access to information and political debate. In this paper we content analyze competing assessments of and approaches to child care policy debates--different ideological perspectives--in Canada as filtered through two Canadian newspapers--National Post and Toronto Star--during two federal election campaigns in 2004 and 2006. We assess which paper, if any, makes women's interests and concerns a central priority (and how) when writing about child care during the two election campaigns. We explore and compare implicit and explicit assumptions about women, gender roles and families presented in newspaper stories about childcare in two Canadian newspapers during two key federal elections. We believe that the journalistic and ideological lens through which Canadians receive news and information is interesting and important to assess.

Allen, Nathan (nallen@interchange.ubc.ca)

Candidates, Clientelism, and Credible Commitments in Indonesian Elections

How does patronage affect voting behaviour? Studies of Indonesian electoral behaviour typically focus on socio-economic background and leadership preferences. While these factors remain significant, they miss the importance of on-the-ground campaigns, which are both increasingly costly and candidate-centered. This study highlights the central role that clientelistic exchange plays in the Indonesian elections. I argue that voters respond not simply to direct gift giving but the promise of future gifts. When aspiring politicians can credibly commit to supplying favours after the election, voters are more likely to support an individual legislative candidate; when voters do not expect post-election favours, they tend to discount candidate appeals and focus on party-level factors. I demonstrate the argument through an examination of campaigns and electoral results. To measure the strength of clientelistic exchanges, I analyze cross-district variation in the rate of candidate preference voting. Since 2004, Indonesian voters have been provided the opportunity to cast a preference vote for a candidate on a party's list and the level of preference voting varied widely across districts. I link variation in preference voting to the relative size of the local bureaucracy. The credible promise of post-election patronage creates incentives for both voters and candidates to form lasting relationships. I go on to suggest that strong clientelistic dynamics tend to benefit minor parties.

Amani, Aslan (a.amani@lse.ac.uk)

A Critical Response to James Tully's Democratic Multiculturalism

In their work on multiculturalism political philosophers such as James Tully, Iris Young and Charles Taylor claim to identify important democratic challenges to the existing political arrangements. This paper takes up one such challenge that claims to speak from a democratic perspective - James Tully's self-government challenge. In his

Strange Multiplicity, as well as his more recent Public Philosophy in a New Key, Tully criticizes modern constitutionalism for representing an imperialistic yoke over diverse citizens' aspirations for self-rule. The paper begins by explaining why Tully thinks this challenge is distinctively democratic. It goes on to claim that the self-rule challenge, similar to the complementary challenges made by Taylor (recognition) and Young (inclusion), runs into important obstacles concerning the theory and practice of democracy. Particular attention is paid to two aspects of Tully's argument - the peculiar notion of consent at work in Tully's self-government challenge, and social ontology of groups that this seems to presuppose. I determine the degree to which these clash with normative underpinnings of minimalist democracy. If Tully's challenge is to stay true to his democratic commitments, it needs to reconcile itself with certain universalizing characteristics of normative democratic theory, including a minimal level of democratic equality and individualism, since the democratic credentials of Tully's argument depend on complex considerations surrounding democratic exercise of self-rule, at least as much as they depend on the critique of modern constitutionalism's colonialist dispositions.

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Doing God's Work: Locke on War and Taxes

Panel title - War: Ancient and Modern with Leon Craig (presenter), Barry Cooper (presenter) and Leah Bradshaw (discussant). While scholars have rightly criticized the traditional view that Locke held the state of nature to be pacific, as distinct from the Machiavellian and Hobbesian state of war, insufficient attention has been given to Locke's support for the bloody wars consequent upon the Bloodless Revolution, and the means Locke proposed to finance wars against the Catholic opponents of the Glorious or Bloodless Revolution. Locke's proposals to finance these wars offers new light on the ambiguous relationship between taxation and representation in *The Second Discourse on Government*.

Andrews, Nathan (andrews5@ualberta.ca)

The Big Bang Theories of International Relations (IR): Who Said What, When, How, and What's Missing

International Relations (IR) as a distinct field of study is assumed to have been born in 1919 at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth with the foundation of David Davies as the Woodrow Wilson Chair. Another prominent characteristic of this field of study is the so-called 'great debates' which, although highly questionable, seems to define what properly constitutes the 'state of the field'. How teachers of IR tell the story about the field's origin (with the 'great debates') is often misrepresented, leading to the assumption that the field has experienced both ontological and epistemological pluralism. The argument here is that even in the face of the plethora of approaches, some of which are critical, it is evident that the discipline is not representative and diverse - and actually does not deserve its 'international' status. What we know and has become accepted as IR theory is often the works of Europeans and North Americans (with a few from Latin America), who espouse a particularly close-ended Westernised worldview. This closure of the field to 'other' voices and worldviews, culminating in what I refer to as 'representational deficiency', is neither acceptable nor progressive. I seek to take the argument a step further to show that even critical IR theory, which I find more instrumental and meaningful, is often not critical enough as some theorists belonging to this tradition still perpetuate an essentialist citational privilege of the Western 'self' by focusing mainly on the works of Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard and other European/American theorists.

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Disability, Equality and Difference

Disability provides a useful window through which to examine the conflict between equality and difference. On the one hand, the disability movement has fought for equal rights as citizens as opposed to be understood through either the principle of charity/dependence, as key political thinkers like John Locke and David Hume have done or as a client/patient of the social welfare/medical system as has been the tendency within the (until recently) dominant medical model of disability; on the other hand, disability scholars and advocates have argued disability must be recognized and accommodated if such rights are to be made real. Using recently negotiated international documents on disability, including the International Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (2006), the World Report on Disability (2011) and the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (2005), I will examine the changing definition of disability and ask whether human rights are the best means to reach the political goals of people with disabilities and if so whether Canada should be adopting a Canadians with Disabilities Act and whether such human rights legislation would be better understood as embedded in equality and/or difference.

Arscott, Jane (janea@athabascau.ca)

Political Science and Online Education for the 21st Century

Online education may be regarded as the next, best thing according to some political scientists in the Academy. However, it is regarded as a scourge to the discipline by others and a matter to be easily dismissed by still others. A few universities instruct solely online, and many others are testing the waters. Despite increased exploration of the

possibilities, the primacy of classroom instruction remains the norm in the teaching of Political Science. This roundtable brings together individuals who have varied experiences with online teaching and learning. The prospects for the future include: opportunities for inter-institutional cooperation, and meeting students demands for more choice in course content and delivery. Then too competing models for program delivery, including competition from a growing number of private, for-profit educational providers, warrant consideration. Such discussions raise important questions for the future of the discipline with our colleagues inside the Academy, online, and around the world and the possibility of studying Political Science anywhere, any time.

Atkinson, Michael (michael.atkinson@usask.ca), **Rogers, Dustin** (dmr207@mail.usask.ca)

Better Politicians: If We Pay, Will They Come?

Each election provides the Canadian House of Commons with a fresh batch of politicians. Apart from the occasional study of the demographic differences between these representatives and the electorate, Canadian academics have shown little interest in whether the quality of politicians is improving. The challenge of agreeing on quality, let alone measuring it, has undoubtedly discouraged research. Similarly, while our interest is periodically piqued by changes in the compensation systems for MPs, Canadian political scientists have largely ignored whether compensation makes a difference for who runs for office. This paper addresses these questions by asking whether the quality of politicians has been improving and whether changes in, and levels of, compensation, are making a difference one way or the other. We assemble a unique data set of 1291 federal politicians elected to the House of Commons from 1972 to 2011 and suggest that improvements in some qualifications outstrip improvements in others. We also test the proposition that increasing compensation will improve politician quality and its obverse, namely that higher compensation serves to slow down turnover and induce the retention of those least able to secure comparable employment elsewhere.

Auger, Cheryl (cheryl.auger@utoronto.ca)

"You Study It, I Lived It": Sex Workers, Academics, and Research Ethics

Research with and about marginalized and stigmatized groups, like sex workers, requires researchers to be attentive to the complexities of research ethics. Doing ethical research with marginalized groups requires special attention to the power dynamics between the researchers and research participants, the researchers' own social location and positionality, and research participants' safety. Sex workers' rights organizations suggest that ethical research should include the meaningful participation of sex workers at all stages of research in order to avoid abuses (Chez Stella 2006). Some scholars have developed new collaborative methods to ensure that sex workers are included at all stages of the research from planning to implementation to dissemination (Bowen and O'Doherty 2011). This paper explores some of the ethical challenges research with and about sex work poses for academic researchers. It asks how can researchers conduct ethical research with marginalized, stigmatized, and criminalized groups and it examines how different research methods can help minimize ethical risks.

Austin, Matthew (mausti5@uwo.ca)

The Political Nature of Nietzsche's Psychological Types, a Non-Caste Based Approach

Nietzsche is commonly understood by political theorists as advocating a caste system, not unlike Plato's, represented by distinct psychological types (Warren; Detwiler; Hunt). In part, this interpretation adduces from Nietzsche's apparent endorsement of the Laws of Manu at Twilight Improvers' 3-5 and Antichrist 56-58. Brobjer has forcefully argued this interpretation is philologically unsound (it ignores the context and limited nature of Nietzsche's affirmation). Brobjer goes on to argue, Nietzsche was not primarily a political thinker. My paper takes up Brobjer's argument in two crucial ways. First, I extend his critique of associating Nietzsche with caste systems. Nietzsche critiques Christian morality for leveling humanity to a mediocre, universal type. The modest endorsement Manu receives from Nietzsche, it receives insofar as it offers a healthier, higher, more expansive world. This world, however, is still extremely limiting and terrible. It fails to provide the conditions for enhancing the enchanting abundance of types that reality shows us. It is in the interest of the flourishing of different types of life that Nietzsche takes Christian morality and caste systems to task. Second, I complicate Brobjer's contention that Nietzsche was not primarily a political thinker. The psychological types Nietzsche articulates, while not political in the obvious sense of representing a particular caste, are in fact political in at least two interesting ways. First, the human psyche itself is understood politically as a series of drives organized hierarchically through competition. Second, psychological types are understood to be engaged in a public contest of values.

Bériault, Xavier (xberi036@uottawa.ca)

Une brèche dans la modernité politique: le système des conseils

Je propose de présenter une étude qui problématiser le système des conseils - ces assemblées qui auraient offert aux citoyens ordinaires, le temps d'une révolution, un espace où participer au gouvernement et à l'administration de la société. S'il est vrai que les manifestations de ce phénomène ont été peu nombreuses et de courtes durées, il n'empêche que ce sujet mérite attention, non seulement parce qu'il s'est révélé en janvier dernier être à nouveau d'actualité d'une manière inattendue, mais aussi parce qu'il a été négligé par la théorie politique. Parmi les

penseurs qui se sont intéressés au système des conseils, il est possible de compter, d'une part, Hannah Arendt, qui se représente cette institution dans sa dimension spécifiquement politique, et d'autre part, les Marxistes, qui se le représentait plutôt dans sa dimension socio-économique. On aura vite compris qu'une simple opposition formelle entre ces deux visions des conseils aboutirait d'abord à une critique d'Arendt, pour n'avoir pas saisi de manière satisfaisante la question sociale, avant de passer à celle des Marxistes, pour avoir négligé la question politique. Ce sera donc grâce à l'inclusion d'un penseur anarchiste comme Bakounine, ainsi qu'une attention particulière aux penseurs moins illustres du mouvement conseilliste, notamment Anton Pannekoek, qu'il sera possible d'introduire des nuances plus subtiles dans les comparaisons et d'affiner ainsi une représentation théorique plus juste du système des conseils. Cette entreprise implique toutefois une question méthodologique : c'est la théorie qui ordonne la pratique ou doit-elle au contraire se faire guider par la pratique?

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Non-domination and the Normative Framework of Multiculturalism

This paper will examine what contemporary work on the ideal of non-domination has to contribute to the normative literature on multiculturalism. It will look more closely at Philip Pettit's civic republican vision of freedom as non-domination (Pettit 1997, 2001) and Frank Lovett's recent account of non-domination as a theory of social justice (Lovett 2010). It will assess these theories in terms of how they address two standard concerns related to the accommodation of religious and cultural minority practices - that principles of accommodation need to be sensitive to equality both between and within groups, and that these principles should not themselves rehearse and reinforce the cultural values of the majority. In liberal theories of multiculturalism these concerns have been posed in debates about what the limits of toleration are, how group rights are balanced against individual rights, and how democratic dialogue-based approaches compete with autonomy-based approaches. By making structural inequalities of power the center of analysis, republican theories go a significant way towards linking the two standard concerns together and reframing the guiding questions of accommodation in terms of reducing domination. This moves our understanding of multiculturalism in a fruitful and promising direction. However, in discussing their advantages the paper will also suggest that republican theories fall short of dissolving the two standard concerns about its normative premises. Doing so would require an additional and more general (non-republican) account of non-domination in relation to legitimacy, rooted in a more explicit theory of power.

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'Race' and the Politics of Emotion

As Sara Ahmed reminds us, to say that 'a nation mourns' is to generate the nation, as if it were a mourning subject. What she refers to as the cultural politics of emotion (in her 2004 book by the same name) is starkly relevant to political science, and specifically to the relationship of the state to issues of 'race'. This is signaled clearly, on a global scale, by the contentious atmosphere that has surrounded the United Nations World Conferences Against Racism (2001, 2009). In this roundtable, political scientists whose work addresses processes of racialization and the state are asked to consider the implications of the politics of emotion as it has arisen in the course of their research. Questions to be addressed include: What are the challenges to accessing and analyzing information grounded in experiences of collective trauma? How do we navigate across multiple and intersecting communities with memories or fears of racially-motivated violence? What are the challenges faced in naming racialized experiences in the context of emotional tensions associated with language, considering words such as 'genocide', 'hate crime', 'apartheid', 'reparation', etc.? And, more generally, how can we usefully advance theoretical frames to understand the role of emotion in the context of 'race' within political science? This can be considered in terms of understanding the impact of these relationships for the discipline, but also regarding considerations of 'race' and the politics of emotion in advancing policies and processes of redress and reconciliation.

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'Race' and the Politics of Emotion

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of understanding the impact of these relationships for the discipline, but also regarding considerations of 'race' and the politics of emotion in advancing policies and processes of redress and reconciliation.

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The Trouble with 'Provincial' Criminal Law

In the Canadian federal system, the federal government is assigned the power to legislate criminal law by virtue of s.91(27) of the British North America Act, 1867. Since the second World War, the provinces have routinely enacted statutes that have a substantial criminal element but have been justified as legitimate exercises of enumerated provincial powers. In all but one exception (Morgentaler, 1992), the Supreme Court has endorsed these statutes as constitutional using doctrines that emphasize concurrency (primarily the double aspect rule of *McCutcheon v. Multiple Access*, 1982). This approach to the division of powers has allowed the provinces to occupy a significant portion of the criminal justice policy field by passing laws that can be considered quasi-criminal. Recent years have seen provincial laws that attach civil penalties to criminal offences (Ontario's Civil Remedies Act, constitutionally validated by the Supreme Court in *Chatterjee*, 2007), that establish provincial sex offender registries (endorsed by the Courts in *Dyck*, 2004), that have supplanted vagrancy laws (upheld in *Banks*, 2007) and have established an overlapping regime to criminalize street racing. Each of these intrusions into the criminal law power might, in isolation, appear minor, but taken together they suggest an emerging provincial power to legislate criminal law. This trend and its consequences (limited due process protections, duplication and overregulation) will be discussed in this paper.

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Beyond Boundaries: a holistic approach to comparative politics

This paper will delve into some of the traditionally utilized concepts in the subfield; more specifically, it will unpack the concepts of democracy and development. It will argue that the realization of democratic change and development requires understanding the role inequality plays in real world scenarios. Further, this inequality itself may be unpacked by applying concepts of race, gender, and ethnicity. This may help to understand why democracy and development do not affect all individuals within states in the same manner and thus, may not affect states in a consistent manner. Next, an effort will be made to link these identity concepts to the concepts of citizenship, migration, and welfare. These concepts have particularly become important, as the process of globalization has helped create a resurgence in identity-driven politics. As a result of this process, the concerns over migration for example, have strongly affected state policies with respect to citizenship and welfare services. These policies also require further scrutiny due to the inequalities they hide which have historically reflected a gendered and racialized framework. Having highlighted these linkages, the paper will finally move on to the concepts of nationalism, federalism, and legitimacy in order to understand how diversities manifest themselves in the actual process of politics within states. It is hoped that by applying this type of integrated effort and through the use of cross cutting concepts like those highlighted, comparative politics as a subfield can continue to provide more holistic insights into an ever changing world.

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Religion and Alberta's Political Development: Beyond the Social Conservative Stereotype

Alberta has long been assumed to be a province whose politics have been, and continue to be, significantly influenced by a socially conservative Christian perspective yet the precise nature of this connection has not been probed with much persistence. This paper, drawn from my larger dissertation project, seeks to rectify this gap by examining the influence of religion on the political thought of key figures from Alberta's political history. Relying on both significant archival research and 25 in-depth interviews with current and recently retired Alberta politicians, the paper argues that religion's influence runs far deeper than the contemporary social conservatism that emerged in Alberta through the writings of the notorious Ted Byfield and had such an impact on the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party in the 1990's. Rather, religion's most important role in Alberta's historical political development can be found in its broad encouragement of an anti-statist sentiment that has consistently stressed a populist, yet anti-political orientation as well as a strong rejection of economic collectivism, two pillars of Alberta's contemporary political landscape. The paper traces these contemporary political preferences back to two unique streams of religious-based political thought that have important American evangelical Protestant roots: the liberal postmillennial stream found in the United Farmers of Alberta and the fundamentalist premillennial stream found in both the Alberta Social Credit and aspects of the federal Reform Party of Canada.

Bao, Yu (yb2@ualberta.ca)

A Chinese School of International Relations Theory?

This paper aims to explore the possibility of constructing a Chinese School of IRT that will bring the historical, cultural and social experience of a rising great power into the mainstream discourses on IRT. It will evaluate the efforts made by scholars as they pursued two different ideological approaches: one attempting to produce a new Marxism with Chinese characteristics, the other trying to develop a Chinese IRT based on traditional Chinese

philosophy, particularly Confucianism. Those taken in the second direction have garnered considerable results and have led to the beginning of an IRT based on the 'harmonious world' concept. This idea, a new Confucian form of global governance, has combined the heritage of Confucianism with mainstream Western discourses on global governance, and will serve as a more effective approach in explaining international affairs in a globalised world. This produces a new theoretical ground that will introduce Chinese traditional cultural heritage and practical experiences into the field, thus providing a way for other non-Western theorists to make their contributions to IRT. Ideally, this process will result in more effective and frequent theoretical dialogue between Chinese and Western scholars, as well as more recognition and understanding of the differences between academic cultures that will result in an IRT that is more diverse and that represents a more global perspective on international relations.

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Narratives justifying Alberta's reliance on migrant workers

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - Citizenship: Rights Claims, the Franchise, and Governance in the Petroleum Province with Joy Fraser/Manijeh Mannani (presenters), David Stewart/Anthony Sayers (presenters), Policy changes driven by Alberta's oil boom of the 2000s have resulted in unprecedented growth in the use of migrant workers. Resistance to these policies is widespread outside of business circles. Domestic workers, including government supporters, worry about being replaced by less expensive foreign workers. Social justice groups are concerned by the potential for exploitative employment practices. These worries highlight how growing migrancy politically disempowers both migrant and domestic workers. Migrant workers are directly disempowered because they cannot vote and their presence is highly precarious. Domestic workers are indirectly disempowered because an expansion of the labour pool heightens the consequences of resistance to employer demands, both in the workplace and in the political arena. A content analysis of Hansard and media statements reveals that the legitimacy of these changes is, in part, managed by framing migrant work as economically necessary, indicative of good fiscal management, and unthreatening to the interests of domestic workers.

Barry, Cooper (eandrew@chass.utoronto.ca)

Battle as Play

Panel title - War: Ancient and Modern with Leon Craig (presenter), Ed Andrew (presenter) and Leah Bradshaw (discussant). Plato begins *The Gorgias* with the words war and battle polemou kai maches, which indicates that for him there is a difference between war and battle. Chapter Five of Jan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* discusses war as play. This is straightforward enough: the rational purpose of war is peace, and peace and war are always political, as philosophers of war from Sun Tsu to Clausewitz have argued. Accordingly the play element, which is common to politics, war and culture seems obvious enough. But what of battle? Is battle never more than slaughter, as the German word for this activity, Schlacht, implies? I will provide an exegesis of Huizinga and illustrate what has largely been ignored, owing to the sheer brutality of the activity, namely the play element in battle. I will use illustrations from hoplite battle, from Henry V, from Jünger's *Storms of Steel* as well as from later examples of counterinsurgency warfare to make the case.

Barter, Shane (sbarter@soka.edu)

State Proxy or Security Dilemma? Understanding Anti-Rebel Militias in Civil War

Irregular armed groups which resist rebels tend to be viewed as little more than thugs-'proxies' fighting against more principled rebels. While some are indeed brutal state proxies, others mobilize to resist rebel attacks and may not necessarily support the state. What distinguishes anti-rebel militias which are more or less predatory from those which are more or less popular? While previous studies focus solely on the relationship between militias and states, understanding variation among militia groups demands equal attention to the militia / rebel relationship. This article compares anti-rebel militia groups in two secessionist conflicts. While militias in East Timor were largely predatory, formed at the behest of state forces to attack rebel supporters, militias in Aceh were different. Militias here formed late in the conflict, when Acehese rebels ventured into ethnic minority regions to cleanse the province of transmigrants and collect rents from indigenous farmers. The militias that formed among Aceh's ethnic minorities were created spontaneously in response to rebel incursions and remained mostly defensive, although there were some exceptions. This comparison leads me to consider the importance of state control. Creating militias demands considerable capacity, and the ones which are created where the state dominates are likely to be predatory. When militias form in the absence of state control, against powerful rebels, we should expect them to be largely defensive, popular organizations.

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The Outsiders: Disengaged Citizens' Views on Politics and Democracy

Not only is voter turnout decreasing in Canada, but levels of other forms of political engagement between elections are lower as well. Yet at the same time, the numbers of people who say they support democratic norms

and values have rarely been higher. This raises an important question: Why are increasing numbers of Canadians disengaging from politics while continuing to value democracy? Many approaches to the study of political participation view disengagement simply as the absence of what makes people engaged. But whether the salient variable is interest, trust, or civic duty, these studies fail to interrogate why disengaged people lack these attributes at all. This paper extends broad quantitative approaches to engagement by conducting a qualitative analysis of disengaged citizens. Drawing on data gathered from 7 focus groups involving disengaged Canadians and a control group of engaged Canadians, we find that the factors associated with disengagement are actually somewhat different than those associated with engagement. First, disengaged Canadians perceive conventional political discourse to be largely irrelevant to their egocentric concerns, rather than simply being disinterested. Second, disengaged Canadians are not simply cynical, but actively perceive themselves to be 'outsiders' from their own political system. Third, disengaged people were not always apathetic. Disengagement is often associated with previous failed attempts to engage in politics. Overall, this paper argues that disengagement is driven by a disconnect between what people think politics 'is' and what democracy 'should be'.

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Trends in Throne Speeches Reports in Canada, 1940-2010

How successfully is political discourse communicated to citizens through the media? On the basis of the paradigmatic transformation theory developed in journalism studies, we hypothesize that political discourse is increasingly dissolved among journalistic discourse rather than being reported as such by the media. According to this theory, journalists' behaviour and news media output are largely by-products of informal rules designed to efficiently deliver news within a set of constraints. These rules have changed over the last decades: whereas the dominant paradigm has stressed the referential role played by journalism since the beginning of the 20th century, various pressures have challenged this way to practice journalism and brought a new paradigm, calling up all discursive functions - referential, but also expressive, phatic, esthetic, and metalinguistic - to attract and to keep the public attention in a 24/7 information environment. This paradigmatic transformation manifests itself through a widening distance between journalism and actual events. Journalists are less focused on the reflection of reality and more on analysis and interpretation of reality, they are more selective about the issues which are reported, and they present them through their own frame. We provide evidence to support this hypothesis with longitudinal comparisons of the political discourse and how it is reported by the media. In this chapter, we test our hypothesis with a content analysis of eight Canadian federal Throne Speeches coverage by four national daily newspapers from 1940 to 2010, and with comparisons between these reports and the actual content of the Throne Speeches.

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The Gendered Impact of Electoral Systems on Political Participation

Studies on gender and political participation have shown that men's and women's levels of participation tend to vary across countries (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Yet, little work has investigated the possible impact of political institutions - especially the electoral system - on gender and political participation. We hypothesize that the electoral system can influence political participation through levels of political resources needed for participation and that this process is gendered. Electoral systems that are simpler - less rules, political parties, and elected representatives - may make it easier for groups with less resource to participate. Since women tend to have less money, time, and engagement with politics (Burns et al., 2001), it is easier for them to participate in a system where they do not have to spend a lot of time and engagement to understand what are the main issues and main avenues of participation. Using the Comparative Study on Electoral Systems (CSES), we test for the gendered impact of electoral institutions on political participation by using data from over 20 democratic countries sharing a similar level of economic development. Preliminary results show that indicators for electoral systems such as district magnitude and number of political parties in legislatures influence the impact of gender on political participation. As the number of political parties increases, women's political participation declines more rapidly than does men's, for instance.

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Subnational Comparison of Decentralization: Center-periphery Relations Revisited

Do decentralization reforms always empower the local governments? What exactly does decentralization do to Center-Periphery relations? In line with the recent literature (see the works of Falleti 2010 and Dickovick 2011), this article contends that intergovernmental relations of power should be the main focus of analysis in studying decentralization. Turkey has undergone a series of decentralization reforms in the last decade after gaining the European Union candidacy status. This study is an attempt to understand the various forms that Center-Periphery relations take in three metropolises: Istanbul, Izmir, and Diyarbakir. Field research and in-depth interviews with mayors, deputy mayors, municipal counselors and bureaucrats in local governments suggest that Center-Periphery relations are primarily affected by four dynamics: territorial interests, partisanship, economic interests, and historical legacy. This study argues that these dynamics determine whether the relationship between Center and Periphery is a conflictual (Diyarbakir), cooperative (Istanbul) or contested (Izmir) one. Accordingly, the author

argues that as a result of decentralization reforms, Periphery's power might have increased in absolute terms but not necessarily in relative terms vis-a-vis the Center.

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Aboriginal Community Engagement and Self-Determination in Northern Saskatchewan

Canada's northern regions are experiencing rapid economic development. This raises an important question: do Canada's Aboriginal peoples currently have the tools to protect their land and communities in the face of rapid economic development? This paper explores this question through the case of Saskatchewan's Northern Administrative District (NAD), a resource-rich area in which over 80% of residents are Aboriginal. Like many northern Canadian communities, the NAD is growing in economic significance, but the benefits of Northern economic development have not yet been realized in the Aboriginal communities. Using original quantitative and qualitative data, we demonstrate that there is robust community and political engagement among northern Aboriginal peoples. The emerging governance structures blend together both western ('band governance') and traditional elements. Together, we suggest, the governance structures and strong levels of engagement provide the northern Aboriginal peoples with a foundation from which to protect and advance their interests towards responsible economic development. We further suggest that Aboriginal self-determination, community engagement and economic development are integrally connected to social and cultural developments.

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Party Labels and Ethno-cultural Background of Candidates

Canadian studies of aggregate election data suggest that the ethno-cultural background of local candidates has little impact on voter behaviour. This is at odds with results from the United States. Some authors have suggested that the difference reflects the institutional setting: in Westminster systems, it is argued, party discipline makes individual Members of Parliament unimportant. Other research on the influence of candidate traits suggests that when other cues, such as party labels, are present, then the ethno-cultural background of candidates is generally unimportant. Both perspectives imply that in Canada it is parties, not candidate characteristics, which matter. This paper evaluates the influence of candidate and party characteristics on vote choice, along with the interaction between these two factors. The analysis relies on an experimental study of voter behaviour employing a sample of undergraduates in Ontario. In the context of a mock election, the experiment manipulates the ethnicity of candidates and the application of party labels. If the reason for previous null findings is the strong role of parties, rather than, for example, the absence of prejudice, then the manipulation of the inclusion of party labels should produce strong effects.

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'We are not feminists!': The role of gender in the making of the Armenian national identity

This paper explores the discourses on gender roles (both masculine and feminine) and the place of Armenian women in the Armenian nation building process, especially focusing on the changes from the Soviet 1988 era to the post-Karabakh war Armenia. It will explore some of the implications of the Soviet discourse on 'emancipating' women from their traditional cultural and family roles, and the changes after the end of the Karabakh war. The consequence of the Soviet forced emancipation has been a retreat towards a stronger hold of the tradition and family structures, pushing the woman into the private sphere while creating a certain public image of the Sovietized feminist. What are the changes we can see in the perception of the government towards women today? How does the dominant patriarchal discourse portray the Armenian woman? This study is based on extensive interviews conducted in Armenia and Karabakh in 2011. Although Armenian women were praised for their role during the Karabakh war, it seems that the post-Karabakh period brought the Armenian woman back into her 'traditional' categories; the government discourse on gender also contributes to the positioning of the woman within her 'natural' family role in the patriarchal socio-economic and political setting. This shapes Armenian women, who want to combine their rights to public activity, work, and social recognition with their image of the good wife and especially the Armenian mother, and separate those from claims of (westernized) feminism attributed to a desire to be 'freed' from men.

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"Interpreting" Health Reform in Canada: Exploring the Role of Discourse and Emotions

The imminent expiration of the 2004 Health Accord creates an opportunity and pressing need to address key issues in Canada's healthcare system. While volumes of data, evidence and recommendations have appeared on a range of issues related to reforming the Canadian health system, it is not clear why so much of what we know empirically about how to improve the health system remains undone. Our paper advances a novel interpretive framework for analyzing sustainability discourses in the area of health reform. We are interested in how discourses and emotions structure how we define, think about and try to resolve collective problems. This helps us to make sense of the multiple meanings attached to an issue as complex as health system reform, and how some of these meanings

might be embedded in broader discourses about the role of the state and about the objects and objectives of health policy reform. We explore the various ways in which sustainability is defined and understood within the institutional and social context of the Canadian health system, and the implications of these understandings for policymaking and policy change. In particular, we examine the perceptions and definitions of health system sustainability that are communicated by governments, different societal groups and ordinary citizens; determine the ideational, informational, social and contextual factors that constitute differing conceptions of the problem of health system sustainability between groups; and identify and assess how commonly used sustainability discourses influence the deliberative process to create and/or overcome barriers to health policy change.

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Door Knocks and Mouse Clicks: The Relationship between New Technologies and Traditional Methods in the 2012 Federal NDP Leadership Race

This paper assesses the degree to which current federal NDP leadership candidates have effectively integrated new campaign and communication technologies with more traditional structures and methods to attain strategic and operational campaign goals. The research methods used include participant and non-participant observation, interviews, and archival research. The analytical framework compares these campaigns to current best practices used in recent US primary and European leadership campaigns. Federal Conservative and NDP party members have directly elected by their leaders since 2002. Although the major candidates in the 2003 NDP and the 2004 Conservative leadership campaigns made effective use of then new technologies, these were secondary to and often poorly integrated with the more traditional campaign approaches all candidates emphasized. By contrast, a key lesson of recent US primary and European leadership campaigns is that the impact of new technologies depends upon the degree to which they are integrated with established campaign structures and methods. The current federal NDP leadership race provides a context in which to assess the degree to which this is occurring in Canada. This paper is an exploratory study comparing the NDP's leadership race to criteria based on comparable experiences elsewhere. It is part of a larger project to identify the factors that affect use of new technologies within electoral and advocacy campaigns. This contributes to the literature on the role of technologies in social mobilization and democratization struggles.

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Can We Talk About a North American Urban Politics?

In comparison with most European cities where urban politics usually matters, local elections in North America are marginal political events. We can advance the hypothesis that this situation is related to the poor informational context that has generally characterized urban politics in Canada and the United States. Media coverage on urban issues is limited, local political parties are often nonexistent or poorly institutionalized, and citizens have very little knowledge of cities' responsibilities. In this context, it is very difficult for electors to obtain information, and there are few incentives for them to vote. The objective of this paper is to draw some parallels between different studies on local elections in Canada and the United States. Are there certain local political divisions? What are the various mayors' political styles? What effects is the poor local informational context having on local participation and incumbent politics? In sum, how comparable are all these local phenomena in Canada and the United States?

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Comparing Intersectionalities: Political Representation for Women, Minorities, and Minority Women

While there has been a good deal of theoretical focus on race/gender intersectionality, the political representation of minority women has received little empirical attention. There have been a few studies in Canada and the U.S. (e.g., Black 2000, Smooth 2001), but still very little comparative investigation of the phenomena (though see Hughes 2009). This paper presents a broad comparative study of the intersectionality of race- and gender-focused measures of political representation. The paper proceeds in several steps. I first present an overview of the 'targeted' approach that has so far characterized scholarship and activism in this domain. I then build a theoretical case for comparative intersectionality, borrowing especially from insights in comparative research on women's social movements. The third section brings into analytical focus variations across political contexts in the relationship between gendered and ethnic systems of representational inclusion and exclusion. This part includes an empirical overview of representational guarantees for women and minorities across countries, as well as a set of more detailed case studies that examine various ways in which women's and minorities' representational issues can intersect. In the final section, I draw out some of the insights arising from the empirical section. And I suggest strategies for further analysis of group representation that takes into account the distinctive ways that gender and ethnic systems can work in tandem, across different political contexts.

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The Changing Commons: The individual-collective balance of MPs in committees

Recent research in Canada has explored the varying manners in which Members of Parliament act in an individual manner in order to represent constituents, bolster electoral fortunes, and exert influence in policy making (Soroka

et al. 2009; Kam 2009; Blidook 2010). Nevertheless, there is accumulating evidence that the balance of individual and collective/partisan behaviour changes in both directions over time. Currently, political parties appear to be seeking to take advantage of the parliamentary venues where MPs once had a good deal of autonomy. The proposed paper will explore trends in committee behaviour, using content analysis of MP statements, in order to more effectively track this power dynamic as it has changed over time, and attempt to explain why it has done so. It is believed that, as a venue in which MPs have traditionally had some degree of autonomy, committee statements provide effective measures for understanding the individual-collective behavioural struggle of MPs, as well as the broader purpose and motivations of political parties (or party leaders) as actors in Parliament. The goal of the research is to not only gain a deeper understanding of the current political dynamic, but also reconsider theories regarding legislative behavior and the role of political parties in the Canadian case.

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Follow the Money (or perhaps the ubiquitous green signs): Electoral Politics and Canada's Economic Action Plan

Concerns about re-election can induce tension between a government's duty to represent the polity as a whole and the electoral benefits of using policy as a means to enhance re-election prospects. This paper employs a rich and new data set to answer questions about the electoral politics of government spending in Canada. In response to the economic crisis in the fall of 2008, the Conservative government introduced the Canada Economic Action Plan (CEAP) which offered funding for a wide spectrum of infrastructure projects. This study considers the relationship between support for the incumbent government and the distribution of CEAP funds across the country. In doing so, we provide answers to three sets of questions: (1) How significantly do electoral concerns influence the geographic distribution of funds? (2) Do politicians direct funding more to 'safe' constituencies where they tend to receive a clear plurality of the vote or to 'marginal' constituencies where re-election is less assured? (3) Does infrastructure spending have an effect on subsequent election results. Making use of detailed data on where and how the EAP money was spent, we explore both the effect of election results on the distribution of funds and the impact such spending has on ensuing elections.

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Privatizing Development: Corporate Social Responsibility in the Developing World

This paper analyzes the theoretical debate between proponents and critics of corporate social responsibility (CSR) projects, by focusing on the impact of CSR projects on developing countries. Both proponents and critics of CSR focus on one main question: who benefits from CSR? Proponents argue that multinational corporations (MNCs) could be a new source of global governance. They are seen as the ideal agents for promoting economic growth, as well as the prime candidates for dealing with fallouts from that growth. More critical approaches have tended to be suspicious of MNCs, with critical theorists contending that things are not as they seem. These theorists have sought to identify how so-called socially responsible activities can obscure deeper contradictions and power relations which unevenly benefit corporations. The paper argues that neither of these literatures provides convincing accounts since there is little analysis of what corporations actually do, and of how social learning takes place, particularly in the context of the developing world. Despite the fact that the engagement of MNCs in development practices has been increasing, debates around CSR have largely focused on industrialized countries. This paper therefore contributes to the literature on CSR. It also contributes to development studies theory, which has been largely state-centred, and has not adequately kept pace with the increasing involvement of corporations in development practices. The paper will draw on secondary sources, and is a prelude to a larger comparative study of CSR projects in India.

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Quebec seen from Alberta: a hardening of perceptions (2003-2011)

We often perceive one another from one province to another through stereotypes, leading to ignorance of provincial realities. We evaluate these stereotypes through a prism of prejudices that are barely subjected to reflection. In this respect, Quebec does not always have favourable press coverage in other Canadian provinces. For example, some researchers have revealed incomprehension of Quebec's positions (McRoberts 1994) or a hardening of the media's views towards Quebec, as was the case after 1995 in the *Globe and Mail* (Lacombe 2008). In this study, we will focus specifically on the Albertan perception of Quebec. We advance the following hypothesis: the perception of Quebec in Alberta transformed from indifference to increasing antagonism against some of Quebec's demands. Our analysis focuses on particular and significant events, such as the motion recognizing the québécois as a nation (2006), the resolution of fiscal imbalance (2007), or the Parliamentary prorogation and coalition attempt (2008). The study will investigate to what degree there has been a hardening of tone towards Quebec while seeking to understand the nature of the change. We will proceed through an analysis of Alberta's principal dailies (the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald*) and other newspapers such as the *Western Standard*. We respond to the following question: is it the national project that is denounced or is the object of criticism the political project emanating from an allegedly insatiable state?

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La dynamique politique des services de santé en français dans l'Ouest canadien, 2000-2010

La difficulté pour les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire au Canada d'obtenir des services de santé dans leur langue est bien connue. Le problème est encore plus criant dans l'Ouest canadien, défavorisés par une faiblesse démographique et une grande dispersion de la population par rapport à l'Est (surtout Ontario et Nouveau-Brunswick). Dans ce contexte, la mobilisation des francophones pour la défense de leurs intérêts est essentielle. Ce projet portera sur les relations entre les gouvernements provinciaux de l'Ouest, le gouvernement fédéral et les groupes francophones minoritaires en matière de politique de santé. Nous proposons de nous concentrer sur les provinces de la Colombie-Britannique, de l'Alberta et de la Saskatchewan pour la période récente 2000-2010. L'analyse principale portera sur l'adéquation des demandes des groupes francophones et des offres des deux paliers de gouvernements en matière de politique de la santé. Quels sont les succès et les échecs des groupes francophones dans ce domaine? Quel sont leurs degrés d'influence sur les gouvernements? Comment expliquer les différences, le cas échéant? Enfin, comment ces groupes pourraient-ils gagner en efficacité dans leurs relations avec les pouvoirs publics? Ce sont ici les principales questions que nous tenterons de répondre à la conclusion de nos recherches.

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Pharmacare in the provinces: explaining Canadian variation

Although pharmaceuticals are the second-largest area of health care expenditure in Canada, public coverage is restricted to a provincial patchwork based on age and income. Existing literature has catalogued this variation (Grootendorst 2002) and discussed its implications for interprovincial disparities (Daw and Morgan 2011), but there is little research explaining why Canadian provinces initially took different approaches to pharmacare, what shaped their reform decisions over time, and why we now observe apparent convergence on a universal, income-based catastrophic model of coverage (Daw and Morgan 2011). Variation in fiscal capacity is one important factor, but is not sufficient to explain why provinces with similar capacity choose such different methods of structuring program eligibility, co-payments and deductibles. This paper collects new data in two provinces (Ontario and British Columbia) and builds on my previous work on cross-national variation in pharmaceutical policy to develop a framework for understanding variation in provincial policy development. In particular, I ask whether similar mental models of pharmaceutical policy affect provincial and federal policymakers, as this is a key factor in restricting federal-level policy development (Boothe 2010). If provincial policymakers have different and perhaps changing understandings of the nature of the problem and the constraints that they face in solving it, how do these mental models affect provincial solutions, and how do they affect provincial interactions with the national government on this issue? Answering these questions has practical implications for policy reform, and significant theoretical implications for our understanding of how ideas affect policy development and change.

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Online and Engaged: An Experiment Related to Online News and Political Interest

Youth's low level of political engagement creates concerns about the health of our democratic system. This paper examines whether new media, specifically online news sources, can address low levels of political interest among Canadian youth. The paper reports the results of an experiment conducted in 2010 and 2011 where a random sample of Grant MacEwan students were exposed to a variety of online news sources. Unlike other experiments in the field, the experimental manipulation reflects the varied ways in which online news sources reach Internet users, e.g., use of traditional news organization websites (such as www.edmontonjournal.com), news forwarded through social networks, and use of a variety of other untraditional news sources. Interest in local politics increased significantly for youth who were exposed to the news sources (n=100) as opposed to those youth who were not exposed to these news sources (n=100). In addition, political interest increased significantly after news source exposure compared to prior to exposure (n=47). While the results affirm the positive effects of news sources on political interest, a more detailed assessment reveals that the effect was stronger for male participants, compared to female participants. The experimental design also allowed for an examination and validation of the methodological quality of the experiment, i.e., testing effects and attrition. In sum, the results affirm the potential of online news sources to stimulate youth's interest in politics. These findings provide support for the argument that the Internet could become a tool to encourage youth to become involved in politics.

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Grey Zones: Skirmishes at the Boundaries of the Canada Health Act

The conventional wisdom in the media and popular debates regarding health care reform is that surreptitious 'privatizing' reforms are taking place due to a lack of federal willingness to uphold the Canada Health Act (CHA). In examining a number of cases of skirmishes at the boundaries of the CHA (including provincial health care deductibles and charging of membership fees by private clinics and medical concierge services), the paper argues that the direct constraints posed by the CHA are relatively limited and certainly more limited than the political constraints it generates -- with the CHA tending to have a 'political negativity-bias' against reforms. In part, this

seems to be the result of federal recalcitrance to enter these debates -- especially its reluctance in clearly stating where reforms are CHA- consistent. This federal approach, often interpreted as adopting an accommodating stance vis-a-vis the provinces and their jurisdictional prerogatives, seems more clearly to be electorally motivated (an unwillingness on the part of the federal government to be drawn into debates in which it can be accused of aiming to dismantle the CHA.) The approach has had the unintended consequence of contributing to a political climate in which reform is stifled. In this interpretation, if the federal government were to more vocally and robustly contribute to delineating and enforcing the boundaries of the CHA -- as often called for by supporters of the CHA -- the political scope for 'privatizing' reforms paradoxically may actually be greater.

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Inclusive Economic Development? Collaborative Governance in Canadian Cities

Over the last two decades, a place-based approach to urban and regional restructuring has gathered momentum. Many cities are tackling what the OECD terms the "urban paradox" of innovation and inclusion through horizontal and vertical governance relations that seek to balance economic, social, and ecological priorities. Yet, the viability, even desirability, of such collaborations remains contested, and debate continues about the prospects for integrated urban development. Some analysts are skeptical of such multi-sector join-ups, while others describe the broad benefits of linking community and economy at the city-region scale. This paper joins the cross-national discussion of urban governance bridging economic and social divides, offering four contributions. First, it brings Canada into a debate thus far dominated by European and American cases, reporting on comparative research of governance relations in Canadian cities. Second, it captures variation in the scope, scale, and durability of collaboration across places and offers a three-fold typology (institutional collaboration; instrumental partnerships; independent networks) to interpret patterns. Third, it identifies several policy "integration pathways" that have brought together economic and social actors in different cities for joint work. Finally, the paper situates these findings in broader theories of urban governance, exploring the dynamics of "socio-economic development coalitions" in Canadian cities.

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Balancing Social and Economic Development? Workforce Development in Three Ontario Cities

Rising social polarization in Canadian cities requires new responses to balancing the often competing exigencies of economic growth and social welfare. Few policy areas offer the potential to straddle this divide as neatly as workforce development. Experience in the U.S. indicates that collaborative initiatives that match the skills of individuals with the labour requirements of local firms to improve access to high quality jobs in local economies are possible where stable and durable coalitions of state and non-state labour market actors exist at the local level. Yet the dynamics of coalition building between local government and economic and social development interests in Canadian cities have as yet undergone little empirical analysis. This study explores how the organization of local social interests and the patterns of interaction between them shape the governance of local labour markets by examining workforce development networks in the three Ontario cities of Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa and Hamilton. The study finds that workforce development networks vary according to the organization of local interests across all three cases and that the organization of local societal interests does shape workforce development dynamics in Ontario. Building a common agenda around which coalitions mobilize is challenging with uneven local business participation. Cross-sectoral workforce development networks also require support from local government and influential civic leadership to link local economic development and social welfare interests.

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The Global Political Aftershocks of the Fukushima-Daiichi Nuclear Accident

In March 2011, Japan was hit by a 9.0 magnitude earthquake and a massive tsunami which created the conditions for a major accident at the Fukushima-Daiichi nuclear power plant. The Fukushima-Daiichi accident was the second worst in history, surpassed only by Chernobyl in 1986. This paper analyzes the global political fallout from the accident by examining the response by states, international organizations, industry groups, and NGOs. The first part measures and explains the decisions of some countries to either: phase-out nuclear power (ie., Germany, Switzerland, Italy); reconsider nuclear power (ie., Japan); or maintain the status quo (ie., Canada, China, Russia, India). The second part assesses the response from the IAEA. The third part examines the responses by industry groups (ie., World Association of Nuclear Operators) and anti-nuclear organizations (ie., Greenpeace). The hypothesis is that the accident has accentuated pre-existing political and economic conditions and will not, unlike the Chernobyl accident, have a transformative effect on the international nuclear sector. The same drivers (electricity demand, energy security, and concerns over climate change) and constraints (safety concerns, cost, and links to weapons proliferation) exist for nuclear energy. In this way the paper counters predictions made by academics such as Trevor Findlay that a major nuclear accident anywhere is a major accident everywhere and could kill prospects for a revival. This paper builds on the work that I have done on the Canadian and international nuclear sector: Canada, the Provinces, and the Global Nuclear Revival (forthcoming) and The Politics of CANDU Exports (2006).

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Differential Accumulation, Redistribution and the Rebounding Fortunes of the Canadian Establishment

Three pieces of research have been published in recent years, the joint significance of which has yet to be grasped. The first is Wilkinson and Pickett's *The Spirit Level* (2009), which demonstrates that less relative inequality, even in a society with lower absolute wealth, produces better social outcomes. The second is the collective effort of economists from all over the world to map domestic top income shares over the last century. This collaborative research, compiled in *The World Top Incomes Database*, shows that rising income inequality over the last generation is being driven by the top percentile. If the evidence suggests that less relative inequality is better for everyone then we require a satisfactory explanation for why income inequality has risen over the last generation. The third piece of research, Nitzan and Bichler's *Capital as Power* (2009), may be of some assistance in this regard. They argue that capital is best thought of as a broad power institution, and by implication, that distribution is ultimately a power process. Using tools from radical institutionalism, this paper will compare and contrast income inequality and differential business performance in Canada across two periods: the post-war 'golden age' (1945 to the 1980) and the new 'gilded age' (1980-2007). It will argue that there is a strong link between the dramatic shift in the top income share and the rising differential power of capital.

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The Administrative Dilemmas of Government Communications

Government communications with the public is a rare area of federal public administration that is found in both the public service and political spheres. This reflects its position on the cusp between politics and administration, nurturing both but belonging fully to neither. The situation is not new: there is evidence of politically driven communications activities throughout the past century, with government communications an important part of the federal response to major emergencies and periods of national stress but often mired in the swampy zone between information and propaganda and between public and partisan interests. As a result it has often operated in the shadows, with numerous abortive efforts to institutionalize the function in an effectively accountable manner, a point that the Gomery commission's ahistorical perspective failed to recognize. The situation has been made more acute with the growing importance of information as a public resource and as a focus of public administration. The paper sketches current dilemmas about government communications from a public administration perspective. It discusses four sets of contributory factors: a chequered history in institutionalizing the communications function; the resulting current institutional arrangements, which have unique and troubling aspects; under-recognized linkages to the administration of Access to Information in the context of the 24-hour news cycle; accentuated by the centrality of political communications to the conduct of contemporary politics. The resulting dilemmas do not have simple solutions, but the paper offers some starting points, beginning with the importance of sensitivity to the current situation and associated risks.

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Politics, Institutions, and Oil: A Comparison of the Politics of Oil and Natural Gas in New Mexico and Alberta

For the panel North American Energy Policy and Governance Presenters: Monica Gattinger, George Hoberg, Keith Brownsey This paper will compare the politics of oil and gas in New Mexico and Alberta. The oil and gas industries in these two sub-national jurisdictions began at approximately the same time, modeled their regulatory systems on Texas (the Texas Railroad Commission), and faced very similar conflicts between large and small operators. Yet the oil and gas industries in the two jurisdictions have developed very different structures. Alberta's oil and gas industry has been dominated by large transnational corporations; New Mexico's oil and gas industry consists of small to medium size firms. Taking into account the necessity for large capital outlays for oilsands development and the differences in the land tenure systems as well as the presence of federal and native lands in New Mexico, the independent variable which explains (in large measure) the differences in the two systems are the political systems. The rules and procedures of the parliamentary system did not allow the local, small producer a voice, while the Congressional system in New Mexico did. This brief overview of the different development patterns of the oil and gas sectors in Alberta and New Mexico is intended as an outline for two larger projects: a history of the politics of the Alberta oil and gas industry and a comparison of the politics of oil and gas in several sub-national jurisdictions.

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The International Activities of Canadian Cities -Are Canadian cities challenging the gate-keeper position of the federal executive in international affairs?

Are Canadian cities independently active internationally? The argument presented in this paper is that the Canadian Constitution does not limit the foreign policy domain exclusively to national executives. Foreign competencies of the national government only cover the fields that are not provincial responsibilities and concurrently in the policy realm of municipalities. Also, municipalities have seen their statutory capacity, and the arenas in which to exercise those powers, expanded. Hence, there has been no significant evolution of the gate

keeper position in the Canadian federation that would be a clear codified challenge to the international relations role of the federal executive because neither the constitution nor other specific legislation restricts international relations activities of lower government levels. The varied international activities of the provincial capitals that participated in our surveys in 2004 and 2011 shows that Canadian cities have international activities. Those are, however, within provincial statutory frameworks that define municipal policy realms.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (ebrunetj@uvic.ca), **Scolnik, Tim** (tscolnick@gmail.com)

Comparing the civic culture of Calgary, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver “ Is there a ‘green’ urban civic culture in Canada?

In 2010, and for the fifth year in a row Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, Canada, ranked at the top 25 of the Mercer Quality of Life survey, and Calgary ranked 28th, 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 them. 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 three large 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 each city, and their sustainable policies.

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CodePink and the Israeli Palestinian conflict

Supported through global feminist peace networks and, more recently, inspired by UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security (2000), Israeli-Palestinian feminist peace coalitions stand as archetypal models of successful feminist activism in the gender and conflict literature (see Yuval-Davis 1997, Cockburn 1998). Successive failed peace negotiations and deep internal group divisions, however, have taken a toll on such engagements. For example, the International Women’s Commission (IWC), an Israeli, Palestinian and international venture committed to women’s inclusion at the peace table, disbanded over internal disagreements May 2011. Recent efforts of US-led peace group CodePink, however, suggest that new alliances between local and global activists are emerging through, for example, ‘reality tours’ of the occupied Palestinian territories and actions to break the siege on Gaza. While little scholarly attention has been paid to CodePink’s involvement in the region, some scholars are optimistic about the group’s overall potential to build an inclusive transnational feminist peace movement (Cockburn 2007; Moghadam 2009). Drawing on new interviews with activists and focussing on the Israeli-Palestinian case, this paper examines why feminist networks like the IWC have failed to build enduring cross-community and transnational alliances and considers the extent to which CodePink may be positioned to do so today. This research is part of a larger study that investigates new forms of transnational feminist peace activism in the post 9/11 period. It aims to contribute to our understanding of local-global feminist alliances in the gender and security and peace and post conflict literatures.

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The British debate on the Fixed Term Parliament’s Bill: Lessons for Canada

An Act establishing a fixed five-year term for the Parliament of the United Kingdom received Royal Assent on September 15th, 2011. The Act sets May 7, 2015 as the date of the next election of Members to the UK Parliament and the date for subsequent elections as the first Thursday in May every year thereafter. The bill states that Parliament cannot be otherwise dissolved, with two exceptions. The House of Commons may, by a two-thirds vote, set an earlier date for an election or an election will occur if a government is defeated on a confidence vote and no government capable of commanding the confidence of the House of Commons is available within 14 days. The Canadian experience with fixed-term elections legislation was invoked in the British debate regarding two sections of the Act: the inclusion of a provision that Parliament cannot be otherwise dissolved and the absence of any explicit limitation on the prerogative power of dissolution. This paper surveys the British debate leading to the passage of the Fixed Term Parliament’s Act, including the influence of the Canadian experience, and highlights lessons that may be drawn for a Canadian approach to limiting the prerogative powers exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister.

cameron, duncan (dcamero@uottawa.ca)

Getting ready for 2012: Federal Party Pre-Election Strategies

What can we expect to see before the first fixed date election by way of federal party strategies? The next Federal election will be the first to be conducted under fixed election date rules. As a result the main political parties have

three years from June 2012 to develop their electoral strategies for the expected 2015 election. The state of the art of building support and demobilizing opposition in the new world of social media and the very traditional world of party advertising, fund raising, organizing on the ground, and connecting with potential voters will be discussed. The focus however will be on big picture issues. How do parties position themselves? What are perceived weaknesses and strengths. Who knows how to win? This panel will feature three speakers. Tom Flanagan has been a Conservative Party strategist and is the author of a study of the people who worked with Stephen Harper to elect him prime minister. Brooke Jeffrey is a leading student of the Liberal party. Duncan Cameron has been active in NDP leadership politics.

Carrier-Sabourin, Krystal (krystal.cs@gmail.com)

Female Canadian Forces Members in Combat: International Pioneers

In 1989, a Canadian human rights tribunal ordered all obstacles to be removed to the integration of women into all military occupation and roles, including combat, with the exception of service in submarines (this exception was later removed in 2001). Twenty years after this landmark judicial decision, few empirical evidence has been presented to assess the extent to which Canadian women are occupying all military occupations and roles, including their involvement in direct combat and combat-support operations, or on the policies of other countries with regards to women serving in combat roles. In this presentation, I will look at the extent to which female members of the Canadian Forces are now involved in combat, and will assess the extent of Canadian women's integration into the armed forces as compared to other States. To do so, I will present an analysis of data on female members' occupation, rank, deployments, and combat exposure from 1990 to 2011, with particular emphasis on Canadian female CF members' service in Afghanistan. This data will be compared to two other categories of States: those who allow women to serve in combat (Holland, Norway, Israel, New Zealand, Italy, Eritrea), and those who don't (United States, United Kingdom, and until September 2011, Australia). This study is innovative in that it contextualizes and explains the patterns of women's recruitment and deployments in combat, combat-support, and non-combat roles internationally.

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The (de)construction of identity in NATO's narrative of legitimacy : the self, the other-as-self, the non-self

The various military interventions led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the last 15 years, in Kosovo, Afghanistan, or more recently in Libya, constantly raised questions of legality and legitimacy. Until now, interpretations of legitimacy narratives relating to military missions abroad were mostly (1) framed in legalist or contractualist terms; and (2) guided by a specific type of universal value of justice. As a consequence, they were commonly believed to support in some way member states' national or collective identity in relation to a precise audience, should it be domestic or international. Rather than interested in the «support of identity» aspect, this paper, inspired by the thoughts of Jacques Derrida, seeks instead to explore legitimacy narratives of military interventions as «producer» of identity. Therefore, meanings given to military actions create an evolving sense of self (NATO), other-as-self (people worth assisting) and non-self (legitimate target). Throughout this process, both NATO and individuals (foes or friends) related to its tactical environment will be depicted with varying identities as the operation's narrative moves forward. To this end, the paper aims to study in depth the press narrative issued by NATO Headquarters during Operation Unified Protector (Libya, from March to October 2011) starting from UNSCR 1970/1973. Using as comparative narratives prior official publications (such as NATO's Strategic Concept of November 2010), the evolution of what is (not) referred to as self, other-as-self, and non-self during a NATO military campaign will reveal its evolving identity production.

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Of Steering, Rowing, and Pipers Unpaid: Assisted Human Reproduction As An Issue of Federal-Provincial Relations In Health Care

Scholarship on federalism and assisted reproduction policy in Canada has largely focused on how the constitutional division of powers has affected the policy process, causing a regulatory void, inviting a constitutional challenge, or potentially resulting in the non-implementation of resulting regulations (Montpetit 2003; Montpetit 2004; Varone, Rothmayr, and Montpetit; Healy 1995; Jones and Salter 2007). Some literature, however, looks more closely at federal-provincial affairs, proposing that changing intergovernmental relations in health during the policy process impacted the timing and content of resulting legislation (Miller Chenier 2002; Baird 2007). This paper builds on these works by tracing the overlapping histories of intergovernmental relations in health and the development of public policy on assisted human reproduction. Employing a neo-institutional approach, it reveals that the trajectory of public policy on assisted reproduction was not only hindered by the differing opinions of stakeholder groups and the division of powers, but also by the evolution of intergovernmental relations in health throughout the long policy process. Further, it suggests that the criminal law power was employed in the regulation of assisted reproduction as a tool to reassert a federal role in health; part of a trend wherein the federal government uses the criminal law to intervene in highly contested areas of health care.

Chan, Evelyn (ev.chan@utoronto.ca)

Deliberative Forums in Non-Democracies: Re-conceptualizing the Temporal Order of Democratic Transition and Consolidation.

Can deliberative democracy exist in authoritarian states? The paper presents a critique to the comparative politics literature on democratic transition. The transition paradigm consists of several phases; the opening of the regime, which is brought by gradual liberalization; breakthrough, which creates divisions within the ruling elite, and consolidation, whereby democratic forms are transformed into democratic substance. A challenge is that many new democracies have failed to consolidate stall in a grey zone of illiberalism. I question the temporal order of democratic transitions, which sees multiparty elections as a necessary precondition for the consolidation of democracies. In delinking liberalization from transition, and stressing the link between liberalization and consolidation, sites of deliberation enhance the public sphere that makes consolidation durable when a transition does occur. My paper examines post-Mao reforms in China to identify the important role deliberation plays in developing social trust, a sense of community and rights consciousness in Modern China. Post-Mao reforms in China represent a process of gradual liberalization in the public sphere. The monopoly of power by the CCP and lack of any political opposition suggests that the transition paradigm is not applicable. Yet there requires a theoretical framework to capture the significance of the gradual liberalization that has occurred. Despite the absence of an organized opposition, non-state actors like news editors and civil society groups push the boundaries on the kind of discourse and activity permitted by the Party.

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The Mechanization of Voter Intent

Electronic voting systems (EVS) are increasingly used in Canada. Because election results are the essential measure of the popular will in liberal democracies, accurate determination of voter intent and spoiled ballots by EVS is a necessary pre-requisite. There is reason to be concerned about the faith placed in mechanization. What [N] does is not simply make a mark on a piece of paper; he [sic] is casting a vote (Winch 2008: 46). Voting is observably intentional action in the context of certain political institutions, those, say, of parliamentary democracy. If every vote counts, then every vote must be counted - which means seeing the mark on the paper as intentional action. This paper is an evaluative empirical case study of the tallying of ballots in an Ontario municipality at the 2010 municipal elections. Throughout the province, votes were counted primarily by electronic tabulators, with the exception of a few rural areas. The tabulators were programmed to distinguish between proper votes, over-votes, under-votes and ambiguous ballots. In one constituency the official result between the two top candidates was a difference of 1 vote. This paper examines the recount process in which the determination of voter intent was 'mechanized' by the City Clerk. The results of the study provide the basis for recommending changes to out-of-date aspects of the Ontario Municipal Elections Act. Winch, Peter. 2008. *The Idea of a Social Science and its Relation to Philosophy*. Third edition. London and New York: Routledge Classics.

Chater, Andrew (achater@uwo.ca)

A New Tipping Point: The Government of Canada, Northern Residents and Climate Change

The paper addresses whether Canada has an appropriate climate change strategy for Northern Canada. I argue that the Government of Canada does not have an appropriate climate change strategy for Northern Canada because current policy ignores the impact of climate change on Northern people. First, I overview Canada's current climate change strategy and demonstrate that it suspiciously does not address the effects of climate change on Northern residents. Second, I discuss possible reasons for this supposed oversight by the Government of Canada using critical security theory and the human security framework, drawing on primary and secondary data as well as discourse analysis. Third, I demonstrate that despite commitments, strong action on climate change has not been forthcoming from the Government of Canada. Fourth, I discuss the potential social, economic and cultural effects of climate change on Northern residents that climate policy should address. Fifth, I assert that a more explicit climate change strategy is necessary to ensure the fulfillment of international and domestic policy commitments, assuage Northerners' fears about climate change and provide an international leadership role for Canada. Sixth, I discuss how the lack of an explicit strategy will affect Canada's international standing. My paper is the first to demonstrate the Government of Canada policy explicitly ignores Northern residents and discuss possible reasons for this oversight.

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The South China Sea in the Changing Regional Order

After almost a decade of relative calm since the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties (DOC) in 2002, tensions in the South China Sea have flared up recently. In July 2010, the US declared the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea a national interest, in response to China's claim of the same region as a core national interest. This year, an incident between Vietnamese and Chinese ships in May triggered strong protests and military exercises in Vietnam. In June and July 2011, the US held separate military exercises with the Philippines and Vietnam, accelerating their military cooperation. While Vietnam openly welcomes the US intervention and invites India to

join its oil exploration, the Philippines reinforce its strategic partnership with Japan in September 2011 to jointly confront China. An anti-China strategic bloc seems to be taking shape, which leads many observers to consider the South China Sea to be the future of conflict. Why has the DOC failed and can it be rescued? Will an anti-China bloc bring peace or cause a regional conflict? Is multilateralism a viable solution? If so, how and from whom such cooperation might emerge? This research aims to answer these questions by analyzing 1) the strength and weakness of the current regional security framework; 2) the strategies of China, the US, Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines in response to changing regional power balance; 3) the conditions and concrete measures for a multilateral solution and Canada's possible role in this solution.

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Canadian immigration policy: More voices, more debate

Theories of Canadian policy-making in the immigration field have privileged the importance of parliamentary institutions and political executives. In contrast, political systems with multiple access points have often been analyzed through the framework of clientelist models. However, applying an interest-group framework to the Canadian context adds an explanatory layer to the variance emerging in immigration streams in the last decade: toward meeting business needs for specific types of skills among permanent and temporary workers through an increasingly open labour entry regime; and an increasingly rights-restrictive refugee stream. As Gary Freeman, a key scholar of client politics has suggested, an interest group model that takes into account national institutions and histories can light the black box of executive power and serve to question and reveal the relative degree of state autonomy and the political-bureaucratic culture that shapes the preferences of political actors. The paper applies such a nationally-modulated client politics model to recent Canadian cases. Specifically, it presents a close analysis of the impact of interest and advocacy groups in four cases: the increase in temporary workers, the introduction of ministerial directions in Bill C-50 signifying the shift away from human capital considerations; and refugee bills C-11 and C-4 which introduce differentiation among refugee groups and rights. The paper makes an important contribution to advancing the understanding of policy-making by arguing that the exercise of governmental autonomy in this area is bounded by the mobilization of interest groups it activates, a conclusion with theoretical implications outside the immigration field.

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Information Flows in Canadian Political Media

The importance of the Internet as a source of news has steadily increased over the past ten years (Purcell et al. 2010; Hermida et al. 2011). More recently, the rapid rise in popularity of social media (Dewing 2010) has been accompanied by an increase in public use of social media as a source of news (Hermida et al. 2011). A growing proportion of news is reported initially through social media (Hermida, 2010) and more and more individuals are interacting with the news rather than just consuming it (Small 2011; Curtice and Norris 2008). The traditional media are still a major factor in the media ecosystem (Fletcher et al., 2011) but the continual interaction of established news organizations and public input is not well understood. Despite a wide range of studies that compare political information on the Internet to information found in traditional media, there is little data on how information actually flows between these two forms of media. Drawing on data from a new large-scale content analysis of Canadian political news media, this paper will examine how political information is presented and altered as it traverses through and between traditional and social media.

Clark, Timothy (tdclark@yorku.ca)

Putting the Horse Before the Cart: Neoliberalism and Post-Neoliberalism in Chile

Once considered a model of political stability and neoliberal reform, Chile has recently found itself engulfed in a wave of protest in spite of the fact that, like many countries of South America, it weathered the recent global financial meltdown well. While many of the demands of social movements have been interpreted as a repudiation of the neoliberal model inherited from the dictatorship, do the protests augur for the ascendancy of a post-neoliberal order in Chile? To answer this question, we must first clarify what we understand by 'neoliberal'. It be will contended that much of the literature on neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism suffers from the ontology of states-and-markets that constructs neoliberalism as the retreat of the state from the market and post-neoliberalism as the return of the state to its previous role of social and economic regulator. However, if we conceptualize neoliberalism in Chile not as a set of policies to free the market but rather as a constructivist political project to institutionalize capitalist hegemony, the dictatorship and its aftermath appear in a very different light. Far from withdrawing the state from civil society, Pinochet deployed the extraordinary state power at his disposal to reconstruct the principal social classes of Chilean society and complete the transition towards capitalist hegemony. The recent demands of social movements in Chile can then be interpreted not as a repudiation of neoliberalism but as its logical deepening and extension as previously marginalized actors seek to gain fuller incorporation into the neoliberal order.

Clarke, Amanda (amandaerinclarke@gmail.com)

Open Dialogue and the Government of Canada's Use of Social Media: Bureaucratic Barriers to Democratic Engagement in the Digital Age

In 2011 the Government of Canada announced the expansion of its "Open Government" program, which emphasizes as one of its three central components "open dialogue" between government and the public through the use of social media. This paper assesses the extent to which civil servants steeped in the top-down, controlled, and risk-averse culture of traditional government communications are adapting to the networked, rapid, and informal information exchange that social media supports. Drawing on content analysis of activity on departmental Twitter accounts between January-April 2012 the paper first explores if and how departments use this popular social media platform to collaborate with citizens, as promised by the "open dialogue" initiative. Next, insight gained from interviews with federal public servants supports conclusions about the institutional barriers that complicate bureaucrats' attempts to adapt to social media-based citizen engagement. Part of a larger project comparing "Open Government" in Canada and the United Kingdom, the paper offers workshop participants early data on the Government of Canada's experience with social media, a new mode of government-citizen interaction that has not yet been the subject of rigorous empirical analysis. In addition, the paper will invite participants to reconsider a long-standing debate about the incompatibility between the practices and norms of public bureaucracies and those that support democratic engagement, an incompatibility that the author argues deserves re-examination in light of new forms of citizen engagement made possible in the digital age.

Clarkson, Stephen (stephen.clarkson@utoronto.ca)

Caught in the Middle: Canada in the Changing Configuration of Global Regions

In the context of the WTO Doha Round's failure, an outbreak of bilateral, state-to-state trade and investment negotiations is having centripetal effects on the emerging phenomenon of regionalization. Having adopted a strategy in the 1980s designed to anchor itself within an integrated North American regional economy (CUFTA 1989, NAFTA 1994), Canada finds itself facing the failure of its last two decades' strategy. Looking inside North America, the country is being disconnected from its own region. The United States' economic decline and rising protectionism threaten Canada's major export market. The American shift to an anti-terrorist security paradigm further inhibits the growth of those economic flows on which Canada's prosperity has long depended. Looking outside North America, Canada is being pulled from both East and West. Demand from rising Asian markets for Canada's unprocessed resources is beckoning it westwards. At the same time, it is being drawn eastwards by the EU's proposed economic agreement to open up provincial, and municipal public sectors for European TNCs' investment. Having laid out these shifts in its regional and global contexts, the paper will consider the strategic options facing Canada. Should it continue to distance itself from Mexico in order to reactivate its bilateral integration with the United States? Should it, rather, ally itself with Mexico and use the two countries' considerable weight to revive the trilateral integration project launched by NAFTA? Or should it adopt a "third option" in order to strengthen its economic relationships with Europe, Latin America, and Asia?

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The Meaning of "Left" and "Right": Empty Vessel, Essential Core, or Family Resemblance?

What is the meaning of "left" and "right"—that is, what do these words symbolize about the empirical world of political disagreement? There is no consensus about the answer to this question, but there is a broad consensus about how this question should be answered: characteristics that are more or less common and exclusive to objects (e.g., people, parties, ideologies) on the left are properties of the left; characteristics common and exclusive to objects on the right are properties of the right. In other words, this approach infers the "intension" of these words from the characteristics of the objects in their "extension." This paper critiques two common applications of this approach. The first application compares across time or space the characteristics of objects within the left or within the right, and upon finding differences between objects in the same category, infers that the meaning of the words has changed. The second application compares objects on the left to objects on the right, and upon finding differences across comparisons in the characteristics that separate left-wing objects from right-wing objects, infers that the meaning of the words has changed. This paper argues that the first application misinterprets the nature of the left-right distinction, and the second application misinterprets the nature of meaning itself. Drawing on data from the Comparative Manifesto Research Project, as well as from expert and public opinion surveys about the policy positions of political parties, the paper proposes and tests a conceptualization of the left-right divide which builds from the inherently relational character of political disagreement and a non-essentialist understanding of meaning.

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The Rule of Law and Two Tier Justice: The Roots of Resistance to the Six Nations Reclamation in Caledonia, Ontario

Through the case of Caledonia we argue the residents of Caledonia are attached to and envision Canada as a nation state founded upon and embodying a single system of governance premised upon hegemonic colonial ideas about sovereignty and the rule of law. The Six Nations reclamation unsettles this vision; it leads the residents of Caledonia to both think that the law is iniquitously applied between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples and to perceive their society as having degenerated into a system of two tier justice. Second, the residents of Caledonia fail to recognize that no person in Canada, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, is subject to a single and universal set of laws. Although the residents conceive Canada as One People/Nation founded upon One Law, we argue that Canada is a legally pluralist society and that Canadian law emanates from multi-levels of governance. For example, it is well known that Indigenous Peoples are guided by their own traditional laws and are also subject to provincial and federal laws that have historically been imposed to assimilate, suppress, and marginalize them in relation to the dominant majority.

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Ontario Politics in the 21st Century Roundtable

It has been almost 15 years since the last edition of *The Government and Politics of Ontario* was published. In 1997, Ontario appeared to be a strange place in comparison to the province of successive Big Blue Machine Tory victories. In that 'newer' Ontario, the NDP formed government for the first time and the 'new-look' Tories under Mike Harris had overseen some radical government restructuring in both tone and tenor. In the 5th edition, Graham White set out to identify and evaluate these remarkable and possibly irreversible changes (1997:vii). Yet in 2011, some of these changes do not appear to have stood the test of time, while others have materialized. For example, Ontario is now considered a have not province, which suggests significant changes in intergovernmental relations. The 2011 election produced a minority government (something that had not occurred since 1985). Does this mean that north/south and rural/urban divisions are more pronounced? How has increased immigration over time impacted political culture and attention to issues of diversity? It is the purpose of this roundtable to take stock of the changes and the continuities in Ontario since 1997 to see if Ontario has undergone irreversible change or whether the eternal verities of Ontario politics have come around once again (ibid). Roundtable participants include: Jonathan Malloy (Carleton), Cheryl Collier (Windsor) - co-organizers; Julie Simmons (Gueph), Bryan Evans (Ryerson), Gina Comeau (Laurentian), Dan Henstra (Waterloo).

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When Female Ministers Resign: Gender and Ministerial Responsibility in Canada

Despite promises by successive federal governments to increase public accountability of elected officials, the Westminster doctrine of individual ministerial responsibility has not been fully embraced at least in its 'pure' form where ministers are expected to resign when their departments fail massively (Mulgan 2010). Even still, there are aspects of ministerial responsibility that are more regularly followed (including the requirement to explain and defend departmental activities in the House and resignation for reasons related to personal misconduct). These, and other, aspects of ministerial responsibility are assumed to impact both male and female cabinet ministers in similar ways, yet if we look at ministerial resignations for reasons of personal misconduct over the past ten years in Canada, female ministers have been forced to resign twice (Helena Guergis and Judy Sgro) as opposed to only on incident of the same for a male minister (Maxime Bernier). This occurred despite the fact that female ministers have never constituted more than 25% of federal cabinets. It is the purpose of this paper to examine whether and how ministerial responsibility may be gendered in Canada by qualitatively examining all aspects of individual ministerial responsibility (summarized in Sutherland 1991) over the past ten years using a feminist institutionalist theoretical framework (MacKay et. al 2010). This study will help develop a small but growing literature that examines the gendered dimensions of the core executive (Annesley and Gains 2010) and will add to my growing interaction with the burgeoning field of feminist institutionalism in Canada and internationally.

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Alternate Routes: Intergovernmental Relations in Canada and Australia

Although they bear many similarities, the practice of federalism is different in Canada and Australia. Each country has evolved in ways that their founders did not predict, and these historical developments have impacted the working of federalism. In Australia, federal-state relations are institutionalized through the Council of Australian Government (COAG), while in Canada, the Council of the Federation (COF), a provincial-territorial body, remains the most institutionalized forum for intergovernmental relations. With Canada and Australia as test-cases, this study seeks to answer the following question: what factors shaped the development of COAG and COF? More specifically, did they live up to initial expectations? Using a historical-institutionalist framework and based on primary interviews with practitioners, the study suggests that history is crucial in understanding institutional development. A set of factors ensured that COAG and COF conformed to their respective historical contexts, despite initial proposals which were quite different from the final product. Recent developments in intergovernmental relations in Canada and Australia should serve as a cautionary tale for institutional design. This

is particularly instructive when considering the case of the Council for the Australian Federation (CAF), which, although modeled on COF, has fallen to the wayside.

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Social Inclusion and Equality Seeking Groups in Canadian Sport Policies

The language of social inclusion and exclusion is used in several policy fields, including sport policy in Canada. The language of inclusion is, in part, a response to the social exclusion that arose out of the dismantling of the welfare state in the 1990s. Several identity groups such as women, Aboriginals, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities and economically disadvantaged groups were more negatively impacted than other groups by these shifts. These groups faced an intensification of social exclusion (Saint-Martin 2007) following the restructuring which entailed budgetary cuts, rethinking state priorities and shifting the responsibility to the individual. The response was to demand greater inclusion in many policy sectors, such as, sport. Such demands have infiltrated policy discourse in the sport policy sector. There are three new policies which reflect this trend in the Canadian sport policy sector: Sport Canada's Policy on Aboriginal People's Participation in Sport (2005), Policy on Sport for Persons with a Disability (2006) and Actively Engaged: A Policy on Sport for Women and Girls (2009). This paper seeks to uncover how we understand social inclusion, social exclusion and the related concepts of equity and equality in sport policies. Through an examination of these three policy documents, three questions are asked: How have these concepts infiltrated the language of sport policy? What meanings are assigned to these concepts? What are the resulting policy implications?

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Americanized ? Comparative Branding in Canadian and American Politics.

This paper will draw on the fieldwork that I have done in Canada during the Fall of 2011 and will do in DC next spring. It compares the ways in which Canadian and American political parties go about branding themselves and their candidates. It looks at the role that the political system, the party structure, regionalism, microtargeting and segmentation play in both countries. It will pay specific attention to the way in which the branding strategy is used in the USA versus the way in which it is used by political parties in Canada. This paper will attempt to lay out in broad terms the similarities and differences between these two systems. Doing this will enhance our understanding as a scholarly community about the applicability of marketing techniques in general and branding in particular within the specific geographic space of North America.

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Keep Your Friends Close and Your Enemies Closer: Minimizing the Threat to US Space Assets

Outer space has become an increasingly important asset to the United States, allowing it global access and reach on both a commercial and military level. Given the sizeable US footprint in outer space and the relatively limited activity of other states, the US is the dominant space power today. I argue that US dominance in outer space has brought with it reliance on outer space. Furthermore, given the unique outer space environment, this has placed the US in a dominant-vulnerable position in which the security of US space assets is virtually non-existent. Due to high costs and the unpredictability of outer space, movement to a dominant-invulnerable position is not feasible. Thus, the US should attempt to move to a non-dominant/mutually vulnerable position by facilitating increased activity in outer space by other major powers, particularly Russia and China. An increase in outer space activity in turn increases outer space reliance, decreasing the incentive to engage in outer space conflict and therefore decreasing the threat of attack on US space assets. This argument directly challenges conventional international relations (IR) theories by arguing that the US would be better off in the long run if potential challengers increased their global power. To make this argument, I will analyze current US space activity and the unique properties of outer space conflict, and present a model adapted from nuclear deterrence theory to demonstrate that the best feasible policy choice for the US is to move to a non-dominant/mutually vulnerable position in outer space.

Craft, Jonathan (jonathan.craft@sfu.ca)

Movers and Shapers, Buffers and Bridges: Unpacking the Policy Work of Institutionalized Partisan Advisers in Canada

Institutionalized partisan advisers have emerged as a growing feature of government minister's offices in Westminster governments around the world. However, little theory building or empirical study exists related to their policy specific work in Canada. This paper reports on dissertation work aimed at filling that gap. It begins by establishing a typology of the procedural and substantive dimensions of such actors' policy formulation activities. It then reports on findings from qualitative interviews (N=55) with ministers, deputy ministers, and senior partisan advisers at the national and sub-national level in Canada. Partisan advisers are found to play varied roles at sub-stages of the policy formulation process along substantive and procedural dimensions. With notable exceptions, partisan advisers reported less frequent introduction of new policy options and more consistent shaping of existing substance of policy development. Partisan advisers were frequently found to be engaged in procedural policy activity related to movement of policy advice or options and overall policy coordination. Additionally, this set of

actors was also found to play significant roles as buffers and bridges with respect to both endogenous and exogenous sources of policy advice. The paper concludes by outlining some areas of convergence and divergence among the three cases and future research questions.

Craig, Leon (eandrew@chass.utoronto.ca)

The Ambiguity of the Greek/barbarian distinction

Panel title - War: Ancient and Modern with Ed Andrew (presenter), Barry Cooper (presenter) and Leah Bradshaw (discussant). Sokrates' warfaring doctrine in Plato's Republic (466e-471d), requiring the distinction between 'war' and 'faction', is radically ironic. Beneath its 'idealistic' surface there is a cold-blooded, not to say, brutal realism that shows itself only when considered in conjunction with Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War. In light of this esoteric 'underside' of the doctrine, one is led in turn to a radical re-consideration of just who are the 'Greeks', and who the 'barbarians', and of why they are 'enemies by nature'. Needless to add, this has consequences for virtually everything treated in that dialogue, bearing in mind that the City being made "in logos" is "necessarily Greek" (470e).

Craigie, Allan (allan.craigie@ubc.ca)

Regionalism, Federalism and Defence Procurement: The Case of the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy

This paper examines how national defence spending is shaped by the politics of regionalism in Canada. As a part of the Canada First Defence Strategy, the Canadian government initiated the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy in which \$35 billion would be spent on ships for the Royal Canadian Navy and Canadian Coast Guard. Shipyards in Vancouver BC, Lévis PQ, and Halifax NS competed for one of two contracts worth \$25 billion and \$8 billion. Though national defence decision making is one of the few jurisdictions in which the federal government has both the financial and constitutional powers necessary to act unilaterally, the economically transformative potential of the contracts drove the provincial governments of British Columbia, Quebec and Nova Scotia to actively campaign for the shipyard in their province. The Irving shipyard in Halifax, Nova Scotia, which was awarded the \$25 billion contract, is used as a test case for this paper to examine how the political legitimacy of provincial governments permeates the supposedly water-tight policy sphere of national defence.

Crandall, Erin (erin.crandall@mail.mcgill.ca)

Judicial Power and Appointments: Theorizing about Reform in Australia and 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. In response to this growth of judicial power, one common action taken by governments appears to be the reform of their judicial selection systems. However, while judicial appointments and modifications to appointment systems have received increased attention by both academics and the popular media in recent years, the reasons for reform remain vastly under theorized, and little comparative work has been undertaken. Using a process-tracing approach and interview data, this paper looks at Canada and Australia's final courts of appeal in order to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the timing of and reasons for reforms to judicial appointment systems in advanced democracies. Canada and Australia make desirable cases for comparative analysis for several reasons. Both share similar political institutions, including near identical processes for selecting their judges. However, while Canada entrenched a constitutional bill of rights in 1982, Australia remains the only advanced democracy without a national bill of rights. On several occasions both have attempted to formally modify the appointment processes of their final courts of appeal, with only Australia doing so successfully (in 1979). By developing a general theory concerning the relationship between judicial power 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)

Coherence in Canadian Democratic Constitutionalism

How much coherence does democratic constitutionalism require? How much is too much? In Canada, governments and citizens alike have increasingly looked away from ordinary legislative processes to referenda and citizens' assemblies in order to achieve legitimate change but without the benefit of a coherent theory or practice of democratic constitutionalism that explains and justifies the respective roles of representative, deliberative and direct democracy. This paper argues that practical considerations point toward both (1) a more deliberative model for initiating, formulating, and ratifying proposals for institutional change; and (2) a highly realistic model that recognizes the inescapability of power relations and bargaining in political matters. Theoretical debates between deliberative democrats and agonistic pluralists can both contribute to, and learn from, our attempts to bridge deliberation and bargaining and bring greater coherence to our democratic practices.

Crookshanks, JD (jdcrook@shaw.ca)

Power, Structure, and Capital: Urban Housing Fields and Aboriginal People

With this paper, I will explore and compare two Canadian cities, Edmonton and Winnipeg, as they relate to urban Aboriginal communities. In each case, I do so by focusing on each city's housing field. The paper will make use of data collected from approximately 60 interviews with policy-makers and service providers in Edmonton and Winnipeg's housing sectors, as well as from focus groups with local Aboriginal communities who are not always recognized in studies that deal only with 'elite' or powerful people in the urban setting. Using a field analysis method (Bourdieu, 2005), I look at how access to decision-making processes and other valuable resources that shape the housing field are distributed in each city between key political figures, civil service workers and program providers, and local community members. Looking at relative values of capital shows who has the social, cultural, economic, and symbolic resources to bring about or resist change in the urban housing field. By comparing cases, I will highlight some conclusions: First, the symbolic capacity of the mayor in legitimizing local 'Aboriginal politics' has been significant even in the face of provincial governments of opposing ideologies. Second, Aboriginal political organizations play important and conflicting roles in shaping the field. And third, the division of power between Aboriginal housing organizations themselves is central to shaping the housing field's struggle. These three factors shape not just the fields themselves but the beliefs and behaviours that recreate these systems that privilege some over others.

Croskill, Julie (jcrosskill@gmail.com)

The Gender Affinity Effect: Reaping the Rewards in Australian Local Constituencies

Research examining American voting behaviour suggests that in some elections, women are more likely than men to vote for female candidates across government levels, a phenomenon known as the gender affinity effect (Dolan 2008). Reasons thought to cause this behaviour vary, and include gender consciousness and cognitive shortcuts to vote choice. In Canada and Australia, evidence of the gender affinity effect has surfaced for some elections between female voters and party leaders (O'Neill, 1998, Banducci and Karp, 2000). However, no evidence of this effect has been found between Canadian female voters and candidates (Goodyear-Grant and Croskill, 2011). The inability of Canadian female candidates to generate such an effect is not surprising - estimates suggest that only five percent of voters vote to support a local candidate, rather than party, or leader (Blais et al., 2003). Thus, whether female candidates are able to generate a gender affinity effect amongst candidate supporters is unclear. My paper will analyze the 2010 Australian General Election using AES data combined with candidate data. Unlike the CES, the AES includes a question that asks respondents the reason for their vote - thus, voters who support local candidates can be identified, along with those who support a party leader. Logistic regression analysis will be employed to assess for the presence of the gender affinity effect amongst all voters, and for those who specifically support local candidates. This paper will provide insight into the potential for gender affinity effects to shape vote choice in leader-centric systems.

Curry, Dion (dcurry@gmx.com)

Actor Networks and Multi-Level Governance: Intergovernmental Negotiation and the Art of Gentle Persuasion in Canada and EU Skills Development

The main focus of this research is to examine how multi-level political systems adapt to deal with different and often conflicting actor interests, and aims to answer whether soft-law mechanisms can be as effective as harder financial incentives in addressing and coordinating social issues across governmental levels and agencies. Labour market development in both Canada and the EU must both balance the needs of various levels of governmental actors and operate within set jurisdictional limits between these actors. As such, complex formal and informal arrangements have developed in order to balance social needs and governmental competences. This paper will focus on the use of the social open method of coordination (Social OMC) in the European Union as a tool for developing and coordinating EU-level training policy in an area that falls mostly under Member State competence. The coordinating mechanisms in place - namely the peer review process and joint reporting - will be compared to Canadian financial and deliberation mechanisms used to coordinate in this area across provincial boundaries. This research will use social network analysis to map the different relations between actors (financial, legal and informal) over the policy cycle in developing skills and employment policies and the interplay between different levels of government in addressing these issues. This fits with previous work done by the author in exploring a theoretical and practical model of understanding hierarchical and structural constraints on multi-level governance systems and further develops a relatively unexamined comparison for Canadian social governance processes.

Cutler, Fred (cutler@politics.ubc.ca), **Matthews, Scott** (jsmatthews99@gmail.com), **Pickup, Mark** (mark.pickup@gmail.com)

Arguing for a Bandwagon: Rhetorical Contexts and the Influence of Polls on Vote Decisions

Polls of vote intention are central to contemporary media coverage of elections. Diverse theories in political science, furthermore, suggest that the reporting of polls may have important effects on voter decision-making, particularly through such mechanisms as the bandwagon effect. Yet, one widely cited account of poll effects - Diana Mutz's cognitive response theory - suggests that the influence of polls on voters may be limited in important ways, in particular, by the availability and persuasiveness of arguments that could account for or explain poll

results. On this view, a party or candidate whose vote share increases in a poll will enjoy more favourable evaluations from voters if, and only if, voters can find plausible reasons for the observed movement in the polls. Absent such reasons, the poll should have no significant effect on vote intention and related attitudes. This paper executes a unique, experimental test of this theory. The design involves manipulation of the rhetorical or argumentative context in which citizens are exposed to poll results. The hypothesis is that poll effects diminish when an aspect of the information environment is manipulated such that it is harder to find subjectively plausible arguments to explain poll movements. The paper reports the results of three experiments embedded in web-based surveys of samples of voters during elections in 3 Canadian provinces (Ontario, Manitoba, Newfoundland & Labrador) in 2011.

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Boarding the Euro Plane Euro Adoption in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

Following the EU accession in 2004, the Czech Republic and Slovakia committed to adopting the euro sometime in the future. Slovakia, the smaller of the two, adopted the euro in 2009. The Czech Republic meets many of the convergence criteria but has not made serious strides to adopting the euro. This paper asks the question: why did Slovakia adopt the euro while the Czech Republic did not? One could examine the role of institutions in the euro adoption process. After all, in order to join the euro, countries need to have met the convergence criteria, which refer to inflation and interest rates, budgetary deficit and public debt and central bank's independence. These criteria can be best met if institutions are adapted to them and if domestic politics is permissive to making major changes. The bulk of this paper seeks to explain euro adoption strategies in the Czech Republic and Slovakia until 2009. The second part of the paper examines how each country has performed under the regime they joined (Czech Republic: flexible exchange rates; Slovakia: in the euro area) and how that experience affected their euro adoption policies or an assessment thereof. The paper looks at the question through two theoretical lenses, historical institutionalism and domestic politics. We argue that euro adoption policies are shaped by political will of the domestic policy coalition (whether the sitting government is willing and able to mount support for change or whether it is against change). Economic factors seem to be of lesser importance.

Dauda, Carol (cdauda@uoguelph.ca)

National Battles and Global Dreams: R.E.A.L. Women and the Politics of Backlash

Since 1983, R.E.A.L. Women has been active in the backlash against what is perceived to be the feminist agenda. For R.E.A.L. Women's adherents, a feminist agenda is any political demand that threatens the heteronormative marriage and family as conceived within Christian values. Nevertheless, the group asserts itself as part of the struggle for equality of women and espouses liberal and neo-liberal principles of diversity of point of view, personal choice and freedom from government interference. Despite animosity towards government institutions, they have actively pursued government remedies in their anti-abortion, anti-LGBT, anti-prostitution and anti-drug battles through participation in most of the major legislative and court cases since 1983. Likewise, despite its abhorrence of global governance, R.E.A.L. Women gained special consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1998 to continue its mission in an alliance with the American Christian right and the Vatican and to promote the establishment of 'freedom of religion' globally. Taking evidence from the organization's legislative and court testimonies, position statements and publications this paper explores the various framing of issues to identify its political strategy and potential for alliance in the Conservative Party of Canada and with powerful groups at the global level. The paper argues that, in variously framing their arguments in order to gain allies, R.E.A.L. Women, if not always successful in their goals, have played an effective role in the polarizing of politics that presents a formidable challenge to feminist politics both in Canada and globally.

Daw, Jamie (jdaw@chspr.ubc.ca), **Morgan, Steven** (morgan@chspr.ubc.ca)

Framing pharmacare: an analysis of Canadian print media, 1990-2010

Despite strong principled feelings about the importance of maintaining universal public coverage of medical and hospital care, Canadians do not appear to express similar support for universal coverage for medically necessary prescription drugs. Why is this the case? An examination of the modern public discourse surrounding public drug benefits could provide important insights into the changing salience of this issue and help uncover how the existing system of public drug coverage and potential policy options for pharmacare have been understood and framed. We thus conducted a descriptive analysis of national print media coverage to explore the representation of the issue of national public drug coverage from 1990 to 2011. Specifically, drawing on Iyengar's media effects framework, we examine the quantity and depth of coverage over time (agenda-setting and informing effects) and the representation of the problem of drug coverage, potential solutions, and attributions of responsibility (framing and persuading effects). Based on our findings and drawing on the political agenda setting and media effects literature, we will consider how public discourse, as evidenced through media coverage, may have shaped the perceived need and options for public drug financing in Canada.

de Clercy, Cristine (c.declercy@uwo.ca), **Esselment, Anna** (alesselm@uwaterloo.ca), **Thomlinson, Neil** (nthomlinson@politics.ryerson.ca), **Ferguson, Peter** (p.ferguson@uwo.ca)

The New Ontario Minority Government: Key Prospects and Relationships During Economic Uncertainty.

The 2011 Ontario election marks a turning point for several reasons. First, the incumbent Liberals, initially written off by political observers, were re-elected for a third time. The last Liberal leader to win such an election was Sir Oliver Mowat in 1883. Second, Ontarians returned a Liberal minority government, one seat short of majority status. It has been 26 years since the last minority government in this province. Will the new minority government mark a period of more responsive government, as many proponents of minority governments suggest. Or, will the new government prove to be more constrained and dysfunctional than its predecessors? Also, the campaign occurred against a backdrop of deepening economic malaise. What was thought to be the end of a severe recession proved to be only a brief recess. The change in economic indicators was so severe it savaged the plausibility of all of the parties' fiscal plans, and exposed some deep rifts in intergovernmental relations. As well, the USA's economic recovery, and Ontario's relationship with its American regional partners, merit careful evaluation. It is well worth exploring how the new government has chosen to proceed in a highly uncertain and constrained economic context. This roundtable brings together some experts in Ontario politics to explore answers to these questions, and to ponder whether Ontario has passed into a new era of politics. The group is especially rich in expertise concerning multilevel governance and intergovernmental relations. Confirmed panelists include Cristine de Clercy, Anna Esselment, Peter Ferguson and Neil Thomlinson.

de Clercy, Cristine (c.declercy@uwo.ca)

Uncertainty and the General Interest in the U.S. Constitution: A Study of Embedded Power Relations

The Veil of Ignorance Project (VOIP) is a research program organized and led by Professors Louis M. Imbeau and Steve Jacob at Laval. This set of studies is located in the area of constitutional political economy. The studies are based on research published in 2011 (Imbeau and Jacob) and 2009 (Imbeau) and ask two broad questions: which national constitutions belong to the constitutional level of decision-making and which do not? What explains the variation? These questions currently are being explored by expert national teams via a content analysis of several national constitutions. My paper, titled *Uncertainty and the General Interest in the U.S. Constitution: A Study of Embedded Power Relations*, systematically extracts the power relations embedded in the American constitution as discourse, and communicates empirical findings concerning their presence and direction. The results of this case support Imbeau and Jacob's main hypothesis: the American constitution clearly reflects the general interest more than the constitution drafters' private interests. Owing to this, the empirical results support James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock's seminal proposition, articulated in their 1962 work *The Calculus of Consent*, that uncertainty about the future guides constitutional architects to labour on behalf of the general interest, rather than to serve their self-interest. So uncertainty is an important guarantor of the general interest, and these findings support several theoretical treatments (e.g. Rawls) concerning the effects of uncertainty on behavior.

DeGagne, Alexa (adegagne@ualberta.ca)

'Severely Queer': LGBTIQ Activism in Alberta

Title of the panel: *The LGBT Movement and the State: Pan-Canadian Perspectives with Alexa DeGagne ('Severely Queer': LGBTIQ Activism in Alberta), Joanna Everitt (Mobilization on the Periphery: LGBT Activism and Success in Atlantic Canada), David Rayside (LGBT Advocacy in Ontario: Distinctive or Typical?), Manon Tremblay and Patrice Corriveau (La diversité sexuelle et l'État du Québec: de la répression à la pleine citoyenneté?)* Alberta has gained a reputation as the most conservative and homophobic province in Canada. Since 1971, the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party (PC) has maintained power, in part, by appeasing their social and religiously conservative base, as is exemplified by the Klein government's handling of the Vriend case (1998). In the Vriend case, the Supreme Court decided that Alberta's Individual Rights Protection Act (IRPA) violated section 15(1) of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for failing to protect sexual orientation as an illegal ground of discrimination. While the Vriend decision produced progressive effects for Canada, Klein waited ten years before including sexual orientation in the IRPA. The Vriend case created a moment in which Canadian queers outside of Alberta gained further formal protection while Alberta's queers were targeted and punished by their provincial government. In this paper I argue that the Alberta government's reaction to the Vriend decision has actually opened up space outside of the traditional avenues of Charter politics, enabling for truly progressive queer activism in Alberta's three main centers: Calgary, Red Deer and Edmonton. I will analyze the political reactions and actions of queer organizations in these centers, and show that Alberta's historically conservative political climate has actually motivated the creation of boisterous radical queer movements.

Delacourt, Susan (sdelacourt@rogers.com)

The Press Gallery in Canada: The Battle Between the PMO and the Press

In early 2006, shortly after Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government first took power, a battle erupted with Canada's Parliamentary Press Gallery (CPPG) on the rules of engagement between the politicians and the media. More than a mere skirmish, this was a struggle that explored the limits of where the modern political-media

relationship could exist alongside century-old tradition and institutions in Canada. In the effort to resolve the impasse, both sides were forced to grapple with some tough questions. Could Washington-style protocol be imported to a Westminster parliamentary system - in two languages? If the media is now post-modern in the Internet age, is it also post-parliamentary? Do the old rules of engagement suit the modern political era or are they merely a relic of a simpler, slower age? Is the media truly independent of government in Canada, or is it reliant on its help to do its job? This paper explores the dimensions of the dispute as it played out in newspaper boardrooms, the Prime Minister's Office and in the corridors of Parliament Hill, among some of the country's leading figures of political journalism and political communication. It will explain just what was at stake, on both sides, in what seemed from afar to be a simple grudge match between the politicians and the press. It was in fact much more than that -- it was an important marker in the history of the Canadian political-press relationship.

deLarrinaga, Miguel (mlarrina@uottawa.ca), **Doucet, Marc** (marc.doucet@smu.ca)

Liberal Assemblages of International Interventions: Security Sector Reform (SSR) and the Military-Police Nexus
Title of Panel Critical Security Studies: Domestic/International with Mark Salter/Can E Mutlu (presenters), Christopher Leite (presenter) and Benjamin Muller (presenter). Internationally coordinated post-conflict reconstruction efforts often entail an assemblage of forms of intervention that combine direct military presence or militarized actions with an array of more mundane policing and security practices. In doing so, the vast labour of reconstruction generates a model of governance at the programmatic level that draws a nexus between military and policing practices with the liberal promise of eventually returning these institutions to their traditional roles. Understood as a framework and a site of governmental knowledge production, this nexus as it pertains to post-conflict interventions is most often grounded in the stated need to bring greater efficiency, accountability, and coordination to international development efforts. This paper seeks to examine a particular site of application and knowledge production of the military-police nexus by exploring Security Sector Reform (SSR) activities that have emerged as a central component of the frameworks of peacebuilding intervention of the UN's Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) as well as other international bodies such as the EU and OECD. We argue that although SSR attempts to posit a clear distinction between the military and the police in its promotion of a liberal democratic model of accountable and transparent civilian policing, from a standpoint that examines the governmental rationalities and technologies involved, one can see how the governance design at the heart of SSR participates in further blurring the lines between the military and the police in the name of security reform under the broader aims of development in the contemporary moment.

Depner, Wolfgang (depner72@shaw.ca)

Competing Conceptions of Democratic Legitimacy: Why Baden-Württemberg Elected 'A Coalition of Losers'
On March 27, 2011, one day after Governor General David Johnston had dropped the federal election writ, voters in the German Bundesland of Baden-Württemberg elected a new diet, which eventually elected Winfried Kretschmann as the first ever Green Minister-President in Germany. Notably, Kretschmann accomplished this achievement as the head of a Green-Social Democratic coalition whose respective partners had finished second and third behind the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which had ruled Baden-Württemberg in one way or another since 1952. This outcome holds considerable significance for scholars of comparative politics and Canadian politics, because it challenges the claim by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper that losers don't get to form coalitions, an interpretation of parliamentary traditions heard frequently during and before the most recent federal election, dating back to the prorogation of Parliament in 2008. An obvious question emerges. Why did Baden-Württemberg settle for a 'coalition of losers,' whereas the prospect of such an arrangement sourced a full-blown constitutional crisis in Canada in shaping the federal election of 2011? While it might be appropriate to answer this query through game theory, institutional analysis and the influence of external developments, this paper will seek an answer by comparing and contrasting conceptions of democratic legitimacy in the respective jurisdictions. Particularly, it will advance the thesis that Kretschmann's victory reflects a growing desire among German voters for a more deliberative democracy aligned with the theories advanced by Jürgen Habermas, a development that is also apparent but less advanced in Canadian politics.

DeRochie, Patrick (pderochie@gmail.com)

Crossing The Floor

Title of Panel: Politics Inside the Legislature with Evan Akriotis (presenter), Sylvia Kim (presenter), Craig Ruttan (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Graham White (discussant) Crossing the legislative floor does not occur often but when it happens, it is usually dramatic and unexpected. This is especially so in the case of no party having a majority of seats. In the 2011 Ontario General Election, no party received a majority of seats. The governing liberals received a "major minority" of 53 seats out of 117. Floor-crossings are not unprecedented in Ontario Legislature history, with five MPPs switching parties between 1986 and 2007. For this research paper, these five cases will be studied in addition to any new ones which may occur in the next six months. In four of these cases, the legislature didn't seem greatly affected and the MPP did not go on to a long and successful legislative career. A number of questions will be addressed in this research. What was the political climate and partisan composition of

the legislature at the time of crossing? What were the political consequences of the crossing? Was the floor-crosser offered any incentives for crossing such as a potential cabinet position? What were the political consequences of the crossing? What was the reaction from the mass media, public opinion and the crosser's constituents? Exactly how did the crossing affect the crosser's career in the legislature? Finally what mechanisms are available in a parliamentary democracy to discourage floor-crossing? Information will be obtained from legislative documents, Hansard proceedings, newspapers and books, and interviews with politicians, political and legislative staff and the floor-crossers themselves.

Dersnah, Megan (megan.dersnah@utoronto.ca)

Indicator-Based Competition for Foreign Aid: A New Model for Effective Assistance?

Can indicator-based competition make foreign aid work? Indicator-based competition for aid may prove to be beneficial for certain actors, especially donors, but the implications of shifting the allocation of foreign aid to a policy of competition rather than conditionality could have serious negative implications for those who are most in need of aid. This paper analyzes the rise of competitive aid regimes, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). MCC forms partnerships with only Southern countries that are committed to good governance, economic freedom and investments in their citizens, as decided by their competitive rank in indicator surveys. Besides some 'bottom-line' economic benefits for donors, this model suggests potentially serious theoretical and practical implications. How does an increasing dependence on the production of quantifiable knowledge through the use of indicators shape and affect global power relationships? Does indicator-based competition change the aid recipients and the projects that receive funding? This paper will analyze this new model of foreign aid, based on indicator performance and competition, to elucidate the global impacts, questioning how this model shapes the future of the foreign aid regime.

Desmarais, Annette (annette.desmarais@uregina.ca)

The Promises and Challenges of Food Sovereignty

Since food sovereignty was first introduced in 1996 the concept has mobilized rural and urban social movements in various parts of the world, renewed efforts in transforming the theory and practice of development, highlighted the importance of addressing gender inequities, and inspired academics to analyze the impact and potential of food sovereignty as a radical alternative to existing food systems. This paper will examine the social and political significance of food sovereignty by examining its transformatory potential. In doing so the paper will highlight existing gaps, key challenges and research questions that might help strengthen food sovereignty as a radical social and political framework.

do Vale, Helder (helder.dovale@cepc.es)

Theorizing institutional changes: understanding decentralization and federalization in Brazil, Spain and South Africa

In light of the existing theories about institutional change, this paper seeks to advance a common framework to understand the unfolding of decentralization and federalization in three countries: Brazil, Spain, and South Africa. Although in different continents, these three countries witnessed processes after their respective transitions to democracy that transferred administrative and fiscal authority to their regions (decentralization) and vertically distributed political and institutional capacity (federalization). This paper attempts to explain how institutional changes prompted a shift of power and authority towards regional governments by looking at internal sources of change within the intergovernmental arena in the three countries. This analysis is organized around two propositions: that once countries transit to democracy under all-encompassing constitutions there are high incentives for institutional change, and that under a bargained intergovernmental interaction among political actors subnational political elites are able to advance their interests incrementally. In short, through a common framework this paper will explain comparatively the evolving dynamics of intergovernmental dynamics in three countries.

Doberstein, Carey (carey.doberstein@utoronto.ca)

'Metagovernance' of urban policy networks in Canada: in pursuit of legitimacy and accountability

Policy network scholars in Canada tend to face criticism on two fronts: (i) that since there is no 'pure' network governance to be found, the concept lacks utility in a Canadian context, and (ii) that network-style governance tends to be undemocratic and lack accountability. This paper challenges these claims by analyzing selected urban governance policy domains in Canada using the concept of 'metagovernance'-which refers to how the state manages decentralized and network-forms of governance that involve both public and civil society actors-to provide much-needed nuance to governance arrangements that are neither purely networked nor exclusively state hierarchical. Urban issues in particular-like homelessness, local economic development, redevelopment and immigrant settlement- exhibit such networked governance, as they rest within a context in which multiple orders of government possess legitimate claims of jurisdiction and policy interest, as well as a rich tradition of civil society involvement in policy development and implementation. This paper reviews recent Canadian scholarship across several urban policy domains, asking three questions regarding the 'metagovernance' of policymaking: (i) are some

'metagovernance' styles - steering, resourcing, accountability, legitimacy, etc. - favoured over others in Canada? (ii)
how does this relate to Canadian norms of democratic legitimacy, accountability and the role of civil society? (iii)
do some metagovernance styles more effectively harness the potential of network governance while maintaining democratic legitimacy?

Dobrowolsky, Alexandra (adobrowolsky@smu.ca)

Complicating and Contesting Narratives Around Diversity and Equality: Economic Immigration and Women

The aim of this paper is to incorporate more inclusive narratives into discourses of Canadian immigration. The first dimension of this involves factoring in immigrant women's voices and highlighting their diverse economic migration experiences at the subnational level via different provincial nominee programs (PNPs). The second offers a counter narrative to immigrant women as "victims" of structural forces by examining the strategic construction and manipulation of material circumstances and identities in what that: i) complicate assumed gender and class norms; ii) challenge sweeping neoliberal portrayals; iii) confirm women's agency. The empirical part of the paper supports these objectives through "meso" scale case studies and selected "micro" scale nominees' experiences that serve to showcase the complexity of immigrant women's social and economic realities.

Docherty, David (ddocherty@mtroyal.ca)

Quite Whipping me: why do private members in government obey their whip?

In parliamentary democracies cabinet enjoys a near monopoly in creating policies. Government private members have little scope to influence policy. At the same time, government private members tend to obey the dictates of strict party discipline from their Premier. Using data collected from 110 provincial elections in Canada dating from 2011 to 1970, the authors demonstrate that cabinet ministers are more likely to retain their seats than backbenchers, even when the government loses power. The authors argue that there are little electoral benefits for private members to toe the party line when they are the most vulnerable to unpopular policies they had little had in crafting.

Dougan, Helen (hed@sfu.ca)

Women Power to Girl Power: A Study of Female Autonomy in Canada

This paper examines the variation in the working conditions of women in Canada. The literature argues that during the Second World War, women's working conditions were not as good as has been purported, and that the emancipation of women at the time was merely on a discourse level. However, the literature does not fully take into account the nature of the prevalent attitudes toward both labourers and women in the 1940s in proportion to the political economy. Alternately, this paper argues that while the working conditions of the time may have been less desirable than those of today, compared to what had come before, these conditions were a step forward for women. Moreover, the positive impact of war circumstances on women's rights is to a larger extent than what the literature currently suggests. To illustrate that the combined effects of the historical period, the cultural values and the economic policies of the time allowed Canadian women more autonomy during the war, this paper uses comparative and statistical analysis. Findings indicate that, in the Canadian case, women gained more autonomy under the war circumstances, which involved greater employment, greater income, greater state support and greater opportunity, than they did in the welfare and neo-liberal state eras that followed.

Dragojlovic, Nicolas (nidrago@gmail.com)

Foreign Advocates, Discursive Legitimacy, and Transnational Persuasion

This paper investigates the conditions under which foreign actors participating in another country's domestic political debate are perceived to be interfering in that country's internal affairs, and what impact this perception has on their persuasiveness. The guiding hypothesis is that a lack of what we might call discursive legitimacy can lead the general public and political elites in a targeted jurisdiction to ignore a transnational communicator's message, even when that communicator is perceived to be credible. The two questions addressed by this paper are: 1) under what conditions does a transnational political communication suffer from low discursive legitimacy, and 2) how is the persuasiveness of a communication affected when the discursive legitimacy of the message source is called into question? I use data from two survey experiments administered to a convenience sample of Canadian undergraduates and a national sample of U.S. citizens to investigate the extent to which a foreign messenger's discursive legitimacy is influenced by the source's nationality, the audience's level of ethnocentrism, and the type of counter-arguments used by domestic opponents of the foreign advocate. I then examine the extent to which low discursive legitimacy is associated with reduced persuasiveness.

Dragojlovic, Nicolas (nidrago@gmail.com), **Einsiedel, Edna** (einsiede@ucalgary.ca)

Technology Attitudes and Direct Democracy: The Impact of Values and Perceived Benefit on Voting Intentions in the 2004 California Referendum on Stem Cell Research.

Federal funding of embryonic stem cell research emerged as a controversial political issue in the United States in the early 2000s, with the restrictions in funding implemented by President Bush playing a prominent role during

the 2004 presidential election. A dominant theme in this debate was the tension between values-based opposition to the use of embryos in medical research on the one hand, and a focus on the potential health benefits of stem cell therapies on the other hand, with conservatives figures like Nancy Reagan actively opposing President Bush's policy. We propose to examine this tension in the context of the 2004 Californian ballot initiative in which voters approved \$6 billion in state funding for stem cell research (Proposition 71). Unlike existing work, which primarily examines general attitudes towards stem cell research, this case allows us to investigate how values and potential benefits influenced citizen opinion when their attitudes had a direct impact on stem cell policy. We use data from three Field Poll surveys that measured voting intention for Proposition 71 in the run-up to the election to explore the issue. In particular, we examine how ethical concerns and perceptions of the potential personal and sociotropic benefits of stem cell therapies interacted to shape voting intentions, and the extent to which these relationships were moderated by ideology, partisanship, and patterns of media use.

Drake, Anna (anna.drake@gmail.com), **McCulloch, Allison** (McCullocha@brandonu.ca)

Deliberating and Learning Contentious Issues: How Divided Societies Represent Conflict in History Textbooks

Societies that have experienced ethnic conflict are often divided over not only the sources of the conflict, but also how best to resolve it. Key to this is the question of how best to articulate the history of the conflict, with each side often presenting radically different interpretations of what has happened. In this paper, we take up the question of how collective identities in deeply divided societies are created, recreated, and reinforced in the telling of the history of the conflict. In particular, we examine the role that secondary school level history textbooks -and their design - play in the perpetuation or mitigation of inter-group polarization. Textbook renderings of the conflict may either present a shared or separate vision of collective histories that: 1) reinforce existing views of a vilified 'other'; 2) attempt to bridge the divide by presenting a shared history of victimization and compassion for the other side; or 3) ignore the conflict (or aspects of the conflict) altogether. Drawing examples from three deeply divided societies-Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and Bosnia-we argue that a shared-if contested-account of the conflict is most conducive to peacebuilding. We also develop an argument that highlights the importance of how divided societies design textbooks and when in the peace process this work occurs. Specifically we argue for the adoption of a two-stage deliberative approach that can help divided groups reach a mutually justifiable interpretation that can be utilized on all sides of the conflict.

Dumitrescu, Delia (delia.dumitrescu@umontreal.ca), **Gidengil, Elisabeth** (elisabeth.gidengil@mcgill.ca), **Stolle, Dietlind** (dietlind.stolle@mcgill.ca)

It's Not What You Say, It's the Way that You Say It: Candidate Nonverbal Style and Persuasion

While the study of candidate evaluation and electoral persuasion has focused much on the importance of party identification and issue positions of the candidate, less attention has been paid to the role of - and reactions to - candidates' communication strategies. Interdisciplinary research shows that both the nonverbal aspects of the communication (facial expressions, body language) and the quality of the speech (speech structure) have a significant influence on political evaluations. However, the possibility that non-verbal aspects interact with the verbal characteristics of the speech to influence evaluations and persuasion has been scarcely addressed. In this paper we address this interaction by means of an experiment in mediated communication in which participants are exposed to a candidate webcast making either a good or a poor speech, with a confident or a non-confident attitude. We measure Rs' physiological reactions during exposure, and their post-exposure evaluations of the candidate. Both measures were significantly influenced both by verbal and nonverbal components of the speech, suggesting that politicians have incentives to vary both their nonverbal attitude and the quality of their speech to win voters' approval.

Eichler, Maya (mayaeichler@gmail.com)

Gender and the Privatization of Military Security

This paper draws on feminist IR theory to investigate militarized gender roles in the current period. In particular, I examine how the global market for force shapes and is shaped by notions of femininity and masculinity. State militaries have seen a partial opening of militarized gender roles with the shift in many countries towards all-volunteer forces and women's increased participation in state militaries. However, as I show in this paper -- drawing on research conducted on the U.S. industry -- the private military and security sector tends to reinforce a strict gendered division of labour. This is a result of the manner in which private military and security companies (PMSCs) perpetuate notions of protection and security informed by masculinity, as is evident in the recruitment practices and the masculinist culture of the industry. The paper argues that this masculinist culture has negative outcomes for women within the industry and in the field, and also affects the security practices of states that rely on PMSCs. While scholarship on the privatization of military security has been almost completely silent on the issue of gender, the policy debate has incorporated gender in two main ways: through the argument that operational effectiveness can be improved by including more female employees and the argument that PMSCs can hold themselves accountable for gender-based violence. Feminist analysis demonstrates that these arguments fail to critically examine the gendered assumptions that that help normalize and legitimate violence by PMSCs.

Eichler, Maya (mayaeichler@gmail.com)

Women in the Military: Gendered Citizenship and Canada's Mission in Afghanistan

Women have always been central to the waging of war. However, the extension of women's role to the direct participation in combat is a recent phenomenon. It marks a historic shift that calls for a deeper analysis of current developments in the relationship between gender and organized violence. This project examines the recent change in military roles for women through an analysis of female soldiers who served in the Canadian mission in Afghanistan (2002-2011). The Afghan mission is particularly noteworthy for the role that women have played. Approximately eight percent of CF personnel deployed to Afghanistan were female. The conflict marks the first time significant numbers of women have served in frontline combat operations, and saw the first female combat soldier to be killed in battle. What is striking about coverage of the Afghan war is that there has been a shift in the position of many military spokespersons. The argument is increasingly made that women soldiers have a crucial role to play in contemporary conflicts and contribute a decided advantage to a military operation. For example, Canadian female soldiers were tasked with interacting and building trust among Afghan women. How has the apparent conflict between gender integration in the CF and military concerns about effectiveness been resolved? Drawing on material gained through Access to Information, this paper explores the experience of female soldiers in the Canadian military operation in Afghanistan and the Canadian state's attempts to manage women's participation.

Ellsworth, Belinda (belinda.ellsworth@gmail.com)

It Happened One Night: The Use of Personal Anecdotes in the Ontario Legislative Assembly

Title of Panel: Representation in the Ontario Legislature with Humera Jabir (presenter), Diego Ortiz (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and David Docherty (discussant)

In an age of tightly controlled political messaging, the use of intimate and deeply revealing stories to highlight the impact of a proposed piece of legislation is a departure from the speaking points that are repeated ad nauseum. This paper will investigate the use of personal anecdotes and firsthand accounts in the Ontario Legislative Assembly. The goal of the paper will be to assess this manner of speaking by determining what reactions Members of Provincial Parliament are seeking to elicit when sharing personal stories. This topic will be addressed through the use of Hansard transcripts of speeches and debate, as well as comparative research on political uses for personal narratives. Interviews with MPPs and other relevant experts will also be used to add depth to the analysis, and an unstructured, qualitative interview technique will be used with interviewees. Particular attention will be paid to how personal anecdotes are employed in various legislative contexts, and the types of revelations that warrant inclusion in a maiden speech, oral question, or debate. The topic being debated and the intended audience for a given speech (peers, constituents, Ontarians, media, etc.) are relevant factors that will be considered while assessing the purpose behind the use of personal anecdotes by MPPs in Ontario. Rhetorical strategies are an understudied aspect of the Ontario Legislative Assembly, and this paper is intended to advance the literature on this form of argumentation.

Afyare A. Elmi (elmi@qu.edu.qa)

Evaluating the implementation of the responsibility to protect In East Africa

In this paper, I evaluate the international community's political, legal, and military approaches in implementing the R2P in East Africa in light of its responsibility to prevent, to react, and to protect civilians. I argue that the approaches of the international community in addressing mass human rights atrocities in East Africa just prior to and after the establishment of the R2P norms has been selective, politically driven, and at times counterproductive. The reasons behind the international community's inaction or detrimental actions vary depending on the country involved. I contend that the international community's diplomatic, judicial, and military actions, in this region, show three different trends. First, in Sudan (Darfur), Uganda and Ethiopia, the international community failed to successfully implement the R2P norms because some of the powerful countries have subordinated human rights atrocities to their geopolitical and strategic interests.

Elmose, Linda (lelmose@sfu.ca)

Toward a New Framework to Analyze the Evolving Foreign Aid Regime: Embracing Diversity, Complexity and Ambiguity

It is time to bring diversity, complexity and ambiguity into analysis of the rising influence of non-Western foreign aid donors, such as China. Scholarly literature expresses concerns over the negative impacts of China's rogue aid to developing countries. Two key existential concerns about the western neoliberal world order are noteworthy. First, the possibility that China's soft power approach to development assistance will supplant western donors' post-Washington Consensus or good governance approach. Second, the fear that China's development cooperation with the South will afford the country stronger decisionary power within global governance

institutions. Both concerns draw from the prevailing westocentric China Threat thesis. For comparativists, such a normative approach debating the positive and negative aspects of China's rise would engage us in an insoluble debate. To move beyond this normative preoccupation I propose and develop a novel framework of analysis embracing diversity, complexity and ambiguity. Diversity thinking requires, inter alia, closer scrutiny of China's diverse types and recipients of aid, and attention to other non-western donors such as South Korea, India, Brazil, Kuwait. Complexity thinking challenges traditional categories of the aid hierarchy that no longer capture reality. As a developing country itself, China's aid disrupts false dichotomies regarding who is an aid recipient/donor, developed/developing. Complexity also introduces hybridity and ambiguity. Many developing country elites hope to emulate China's hybridized development model described as capitalism with Chinese characteristics. Taking institutional ambiguity seriously enables comparativists to contemplate the uncertainties of the continuously transforming world order and clashing global norms.

Elson, Peter (pelson@mtroyal.ca)

A-Courting we will go: Voluntary Sector-Provincial Government Relations

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of an institutional analysis of voluntary sector/government relations in provinces across Canada. This framework has been successfully used to examine the impact of institutional regime formality on policy outcomes in Canada and England (Elson, 2008). Since 2006 there has been a substantive shift in the locus of voluntary sector relations in Canada from the federal to the provincial level of governance. While this shift corresponds to the end of the Voluntary Sector Initiative and the election of a minority Conservative government; it also reflects a new understanding and appreciation for the contribution of the voluntary sector at the provincial level. Key informant Interviews of provincial government and voluntary sector representatives in each Canadian province have been conducted. These interviews will be combined with a comprehensive document and time-line analysis to verify the institutional structures, critical junctures, policy regimes, and policy trends and outcomes for each province. This paper will provide an overview of the inter-sectoral institutional regime structure in each province across Canada as it developed between 1995 and 2011. The long-term purpose of this research is to assess the relationship between these institutional regime structures and sustainable policy outcomes.

Epperson, Brent (epperson@ualberta.ca)

The Horizons of Hope and Change: Evolving Health Care Policy Narratives in the United States

Few American policy debates have been as passionate and acrimonious as the 2010 health care reform effort. My research examines how health care policy narratives have developed in the U.S. since the 1935 Social Security Act, with particular emphasis on the 2010 federal Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and the 2011 Vermont Act Relating to a Universal and Unified Health System. I respond to the following research question: have American health care policy narratives substantially evolved since 1935 and, if so, in what ways? My investigation takes into account both political-economic and historical institutionalist explanations for the evolution of the American health care system, but affords preference to neither. Few existing publications compare health care reform efforts in multiple historical moments and emphasis on policy narratives is scarce within the existing literature. This study proceeds as a cumulative political-economic change and discourse analysis; therefore, it demonstrates that the outcomes of health care reform efforts are neither the product of current political opportunity structures nor dependent upon an initial policy path, but instead emerge within the context of an evolving political-economic and discursive environment, one demonstrated in shifting policy narratives and counter-narratives over time. Unique in both its examination of health care policy narratives at the federal and state scales and in its consideration of political-economic changes as determining factors in the success or failure of particular health care policy narratives, my study provides hitherto unavailable insight into the complex nature of health care reform in the United States.

Esselment, Anna (alesselm@uwaterloo.ca)

The PMO and the Permanent Campaign: Command and Control Communication

Most political scientists agree that the Prime Minister's Office in Canada has become a more centralized institution. Staffed with partisans to advise the prime minister, the PMO has evolved over the years to embrace both policy-making and policy-coordination roles, often beyond those traditionally held by cabinet and the Privy Council Office. In the last few years the PMO has extended its reach even further by strictly controlling the message of government. What has been the reason for the development of this command and control communications strategy? This chapter will argue that the power of the PMO over government communication has grown as a result of the permanent campaign. This is where the party in power employs political professionals, such as strategists and pollsters, to gather market intelligence on voter opinion to advise and guide government decision-making. Strict adherence to the type of messaging identified as politically advantageous by these professionals becomes paramount since retaining and expanding a party's voter base is key to re-election, particularly in an era of decreasing voter turnout. The notion of a permanent campaign permeating Canada's central agencies has not been widely developed in the Canadian literature. This paper will contribute to the

scholarship in this field by applying the concept of the permanent campaign to the PMO, highlighting the role and power of political advisors in advancing the permanent campaign in government, and by investigating how a strict communications strategy impacts democratic governance in Canada.

Everitt, Joanna (jeveritt@unbsj.ca)

Mobilization on the Periphery: LGBT Activism and Success in Atlantic Canada

Title of the panel: The LGBT Movement and the State: Pan-Canadian Perspectives with Alexa DeGagne ('Severely Queer': LGBTIQ Activism in Alberta), David Rayside (LGBT Advocacy in Ontario: Distinctive or Typical?), Manon Tremblay and Patrice Corriveau (La diversité sexuelle et l'État du Québec: de la répression à la pleine citoyenneté?). If little has been written about the policy impact of queer movement mobilization in Canada, even less is known about its impact in the smaller, less urban and more traditional provinces found in Atlantic Canada. This paper explores the occurrence of LGBT advocacy in these provinces and the impact of this activity on provincial public policy surrounding key issues of interest to the LGBT movement. It identifies the network of groups and actors promoting policy change and assesses the factors that have (or have not) contributed to their success.

Everitt, Joanna (jeveritt@unbsj.ca), **Camp, Michael** (mccamp@stu.ca)

In versus Out: LGB Politicians in Canada

Title of Panel: The Sex Factor: Media, Politicians, Gender and Sexual Orientation in Canada with Daisy Raphael (presenter), Linda Trimble/Shannon Sampert/ Angelia Wagner/Daisy Raphael/Bailey Gerrits (presenters) and Angelia Wagner (presenter) Lesbian and gay politicians are among the most under-represented in the political sphere. In the past many LGB candidates remained closeted or delayed revealing their sexual orientation until after they had been elected and had developed a political identity. However, many new LGB politicians have already opted to live their lives "out of the closet". Drawing on interviews, analysis of news coverage of lesbian and gay candidates as well as an analysis of the electoral success of all "out" federal and provincial politicians, this paper argues that unless these individuals have previously developed a strong community profile, they can expect their public persona to be shaped by stereotypical assumptions about their sexual orientation, behaviours and beliefs. This is reinforced by the fact that until recently, these candidates have tended to run for parties of the left and have been elected in urban ridings with large gay and lesbian populations.

Fafard, Patrick (pfafard@uottawa.ca)

Ideas, Policy and the Politics of Public Health

How ideas influence policy is a subject of continuing research and debate. In order to explain policy change Daniel Béland* has argued that ideational processes help to construct the problems that actually get on policy agenda; shape the assumptions that affect the content of reform; and can become discursive weapons in the calls for reform. However there are also powerful institutional constraints on the politics of ideas and policy change. In this paper I propose to apply this framework to examine the role of two ideas that are predominant in public health: science and social justice. The first part of the paper outlines Béland's argument and related work on the policy impact of ideas and also briefly describes how the contemporary policy agenda of public health extends well beyond infectious disease to much if not most of what governments do. The second section explores how particular conceptions of the policy role of scientific research underpin the public health account of policy making. In a similar fashion the third section considers how distinct conceptions of social justice are at the heart of the public health project and, as with science, give rise to policy conflict and debate. The fourth and final section applies the conceptual argument to two flashpoints in contemporary public health: the controversy surrounding the INSITE facility and calls for action on socioeconomic inequality in the name of health. (*Béland, Daniel. 2009. Ideas, institutions, and policy change. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(5): 701-718.)

Farney, Jim (jim.farney@uregina.ca), **Koop, Royce** (royce.koop@me.com), **Lambert, Lisa** (lalamber@ucalgary.ca) , **McGrane, David** (dmcgrane@stmcollege.ca)

'The New Normal, Just Normal, or More of the Same? The 2011 Federal Election and the Canadian Party System'

This is a proposal for a four person roundtable examining the 2011 Federal election. The four presenters are Jim Farney, Royce Koop, Lisa Lambert, and David McGrane. The 2011 Canadian Federal election resulted in a shocking shift in political power in Parliament. The Conservatives increased their seat count sufficiently to form a majority, the NDP unprecedentedly won enough seats to form the Official Opposition, the Liberals lost many of their traditional strong-holds, and the Greens won a seat in a general election for the first time. The roundtable, from the perspective of each of these parties, seek to understand whether it embodies changes sufficiently large to mark the start of a new Canadian party system or whether it is merely a continuation of instability exacerbated by our first-past-the-post electoral system.

Farney, Jim (jim.farney@uregina.ca)

Approaches to the Problem of Religious Identity in Theories of Multiculturalism

This paper examines the two dominant approaches to the study of multiculturalism in Canadian political theory: those rooted in liberal theorizing and those based in communitarianism. While different in many other ways, both of these schools share a problem: how to account for the claims of religious groups to recognition? For both groups of theorists, such claims are less deserving of recognition than those of ethnic or national minorities: a position that is becoming more difficult to sustain as Canada's religious diversity increases and more religious claims are made. I argue that a treatment of religion in multiculturalism theory must recognize two elements of religious belief that have been overlooked but which suggest substantial overlap between the reasons culture is recognized and the reasons religion is. First, like culture, religion generates meaning and can structure and individual's choices and values. Second, religion is a fundamentally communal activity. Religious belief is lived out in community and means very little to the individual if isolated from community. A polity that fully recognizes these two moral features of religion will therefore have to recognize both the rights of religious communities to exist and their rights to offer their members of community of meaning.

Ferguson, Peter (p.ferguson@uwo.ca), **Fyfe, Bruce** (bfyfe@uwo.ca)

If Students Can't Really Conduct Research, Should We Ignore the Problem or Try and Fix It?

The world our students confront is information-driven. While there is no end of commentary regarding the importance of information literacy instruction (ILI), universities generally do little to systematically address their students' information literacy shortcomings. Our project rests on two basic suppositions: information illiteracy among undergraduate students is widespread and it is possible to improve information literacy skills by changing the approaches most common to ILI. This paper addresses the first by reporting the results of 1200 student surveys administered at the beginning and end of the 2010-11 academic year. To address the second, the authors implemented a cooperative integration of ILI into a political science curriculum, embedding ILI throughout a year-long American Politics course (120 students). To test the impact of such instruction, pre and post testing was done for each of the five basic standards contained in the Political Science Research Competency Guidelines of the Association of College and Research Libraries. This paper reports the results of these class-level surveys in light of the changes in competencies across the academic year indicated in the broader campus survey. The results reported in this paper indicate that our students have significant information literacy shortcomings that can be successfully addressed by collaborative, integrated information literacy instruction.

Ferguson, Peter (p.ferguson@uwo.ca)

Can We Learn Something About Democratization From an Examination of the Cases of Failure?

Despite the Arab Spring, opinion polls across the world continue to indicate that support for democracy is declining, and democratic regimes continue to experience significant setbacks. This paper explores the political and economic challenges facing democracies by examining the results of thirty cases of Third Wave democratic reversion. Too often, the democratization literature has focused on comparisons of democratic and non-democratic regimes while ignoring the experiences of regimes that actually experience problems maintaining positive democratic momentum. In this paper, four of the literature's main theoretical currents (economic performance, civil-military relations, political institutions and international influence) are tested against thirty cases of democratic reversion. Examining the conclusions of existing large N analyses in light of the 'failure' cases is enlightening. For example, while the basic economic development findings remain significant, the explanatory purchase they provide us is much less important in these cases. As well, civil-military relations remain important but the case findings argue pushing for too much civilian control, too fast is problematic. This paper challenges the existing explanations of why countries revert from democracy and concludes that existing models are underspecified on the structural side and need to more fully incorporate actor choice approaches.

Filion, Guillaume (gfilion@uvic.ca)

Politics of Technology and Software Ideology: A Second Look at The Effects of the Programming of Digital Technologies

Title of the panel - Analysing the Digital Societal Assemblage: a Renewed Perspective on the Question of the Human-Technology Aggregates
With Marie-Chantal Locas (presenter), Guillaume Filion (presenter), Sylvain Munger (presenter)
People all around us are connected to cyberspace through digital interfaces, from Facebook to iPod, including smart phones and YouTube. The computerization of our daily activities has consequently generated new behaviours and new communities, inaugurating a "digital culture." My paper will focus on issues related to technology, ideology, and power, specifically "how the politics of software culture in the form of a subtle, invisible framework of programming decisions significantly impacts the social relations and perceptual habits of everyday life?" Conceived as ideology, technology is the new web of politics where traditional issues such as the future of freedom, justice and democratic participation are often influenced, shaped and interpolated in advance by essentially political assumptions contained in the powerful and complex softwares by which we communicate. In the politics of digital culture, how we communicate is as important as what we communicate. My hypothesis is that the programming of software produces a complex model of knowledge, one that defines social reality and governs the participation of actors in society by structuring the perceptible. While the problem of human relations with

digital technologies is today mainly understood either as a dramatic loss of contact with reality or in terms of the advent of new forms of subjectivity induced by the merging of humans and machines, this paper aims to broaden our understanding by pointing out that digital technologies are shaped in advance by deep assumptions embedded in their software platforms. By emphasizing that the question of software encompasses social representations, I intend to suggest that digital entities have an implicit politics at the level of their design and programming: in other words, programming of digital technologies' software is an ideological site that constructs and promotes a certain way of understanding reality and therefore acting within it.

Findlay, Tammy (tammy.findlay@msvu.ca)

Feminist Institutionalism and Feminist Political Economy: A Dialogue on Gender, the State and Representation

While there are debates within feminist theory about the relative importance of intellectual and political engagement with the state (Allen 1990; Armstrong and Connelly 1999), the relationship between gender and institutions has long been an interest of feminist political scientists seeking to understand how power and inequality are produced and reproduced through governmental and nongovernmental structures and processes. But which tools and approaches are best employed to advance this understanding? Recently, feminist institutionalism (FI) has provided most of the thinking on gender and institutions, especially state institutions. While Driscoll and Krook (2009) claim that few feminists frame their research in relation to institutionalism, I believe that institutionalism is the dominant frame in feminist political science and policy studies in Canada. In this paper, I argue that FI has made some valuable contributions to the literature on gender, representation, and state feminism. However, it suffers from a lack of serious attention paid to feminist political economy (FPE). For its part, FPE has said very little about the workings of state institutions and policy machinery. Thus, I seek to initiate a dialogue between FI and FPE that can inform a developing feminist political economy of representation. I begin by outlining the main ideas, strengths, and weaknesses of FI. Then, I point to some key insights that can be taken from FPE. Finally, I suggest that the concept of gender regime, which incorporates the assets of both FI and FPE, is most useful for analyzing women's representation in public policy and administration.

Fitzsimmons, Scott (sfitzsimmons@shaw.ca)

The Cowboy Way: Blackwater/Xe's Culture of Impunity

This paper addresses an important but, as yet unanswered, question about the behaviour of private security contractors that have operated during the Iraq War: why do some of these actors routinely utilize deadly force against not only insurgents, but also unarmed civilians and allied security forces, including other private security contractors and government troops? To facilitate this goal, this paper explores the military culture of Blackwater/Xe, one of the largest private security contractors and the one most often accused of using deadly force in Iraq, and examines the influence that its military culture has had on the behaviour of its personnel. This paper, which adopts a constructivist approach to its subject matter, tests multiple hypotheses reflecting causal relationships between aspects of Blackwater/Xe's military culture and the behaviour of its private soldiers during the Iraq War.

Fletcher, Fred (ffletch@yorku.ca), **Hodson, Jaigris** (jaigris@yorku.ca)

Journalism and Civic Engagement in Canada: The Political Economy of Democratic Communication in the Digital Age

Fred Fletcher and Jaigris Hodson York University For more than a century, the effective functioning of the democratic process - in Canada and elsewhere - has depended in large part on the existence of news media with a significant degree of independence from state control. Independent journalism, which provides not only a check on the abuse of power but also day-to-day information on public issues, is a necessary condition for effective public debate. In the digital age, this form of journalism faces serious challenges from the fragmentation of audiences and revenue streams, changing audience expectations, and globalization. This has led to increased media concentration, serious reductions in resources devoted to political journalism (including cutbacks in the parliamentary press gallery), and a decline in investigative reporting. This paper will explore these issues, with a focus on changing audience expectations, and examine the capacity of social media and citizen journalism to compensate for the reduced capacity of the traditional media and to supplement independent community / alternative media. It will draw on four national surveys, 2004-2011, to examine key trends.

Fletcher, Joseph (josephf@chass.utoronto.ca)

The Toronto G20 Protests: The Role of Ambivalence and Emotion

In late June 2010 Toronto became the scene of a classic confrontation between civil liberty and public order. Thousands took to the streets to protest the G20 conference and encountered the largest domestic security force assembled in Canadian history. Substantial property damage and over 1100 were arrested, again a Canadian record. In the time since, public officials and social activists have endeavored to frame the events as either a massive violation of public order or of Canadian civil liberties. Drawing cues from conflicting statements and visual images used in these efforts, we locate our study of framing effects in a genuine ongoing political controversy. We

do so in order to replicate and extend the work of Sniderman and Theriault (2004) who reconsider the basic premises underlying the conventional understanding of framing effects. Following in their footsteps we use balanced as well as one-sided frames to replicate their findings on citizen reactions when exposed to competing ways to think about an issue. We extend their work by reconsidering whether greater ambivalence in citizens' predispositions makes framing more effective. Moreover, utilizing online survey experiments, we investigate why framing effects occur. In particular, we consider both ambivalence and emotion as potential mechanisms.

Flynn, Greg (gregflynn@rogers.com)

The Sources of Election Manifesto Commitments: Party Member Participation and Influence on Government Policy Outputs.

Political parties are viewed as a failed avenues of citizen participation in the policy-making process by virtue of their organizational developments and increasing professionalization. Despite these facts, party members continue to participate in party policy-making processes. For example, party members join parties as a result of specific policy issues, they advance policy issues through party processes and they participate in local and national policy conferences, thereby suggesting some link between members and party policy outcomes. This paper examines the impact that this party member participation has on overall government policy outcomes. It employs a process tracing approach of the consideration and adoption of individual policy commitments arising out of national party conventions through to inclusion in election manifestos and subsequent enactment by governing parties. The study finds that the drafting of election campaign manifestos, the final stage in party policy development processes, is constrained by policy choices made and represented in broader policy documents and by the beliefs and values of the party membership. The article demonstrates that party policy-making is not a single event process, but rather an evolutionary one that provides multiple opportunities for party members to influence party and government policy development.

Fodor, Matthew (mfodor@yorku.ca)

From Socialism to Liberalism?: New Democratic Party Activists at the Half-Century Mark

Much has been written about the drift away from traditional socialist and social democratic ideology in the New Democratic Party in terms of party policy, organization and strategy, and the increasing influence of the so-called Third Way. To what extent has this impacted the political views and social composition of the NDP? Have they too moved away from traditional ideology and become less working class in social composition and identity? In their studies of convention delegates during the 1980s, Archer and Whitehorn (1997) found that the NDP became less of a 'class party' during this period; party activists became less socialist and more middle class and 'postmaterialist' over their period. Following up on the work of Archer and Whitehorn and borrowing from some of their questions for the purposes of comparison, I conducted a survey of delegates at the party's 2011 convention in Vancouver, and plan to do so again at the 2012 leadership convention in Toronto in March. There has been no research on NDP convention delegates in spite of the return to traditional levels of support and eventual breakthrough to Official Opposition status. It is my intention to contribute to the discussion about the 'liberalization' of social democracy with an examination of how such changes have impacted party members and activists.

Fossum, John (j.e.fossum@arena.uio.no)

Poly-cephalous federations?

The paper devises the term, poly-cephalous federation to denote entities that are roughly speaking structured as federations but without an agreed-upon federalism. Lack of agreement manifests itself among other things in an internal pattern of authority that serves several 'heads'. It deviates from sovereignty's presupposition of one sovereign power controlling the territory. As developed here, it depicts complex and contested federal-type entities, where states and citizens have agreed to cooperate under a system of binding norms and rules, but without agreeing on the type of communal formation that the cooperation should take place in. Poly-cephalous federations are distinct from federations in that they are about an on-going working out of the terms of balancing as part of doing the balancing. Poly-cephalous federations are marked by deep patterns of co-existence combined with profound constitutional disagreement. The paper seeks to substantiate the claim that the notion of poly-cephalous federation has greater descriptive accuracy than such labels as multinational federation and multilevel governance to depict the EU and Canada. Further, the paper will assess the EU and Canada as two possible instances and different versions of poly-cephalous federation. The main purpose is to discuss in what sense the notion of poly-cephalous federation offers a better or more useful perspective on the democratic and constitutional challenges that these entities face.

Fournier, Patrick (patrick.fournier@umontreal.ca), **Stolle, Dietlind** (dietlind.stolle@mcgill.ca), **Bélanger, Éric** (eric.belanger3@mcgill.ca), **Cutler, Fred** (cutler@exchange.ubc.ca)

What happened? Explaining the 2011 Canadian Federal Election

The 2011 Canadian federal election was historic. It marked the first time the federal New Democratic Party formed the official opposition in the House of Commons. It constituted the worst Liberal defeat ever at the national level

(the Liberal Party had always finished either first or second in their existence before 2011). It produced the first majority government for the reunited right under the banner of the Conservative Party. And it saw the complete collapse (in seats if not also votes) of the main player in Québec over the last two decades, the Bloc Québécois. What accounts for this dramatic and largely unexpected shift in electoral fortunes? What accounts for the Conservatives' steady increase from one election to the next? And, more importantly, what accounts for the sudden leap in popularity for the NDP, particularly in Quebec? Election day produced no lack of hypotheses, to be sure. Pundits, politicians, and political scientists have suggested many. This paper sets out to demonstrate that most of the hypotheses swirling about the 2011 election, regarding the Orange Surge in particular, are empirically untenable. But we also find a few that merit further attention. We demonstrate this using the 2011 Canadian Election Study.

Fowler, Tim (tim.timf@gmail.com), **Hagar, Doug** (doughagar@gmail.com)

"Liking" Your Union: Unions and New Social Media During Election Campaigns

The traditional understanding of union-party relations in Canada holds that the New Democratic Party (NDP) is the party of labour. This view has rightfully been challenged as different unions with different ideological orientations have different interests and affiliations within the realm of electoral politics. For example, some trade unions have openly embraced strategic voting against conservative parties, thus moving away from the NDP. The relationship between parties and unions in Quebec, where the NDP was weak pre-2011, is much more complex. The relationship between unions and parties grew more complex after 2004, where federal legislation banned financial and in-kind donations from unions to political parties. This change to electoral finance laws begs the question: how do unions co-ordinate with their members and political parties during elections when direct donations and in-kind donations are illegal? We have studied how trade unions use new social media to communicate with their members during election campaigns and hypothesized that unions which were traditionally more involved in electoral politics would use new social media much more aggressively. For the 2011 federal election and the Ontario election of the same year, we have followed unions in Canada on Twitter and Facebook, tracking posted content. The analysis contains both a quantitative component (number of posts, impact of posts) along with a qualitative component (content and discourse analysis of posts, impact of posts). The results of this study will contribute to literature on union-party relations as well as the use of new social media during election campaigns.

Franovic, Angela (afran019@uottawa.ca)

Examining the Effects of Administrative Reforms in Traditional Bureaucracies: Variation of Political Control in Canada and Belgium

Reforms have been implemented in both developed and developing countries in pursuit of restructuring perceived rigid and inefficient bureaucracies. With these reforms come unintended consequences that can sometimes supersede that of the attained/expected benefits, including, the politicization of bureaucracies that are meant to remain neutral and objective. Unfortunately, the research of political control or politicization tends to focus on overall political systems, or the attention given to public issues by governments. The examination of how political control varies when reforms are implemented in traditional bureaucracies is limited. This study will attempt to examine the extent to which political officials exert control over bureaucracy and civil servants in ensuring that policies have been achieved according to the priorities intended by elected governments. Using Canada and Belgium as case studies, this study will specifically look at two reform mechanisms, management accountability frameworks and the use of committee hearings, in order to examine their effect on the possible variation of political control. Canada and Belgium are chosen since both are federal states, have a significant history of administrative reforms under NPM, yet each went along a particular path and pace. At the core of this research, there will be an examination of how these administrative reforms are initiated, how permeable the existing government structures are, and finally how political control is or is not reaffirmed through these reforms. This will mainly be achieved through an interpretative multi-method approach involving critical discourse analysis, interviews, as well as the observation of regular political practices.

Fraser, Joy (joyf@athabascau.ca), **Mannani, Manijeh** (manijehm@athabascau.ca)

Oil, Democracy, and Women in Iran and Canada: The quest for equal rights

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - Citizenship: Rights Claims, the Franchise, and Governance in the Petroleum Province with Bob Barnetson/Jason Foster (presenters), David K. Stewart/Anthony M. Sayers (presenters), Over the decades, Iran's oil and later on the nationalization of the oil industry have played decisive roles in determining the country's type of government and in defining Iran's foreign policy, its warm/lukewarm relationship with the West, as well as its antagonistic stance vis-à-vis Western countries-mostly England and the United States. These positions have had a direct impact on Iranian domestic politics, human rights movements, and women's rights movement the seeds for which had been planted in the Iranian nation's quest of democracy that had started at the turn of the century. In contrast, oil in Canada has a much shorter history and its extraction remains the prerogative of a subnational government. Yet like Iran, oil has become an important driver of the economy. It has also played an important role in defining the

relationship between two levels of government, and between those governments and the USA. Most recently, importing oil from Alberta has become a lightning rod for environmental activists in the US. Yet many indicators suggest that concern for women's equality has trouble gaining traction in Alberta. This paper will examine the nature of women's claims for equal rights since the 1900's in the light of international relationships that were directly or indirectly fuelled by Iran's oil industry and it will compare it to the women's rights claims in Canada, and more specifically, in Alberta. It seeks to provide insights into the question, "what is the impact of oil on equality seeking movements?"

Froese, Marc (mfroese@cauc.ca)

The Trade Policy Review Mechanism and the North American Trade Bloc: Predicting Litigation Patterns at the WTO

This paper examines whether market distorting barriers to trade flagged by the World Trade Organization's Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) are subsequently challenged in dispute settlement. The TPRM has received a relatively small amount of attention in the legal, political and economic literature, and as a result, scholars do not often contextualize it in the larger arena of competitive trade litigation. Placing the TPRM in correlation to dispute settlement raises a question with significant policy implications: can Trade Policy Reviews be used to predict trade challenges? Such an undertaking requires an analysis of the chronologies of the trade policy review process and of the dispute settlement system. Using an empirical method for cross-referencing issues flagged by the TPRM and challenges brought to the Dispute Settlement Mechanism, the paper seeks to assess the efficacy of Trade Policy Reviews for predicting the future of trade litigation between Canada, the United States and Mexico.

Frost, Catherine (frostc@mcmaster.ca)

Passport validation practices as a window on political community

This paper explores what it means to be a recognized member of a political community. Mostly we answer this question by looking at when and how we award new citizenships. Rather than focus on the boundary practices of citizenship, however, this paper focuses on practices where citizenship claims should be unproblematic. It uses a comparative study of identity-validation practices in passport applications (i.e., requirements for a guarantor, referees, photos, etc.) from North American and European regions to identify assumptions about how people interact within political community, and how society in turn recognizes a member's tenure within it. The project is premised on the view that validation practices tell us a great deal about the self-image of the political communities involved. Likewise any changes in validation practices over time (such as the Canadian decision to drop the list of professions for a guarantor) can help track evolutions in concepts of political membership. Moreover, if a passport is the iconic document of citizenship, and if citizenship is in turn key to civil, political and social rights in the 21st century, then this is a high stakes practice. It is assumed to reflect both key functions of political membership, and establish requirements that are easily met for validation purposes. Understanding these ostensibly mundane practices of membership is therefore relevant for making broader arguments about social inclusion.

Furukawa Marques, Dan (danfmarques@uottawa.ca)

The "originary division of the social" and Merleau-Ponty's subject of interrogation

All societies institute themselves in relation to a normativity, a Law, said Aristotle in Politics (1253a). The Law is present, necessary, but contingent. To endure, it must constantly affirm itself. However, the Law, synonymous of authority taking the form of norms, morals, and institutions, carries with it the potentiality of its contestation. It thus incites a social division because there is never an agreement between fundamental questions, such as the conception of the good life or the just regime. This idea, that all societies are founded, to cite Lefort, on the originary division of the social - a disagreement between those who defend the Law and those who find it unjust -, is found in many French philosophers, ranging from la Boétie to Merleau-Ponty, Castoriadis and Rancière. Society Through this division, society opens itself to historicity. This paper will locate, circumscribe, and present the thesis of the equal necessity of Law and its own rupture in certain French thinkers of the 20th century. Building on this analytical framework, a way of thinking about social and political imaginaries will be suggested. Our goal will be to conceptualise division or conflict in relation to the need to define a substantial normativity as an orientation or a point of reference for meaning. In so doing, we will also show that this definition can only be elusive, evasive, and constantly being interrogated. I will conclude by suggesting an ideal subjective posture found in the subject of interrogation as thought by Merleau-Ponty.

Gabriel, Christina (christina_gabriel@carleton.ca)

Lost in Translation: Gender Analysis and Canadian Immigration Policy

Paper for Panel: The Politics and Practice of Gender Mainstreaming
Presenters: Christina Gabriel, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Olena Hankivsky, Associate Professor, Simon Fraser University
Pauline Rankin, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Chair: Linda Trimble, University of Alberta
Discussant: Joan Grace, University of Winnipeg
The Federal Government of Canada has highlighted "gender based analysis" as a critical element of the federal government's commitment to gender equality. However, the adoption of this

commitment by Federal Departments and policy units has been uneven. This paper focuses on how Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has deployed gender based analysis in the period 2002 - 2010. CIC is the only federal department that has a statutory requirement to complete a gender based analysis of its activities through its Annual Review to Parliament on Immigration each year. This paper will review and analyze the GBA reports attached to the review over the last decade to consider firstly the limitations of what Baachi (2010) has termed the 'rational development approach' and its limitations within a new liberal context it will address the extent to which CIC's GBA reports address the major shifts in immigration policy most notably - the changes to the selection model and the rise of temporary worker programs.

Gammer, Nicholas (ngammer@shaw.ca)

The Comprehensive Approach: Integrating Civilian- Military Cooperation - the ATF Experience, 2008-2009

The benefits and dangers of adapting the Comprehensive Approach (CA) to government policy are significant. They impact not only on foreign policy but also on the nature of our governmental system. An evolution in thinking, Rostek, Gizewski and others argue, is underway and will have broad policy implications as governments try to find better ways of addressing security-humanitarian challenges. This evolution is prompted by the increasing pressure on policy-makers to reduce inter-departmental barriers that undermine effective civilian-military convergence. Military-civilian tensions and inter-departmental rivalry feature prominently in the studies of Canada's Afghanistan mission. Escaping our attention is the central role of the Afghanistan Task Force (ATF), a small but very influential secretariat that exposed us to an innovative and unconventional military-civilian dynamic. The PCO-based ATF became the primary institutional mainspring in driving the reconfiguration of the government's foreign policy on Afghanistan. In achieving an unprecedented level of civilian-military integration, the ATF found itself at the junction of the political and the bureaucratic which raises questions about issues such as ministerial responsibility, inter-departmental intransigence, and the role of the public service in making foreign policy. The ATF experience also raises normative questions associated with stabilization missions that have blurred the distinction between military and civilian participants. This paper will conclude by spotlighting some important issues related to the flexibility of our political system if it wishes to adopt future integrated stabilization missions along the ATF model.

Garnett, Holly (holly.garnett@mail.mcgill.ca)

Referendum Resource Officers in the 2007 Ontario Referendum on Electoral Reform

On October 10th, 2007, Ontarians overwhelmingly rejected a proposed change to their electoral system in a province-wide referendum on a new mixed-member proportional (MMP) system. Many commentators and academics blamed this failure of MMP on the quality of Election Ontario's public education campaign, which was comprised of advertisements, an information hotline, a website, and public outreach activities. Election Ontario's public outreach element contained a unique program of grassroots education through local liaison officers. Election Ontario chose to hire one Referendum Resource Officer (RRO) for each electoral district, who was tasked with providing referendum information through presentations and public meetings in their communities. This paper examines the feedback of one-third of these RROs collected through telephone and email interviews. Many of these RROs felt that the referendum education program fell short of its aim to provide local education on the referendum question and made suggestions as to the reasons behind the shortcomings of Election Ontario's referendum education campaign. They commented that their work was not supported by appropriate timelines, budgets and materials. In addition, many were displeased with the restrictions placed on RROs in efforts to keep the Election Ontario campaign neutral. This case study supports previous referendum education and voting research that demonstrates that referendum education campaigns should not only provide timely and accessible information, but also encourage debate in order to provide citizens with the competence needed to make their big decision.

Garon, Francis (FGaron@glendon.yorku.ca)

Public deliberation and policy decisions: the case of immigration and integration

Title: Title of Panel: Consultation and the Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the Decision-Making Process with Dwight Newman (presenter) and Mai Nguyen (presenter). Deliberative democracy is seen as one of the most promising ways to address the increasing ethnocultural diversity of Western democracies. Yet, as some have already noted, public deliberation or public consultation on immigration and integration can be problematic, most importantly because of the possible expression of discourses that can be harmful for certain groups and the use of public deliberation for political gains. In this paper I first develop on these specific problems in order to identify a framework to assess the impact of public deliberation on policy decisions. I then try to elucidate the links between specific consultation processes that have addressed immigration and integration issues in France, the UK, and Belgium in the years 2000, and subsequent policy decisions.

Gattinger, Monica (george.hoberg@ubc.ca)

Energy Flows, Energy Regions and Governance: Mapping North American Energy Relations

For the panel North American Energy Policy and Governance Presenters: Monica Gattinger, George Hoberg, Keith Brownsey Energy markets in North America are highly integrated, but the integration tends to be more regional than continental. This is particularly the case for electricity, but also, to greater or lesser degrees, for oil and natural gas. Despite a plethora of energy statistics collected, little research has comprehensively tracked the source, destination and nature of energy flows on the continent, identified different energy regions in North America or assessed relative merits of their respective governance arrangements. This lack of detailed empirical knowledge is surprising given the volume of energy production, consumption and trade in North America, and the crucial policy imperatives related to and underpinned by energy: security, climate change and competitiveness. This paper takes aim at this issue, drawing on applied scholarship on cross-border energy relations and strands of governance literature focused on coordination in policy decision-making. First, it reviews the range and scope of energy statistics in Canada, the US and Mexico exploring the feasibility of systematically 'mapping' North American energy flows and identifying 'energy regions' on the continent. Second, it narrows its focus to electricity and undertakes an initial effort to map electricity relations and identify cross-border 'electricity regions' in North America. Finally, it compares governance characteristics of these regions, assessing their relative strengths and limitations. The paper forms part of a research study mapping and strengthening the 'North American platform' underpinning cross-border economic relations.

Gaucher, Megan (megan.gaucher@queensu.ca)

An Education in Conjuality: Experiences of Common-Law Couples Under the Canadian Immigration Spousal Sponsorship Program

The Canadian immigration spousal sponsorship program is bound by a strict definition of conjuality. Those applying as a spouse/partner must prove that their relationship with the sponsor satisfies a specific set of criteria ranging from economic interdependence to community involvement to sexual intimacy. State recognition of common-law relationships has led to the extension of conjuality to include this category; however, the criterion remains the same. Often without formal documentation, those applying as common-law potentially undergo a higher level of scrutiny in order to prove their relationship is not one of 'convenience'. Therefore, a major consequence of applying the criteria of marital relationships to common-law sponsorship is that the definition of conjuality remains restrictive and common-law applicants are considered guilty until proven innocent. This paper examines the differentiation in treatment of married and common-law applicants for spousal sponsorship. Put differently, it argues that because conjuality is synonymous with marriage, certain criteria in the application process are assumed for married applicants and alternatively, under suspicion for those applying as common-law. This paper proceeds in three parts. First, I situate my paper by exploring the spousal sponsorship program policy, particularly focusing on its treatment of common-law couples as well as relationships of convenience. Second, the paper examines data generated from interviews with immigrants who came to Canada through the spousal sponsorship program either as married or common-law. Finally, I explore the implications the current program's understanding of conjuality holds for both common-law relationships as well as lived family dynamics within Canadian society.

Giasson, Thierry (thierry.giasson@com.ulaval.ca), **Jansen, Harold** (harold.jansen@uleth.ca), **Koop, Royce** (royce.koop@me.com), **Langlois, Ganaele** (ganalanglois@gmail.com)

Hypercitizens: Why do Canadians blog about politics?

While many scholars have recently conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses of the structure and content of A-list political blogs, few have focused the motivations and intentions of their authors. Based on data collected through an innovative Web-based survey conducted in February 2011, this paper offers a detailed socio-political portrait of 149 members of the Canadian blogosphere. The Internet-savvy population of Canada, which is characterized by its linguistic, political and cultural diversity, constitutes a rich research object. The description of Canadian political bloggers' interest, ideals, motivations and intentions in content dispersion and social networking as well as their participation in offline political activities produces a detailed behavioral profile of influential players within the Canadian political blogosphere. Additionally, this paper draws contrasts with previous studies of Canadian and U.S. bloggers and argues for the development of more pointed analysis considering geographical, cultural, linguistic and political specificities of North American political bloggers.

Gidengil, Elisabeth (elisabeth.gidengil@mcgill.ca)

Media Effects in Canada: Does Television News Change Voters' Issue Priorities During an Election Campaign?

This paper represents the first study to combine rolling cross-section survey data with a content analysis of the nightly network news in order to examine the agenda-setting effects of television news over the course of an actual election campaign. Using data from a recent Canadian Election Study, the analysis will examine whether there is a systematic relationship between the intensity of TV news coverage of a given issue and the relative importance that voters attach to that issue.

Giles, Janine (jlgiles@ucalgary.ca)

Knowing the gendered landscape: gender and political knowledge in Canada, 1988-2008.

Research shows that the enduring gender gap in political knowledge is related to gender-based disparities in material and cognitive resources. What remains unknown is how contextual factors affect this knowledge gap. This paper examines the impact of education, parenting responsibilities, and workforce participation on gender differences in political knowledge from 1988-2008. It employs data from the Canadian Election Studies (1988-2008) to establish whether changes in education, parenting duties and workforce participation at the individual and aggregate levels account for enduring gender differences in political knowledge, and to assess how the impact of these determinants of knowledge change over time. The expectation is that gender differences in political knowledge persist, in part, because individual level determinants of political knowledge are stronger in material- and cognitive-rich contexts.

Gladstone, Joshua (jgladsto@connect.carleton.ca), **Abele, Frances** (Frances_Abele@carleton.ca)

Comprehensive land claims agreements and three "-isms" of Northern Canadian political economy

The contemporary phenomenon of modern treaty-making in Northern Canada can be thought of as the institutional product of three traditions in Western political and economic thought: economic nationalism, constitutional pluralism, and political realism. While scholars have discussed and analyzed modern treaties from the vantage point of each tradition, this paper asks how all three can contribute to our understanding of the complex political and economic institutions we observe today arising from the settlement of comprehensive land claims agreements. We briefly explain the relevance of constitutional pluralism and political realism before focusing on the complex implications and applications of economic nationalism in recent northern history. Economic nationalism in the conventional sense (what might be called Watkins-Gordon economic nationalism) was important to the rising Indigenous movement of the 1970s. Later, a northern-rooted economic nationalism focused on mineral development took hold in Indigenous economic development organizations and planning. This approach, though, exists in tension with a second kind of Indigenous economic nationalism that seeks to protect the harvesting economy and all it means for local livelihoods and culture. There is thus both a theoretical puzzle and a practical puzzle: given the homogenizing drive of staples-based economic nationalism, and the premise of multinational diversity at the heart of constitutional pluralism, on what basis can the institutions created by modern treaties support economic development in the service of building sustainable communities? The paper concludes by exploring how case study methodologies could be applied to find answers to these questions.

Glas, Aarie (aarie.glas@utoronto.ca), **Hoffmann, Matthew** (mjhoff@utsc.utoronto.ca), **van der Linden, Clifton** (cliff.vanderlinden@utoronto.ca)

Understanding treaty-making as a constitutive practice of global politics

Do treaty networks constitute relations between states or are they reflective of other dynamics in the international system? This question takes us beyond the longstanding debate as to whether treaties themselves matter (Fortna 2003, Denmark and Hoffmann 2008) and endeavours to investigate how multilateral treaty networks could be more than mere artefacts of realpolitik. As an entry point we begin with an inquiry into whether treaties have effects on behaviour independent of the conditions which result in their establishment, i.e. whether treaty networks are reflective or generative of relations between states. While treaties may indeed be markers of multilateralism (Hoffmann, Denmark and Isherwood 2007), they may also exhibit independent effects on the relational dynamics between international actors. To address these questions we investigate multilateral treaty networks through a series of network analyses run against the Multilateral Agreements and Treaties Record Set (MATRS), which contains a historical record of multilateral treaties signed since 1596.

Godbout, Jean-Francois (jean-francois.godbout@umontreal.ca), **Lawlor, Andrea** (andrea.lawlor@mail.mcgill.ca)

The Influence of Party Loyalty on Electoral Outcomes.

The following paper proposes to study the influence of legislative behaviour on election outcomes in the Canadian House of Commons. This study extends the work of Godbout and Bélanger (2011) by estimating the electoral benefits (or costs) of partisan loyalty on incumbent vote share in four recent parliaments (2004-2011). We measure the impact of partisan loyalty on election results by controlling for district ideology, the incumbent's parliamentary status, constituency characteristics, and electoral volatility. We expect a higher (lower) level of partisan loyalty to increase (reduce) an incumbent's vote margin. However, we also expect the level of competitiveness in the riding to influence the previous relationship. Thus, we control for this simultaneous bias by using a series of two-stage least squares panel-data fixed effects models. The results suggest that under some circumstances partisan loyalty can reduce an incumbent's vote share, especially among Liberal party members who represent competitive electoral districts.

Godbout, Jean-Francois (jean-francois.godbout@umontreal.ca), **Høyland, Bjørn** (bjorn.hoyland@stv.uio.no)

Legislative Voting and Party Unity in Parliament.

We analyze legislative voting and party unity in the first forty-one Canadian Parliaments (1867-2011). The results demonstrate that party voting cohesion dramatically increased in the House around the turn of the 20th century

and remained relatively stable over the next one hundred years. In order to understand the variation in party voting unity, we construct a dataset of individual Member of Parliament (MP) voting loyalty score for each legislative term. We model these scores as a function of three different groups of variables, institutional, representational, and party centered. Preliminary results suggest that being in the governing party is associated with a higher level of party loyalty, while being in a larger party caucus has the opposite effect. We also find that MPs from Quebec and Western provinces are more likely to be disloyal, while higher vote margins are associated with stronger level of party loyalty. Our analysis ultimately identifies the roots of the increase in party voting unity in the Canadian Parliament. At a more general level, our results highlight the importance of territorial and socio-cultural conflicts in explaining the emergence of disciplined parliamentary parties.

Goksel Yasar, Gulay (gokselya@colorado.edu)

Role Playing and Games for Teaching Ancient Political Thought

I am a fifth year PhD student in political science department at University of Colorado at Boulder. This year, I am teaching western political thought. It has always been a challenge to teach ancient political thought. There are several reasons for that. First, students usually find the texts difficult and abstract. Second, they seem to believe that there are no relevance between ancient politics and our current political understanding. In order to overcome these challenges, I designed my syllabus rather different than usual and included role playing sessions called "bringing the philosophizers back from their ivory towers". I prepared a newspaper consisting five articles about ancient times(all made up and but relevant to texts) and basically asked my students to imagine themselves as either Plato or Aristotle sitting in a coffee shop, enjoying their morning paper and discussing the news with the opposing party. Since these philosophers have opposing ideas, their reaction to the articles would be different. I think this was a great learning experience for my students. I did quite a research on simulations, role playing and games in political science education and could not find any games available for political theory classes. This is the reason why I want to share my experience with other colleagues in a national conference.

Goodman, Nicole (ngoodman@connect.carleton.ca)

The changing nature of civic duty: Exploring other dimensions of the obligation to vote in elections

The civic duty to vote is one of the most influential attitudinal concepts that contribute to explaining an elector's decision to participate or abstain in elections. Researchers frequently point to weakening senses of duty when accounting for declining voting turnout. Yet despite its explanatory power civic duty is currently operationalized one-dimensionally, commonly defined as the importance associated with the act of voting per se (Pammett and LeDuc, 2003). No efforts have been made to revisit how duty is measured in surveys despite significant change in values, attitudes, and citizenship norms (Dalton, 2008; Goodman et al., 2011; Inglehart, 1990; Nevitte 1997). Drawing on qualitative data from a study by Goodman et al. (2011) this article hypothesizes that the public perception of citizen duties in an election context is changing, particularly among young people. It argues that there are alternate dimensions of duty researchers should be studying to obtain a fuller picture of the electoral decision-making of citizens and evaluates these dimensions using data from a special national survey of 1,132 Canadian electors. Overall, findings suggest that electors, particularly the young, are more likely to identify with a new dimension of civic duty, termed 'conditional duty', than the traditional belief that citizens have moral obligation to vote in all elections.

Gordner, Matt (mgordner@gmail.com)

Post-Revolutionary Egypt and Tunisia: Islamist and Secular Democratic Authority and Transition

What are the agreements, disagreements, and compromises between Islamist and secular authorities in post-revolutionary Egypt and Tunisia that limit and/or support successful transitions to democracy? Under authoritarian control, the state suppressed political involvement through the co-optation of national and religious symbols and institutions. Political participation amounted to electoral authoritarianism, the mechanism by which the regime placed a glass ceiling on effective political involvement from below by permitting limited yet insubstantial contributions to the formation of law and politics. With the Arab Spring, new models of governance, theories of democracy, and conceptions of citizenship highlight recent developments regarding how democracy is authorized, taught, and defined by the social and political movements, parties, and institutions invested in democratic transition. Thus, pre-revolutionary debates on secular versus Islamic theories of democracy are now host to sites of practical contest and compromise over how to achieve a concrete political conception of the good. How and when democratic authorities alter their respective conceptions of democracy demonstrates the extent to which they prioritize the expediency of democratic transition over the status quo: authoritarianism and military despotism. It also indicates the evolution of democratic conceptions from the purely theoretical to the practical. Indeed, as they forge discursive claims and attempt to maximize their bids for democratic authority, Islamist and secular parties encounter internal inconsistencies, impracticalities, and ideological obstacles that limit the strength of and support for their respective platforms. Comparing how these bids and claims play out, I examine the potential for successful transition in both states.

Gordon, Kelly (kgord043@uottawa.ca)

Think About the Women!: An Analysis of the Construction of Anti-Abortion Narratives

In January of 2011 Stephen Harper offered the following advice to the Canadian anti-abortion movement, If you want to diminish the number of abortions, you've got to change hearts and not laws. (Death Penalty Not on Agenda, CBC online, January 19, 2011. Accessed January 23, 2011 at <http://www.cbc.ca/politics/story/2011/01/18/harper-mansbridge-interview-tues.html#ixzz1Bu5SbDCu>) My paper will argue that the anti-abortion movement in Canada has taken this advice seriously. Anti-abortion advocates have concentrated precisely on developing a strategy for changing the hearts and minds of Canadians. Most surprising is the fact that this new discourse increasingly uses principles, narratives and arguments that have traditionally been associated with progressive feminist and pro-choice movements. From the anti-abortion blog ProWomanProLife which advocates a Canada Without Abortion, by Choice, to the tabling of bill C-510 which sought to protect women from coerced abortions, the anti-abortion movement in Canada is increasingly appropriating feminist argumentation into their modes of persuasion. My paper will explore the use of traditionally feminist values and epistemology in the construction of anti-abortion narratives. Ultimately I will examine the new representations of women within anti-abortion discourse and how they borrow from the progressive feminist movement.

Gore, Christopher (chris.gore@politics.ryerson.ca)

The North American climate city? Convergence, divergence and diffusion in Canadian and US municipal climate action

At last count, almost one third of the US population lived in a city whose mayor had signed on to the Mayors Climate Protection Agreement. In Canada, sixty five percent of the population lives in a municipality that has made a formal commitment to respond to climate change. Correspondingly, this municipal action has translated into a growing body of research in North America and globally that attempts to understand the factors that are driving local governments to participate in climate-related activities. Yet, to date, there has been little work that has attempted to systematically compare the reasons for action in Canada and the US. In Canada, for example, it is often assumed that municipal government actions are largely dictated by provincial mandates or coercion than by independent leadership or collective-action like in the United States. Does this hold in the case of climate change? Are the factors driving action in the US similar to those in Canada? Are local governments in North America motivated similarly to implement policies and programs that reduce greenhouse gas emissions or adapt to climate change impacts? Or, is there convergence on some dimensions of climate action such as policy goals and program choices, but divergence in causal factors motivating action? Drawing on new survey evidence of municipal climate change action in Canada this paper compares municipal motivations for climate-related activities in Canada against existing explanations of city-action in the United States. Using both quantitative and qualitative evidence about municipalities and climate change, the paper aims to contribute fresh insight and evidence into policy diffusion and convergence in North American municipal affairs.

Graefe, Peter (graefep@mcmaster.ca)

Federalism and Governance

In a federal system, questions of public administration are invariably complicated by the question of which government is responsible for administering a policy, or of how the efforts of different orders of government are to be articulated. Certain trends in public governance, including the localization of delivery and the involvement of third sector partners in policy-making and implementation, further complicate this question. The three papers in the panel address this question, looking variously at voluntary-state relations across the scales of multilevel governance in Canada, at the state of collaboration in "collaborative federalism", and at the condition of federal social policy leadership under the current Conservative federal government.

Graefe, Peter (graefep@mcmaster.ca), **Simmons, Julie** (simmonsj@uoguelph.ca)

Assessing the collaboration that was (is?) collaborative federalism

An important strand of research in Canadian federalism is taxonomic, namely classifying types of federal-provincial dynamics, and defining temporal categories where specific relationships are deemed to be particularly dominant. Collaborative federalism has been the most popular label for describing the form of federalism that took shape after the 1992 Charlottetown and 1995 Quebec referenda (Lazar 1997, 2006; Cameron and Simeon 2002). As an evaluative strategy, we take the adjective (ie. Collaborative) seriously and ask what can we make of this collaboration. On the one hand, the paper looks at the process of collaboration itself, both in terms of the institutions and forums where the federal and provincial partners to the collaboration meet (have initial attempts to grow the apparatus of executive federalism had lasting effects), and in terms of the culture and relationships involved (have provinces and the federal government negotiated in ways that place the two orders of government on equal footing, or have they reverted to a hierarchical relationship). On the other hand, the paper considers the outputs of the collaboration in relation to the announced goals of the parties. In other words, have provincial and federal governments produced collaborative policy outcomes, given their pledges to do so, as elaborated in a

series of intergovernmental agreements across an array of policy areas. While some have considered related questions in individual policy areas, this proposed research responds to the need for a broader perspective of the collaborative era as a whole.

Grant, J. Andrew (andrew.grant@queensu.ca), **Hughes, Michael** (michael.hughes@queensu.ca), **Mitchell, Matthew** (matthew.mitchell@queensu.ca), **Panagos, Dimitrios** (dpanagos@mun.ca)

The Role of Participatory Governance in Shaping Policy Outcomes: Insights from Ontario's Natural Resources Sector

In recent years the Government of Ontario has made significant changes to legislation governing its natural resources sector. In 2009 the Ministry of Northern Development, Mines and Forestry proposed Bill 173: the Mining Amendment Act to strengthen antiquated legislation governing mining in Ontario. In 2010 the Ministry of Natural Resources proposed Bill 191: An Act with respect to land use planning and protection in the Far North to protect over half of the northern part of Ontario. Although most stakeholders strongly support Bill 173, many harshly criticise Bill 191, arguing that this legislation will contribute to future conflicts and increase uncertainty. What explains the radically different policy outcomes of these bills? We argue that a fundamentally different approach to participatory governance in developing these bills explains the success of the former versus the failure of the latter. Whereas stakeholders were heavily involved in shaping Bill 173, most were largely excluded from participating in the development of Bill 191. The study draws on in-person interviews conducted in 2010 with key stakeholder groups in Ontario's natural resources sector: Aboriginal communities and associations; local community representatives; employees of mining firms; employees of mining support sectors such as prospectors; investors and investment firms; and government officials. The paper assesses the extent to which stakeholder participation helped to shape diverging policy outcomes in the development of these bills. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of participatory governance in natural resources sectors and elucidates the broader theoretical implications for natural resource governance.

Grant, John (johnarthur.grant@utoronto.ca)

Embedded Neo-Liberalism: Evidence from National and Global Imaginaries in Canada

Panel: Social and Political Imaginaries through a Canadian Lens
John Grant, University of Toronto
Chris Holman, Stoney Brook University
David Tabachnik, Nipissing University
This paper begins by contrasting two competing accounts of how Canadians organize their political values and which agendas politicians tend to pursue. In the first account, articulated most strongly by Daniel Wolff and Matthew Mendelsohn, embedded liberalism offers a compelling answer. Put simply, welfare state programs and associated values persist in reasonably good health, despite decades of increased openness to globalization, foreign direct investment, and what Paul Pierson calls permanent austerity. In the second account (restricted to federal politics), Canada has undergone a period of neo-liberal ascendancy (1980s), consolidation (1990s) and entrenchment (2000s until present). William Carrol and William Little go so far as to claim that the basic cultural identity and political imaginary of Canadians has been transformed as a consequence. How should we go about assessing these visions of politics in Canada? My thesis is that we now have a form of politics that combines embedded liberalism and neo-liberalism, according to which a reduced welfare state must cope with the dominance of neo-liberal assumptions while managing to withstand their full implementation. As evidence for my thesis, I articulate the frequently divergent values that are attributed to embedded liberalism and neo-liberalism. I am particularly interested in how these values are expressed through the framework of a national imaginary and, increasingly, a global one. I examine federal policy decisions over the past three decades, specifically economic, environment, defence, and labour policy, and conclude that on balance, the values and imaginaries that are invoked are of a decidedly neo-liberal flavour.

Gray, Sean (swdgray@interchange.ubc.ca)

Meanings of Silence in Democratic Theory and Practice

Democratic theorists are united in their conviction that entry into political life is marked by humans' ability to speak. The opposite of speech is silence. Here I take up a neglected question: What does silence mean for the theory and practice of democracy? Democratic theorists mostly presuppose the answer: silence indicates a deficiency in citizenship, a normative vacuum in which citizens are excluded or self-excluded from public life through a lack of opportunity, confidence, information, or articulateness. I depart from this dominant view and suggest that silence is more than a negative symptom democracy must overcome - it can also be communicative in ways that democratic theory should be more attuned, and in ways that democratic institutions might empower. Drawing upon recent scholarship in psychology, linguistic philosophy and social theory, I develop a theory of communicative silence that can capture silence's multiple meanings in democratic life: not only as a symptom of exclusion (which is often is), but also as a ubiquitous form of political expression citizens use to convey emotion, demonstrate dissent or regulate collective activities. For democratic theories struggling with issues of inclusion, this theory of communicative silence provides criteria to determine when to empower citizens' speech and when to be receptive to their silences. For scholars of democratic institutions, such a theory might show us ways that exclusionary silence may be mitigated, while expressive silence might be empowered.

Grebennikov, Marat (mgrebennikov@rambler.ru)

The Prospects of Sub-Federal Authoritarianism in Russia after the 2012 Presidential Elections: North Caucasus in Comparative Perspective

One of the most vibrant questions about Russian politics that dominates media coverage is the extent of differences between President Dmitry Medvedev and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and how long their tandocracy will last after the 2012 presidential elections. The paper addresses this puzzle: why, against rigorous rhetoric and demonstration of tight grip over the region, neither Putin nor Medvedev has real power to bring change to the North Caucasus? In an attempt to solve this puzzle, the paper examines the dyadic relationship among federal political elite and regional clan-based ethnocracy as they design and implement public policies. Drawing on the works of Russian scholars and experts in Russian politics, the paper explores the hypothesis that instability in the North Caucasus is carefully nurtured by federal authorities, whose legislative procedures and administrative practices have already transformed Russia into a mosaic of sub-federal authoritarian regimes under the Kremlin's control. Instead of facing the real policy challenges, it is only able to make a public show of action on the eve of crucial political campaigns: the 2012 presidential elections or the 2014 Winter Olympics. The paper concludes that the deep freeze in the Russian political system has exhausted its debatable potential for change through the existing tandem model of government with its obscure division of roles between the official and real leaders. What we actually see is an imitation of political reform and the resulting degradation of the entire system of governance.

Green, Fiona (f.green@uwinnipeg.ca)

Mommy Blogs and Feminist Backlash in the Mamasphere

According to thefuturebuzz.com, an average of 900,000 blogs are posted each day, and are read by approximately 346,000,000 people globally. TheMomBlogs.com website, which contains the most comprehensive directory of blogs by moms, lists 28,789 mom blog sites that are divided into 29 categories. Clearly, mothers are engaged in social networking; they have found blogging to be an effective way to communicate, to acquire and nurture personal support, to develop community and, for some, to earn a living income through consumer conversation and promotion. Drawing upon the early stages of a larger research project into mommyblogging, this paper explores how some feminist mommy bloggers live with feminist backlash on a daily basis due to their feminist politics of openly supporting their children's fluid gender expression through their mothering. Particular attention is paid to the mothers' experiences of engaging with other adults who challenge their parenting decisions, and to the strategies they invoke as they negotiate the criticism and condemnation of others to the ways in which they socialize and raise their children.

Greene, Ian (igreene@yorku.ca)

Insight into Insite: Social Science Research v. Gut-Feeling Ideology

On the last day of September, 2011, the Supreme Court of Canada released a unanimous judgment that condemned the Harper government's refusal to allow the drug-injection site in Vancouver known as Insite to continue its operations. The Minister's discretionary decisions, the Supreme Court ruled, must comply with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Insite has been proven to save lives with no discernable negative impact on the public safety and health objectives of Canada. The effect of denying the services of Insite to the population it serves and the correlative increase in the risk of death and disease to injection drug users is grossly disproportionate to any benefit that Canada might derive from presenting a uniform stance on the possession of narcotics. (Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society, 2011 SCC 44, headnotes). Such ministerial denial is a violation of s. 7 of the Charter, which protects the right to life, liberty and security of the person. This decision is remarkable for a number of reasons: it was written by a Chief Justice generally regarded as conservative; it included judges appointed by the Harper government; and it was blunt in its critique of the government's penchant to ignore the clear results of social science evidence. The paper argues that extreme ideological positions that have a legal hook are likely to run afoul of Canadian courts for the reason that judges are experts in applying the rule of law.

Grundy, John (grundy@yorku.ca)

Performance Measurement and Governmentality: The Case of HRDC's 'Results Based Accountability Framework'

Practices of auditing and performance measurement figure centrally in the growing body of research based on Foucault's concept of governmentality. Performance measurement is often portrayed in this scholarship as a technology of governance able to constitute calculable spaces and subjects at a distance, and to orient organizational activity around a certain definition of performance. Drawing on a case study of a performance measurement system implemented in the federal government's employment service during the nineties, known as the Results-Based Accountability Framework (RBAF), this paper departs from the account of performance measurement found in much governmentality literature. The central argument of the paper is that performance measurement may not have the reach and effect implied in governmentality-based accounts. The paper develops this argument by demonstrating how the implementation of the RBAF gave rise to new tensions between its

definition of performance (rapid re-employment of the unemployed) and persistent concerns on the part of frontline staff and managers with quality service delivery and the entitlements of service users. It also emphasizes deep uncertainties that emerged over the meaning of the performance data generated under the RBAF and the very measurability of service delivery outcomes. The paper concludes by suggesting that governmentality-based approaches may benefit from a closer engagement with more measured insights into performance measurement found in public administration literature.

Guterman, Ellen (eguterman@glendon.yorku.ca)

The Legitimacy of Transnational NGOs: Which Ones, and Why? Lessons from the Case of Transparency International in Germany and France

What are the conditions under which a particular transnational NGO will be accepted as legitimate in its sphere of activity, and why? While questions about legitimacy preoccupy much contemporary scholarship in International Relations and related disciplines and legitimacy is a central concern in ongoing debates about reforming global governance for greater effectiveness, accountability, and justice, less attention is paid in the literature to mid-range theoretical insights about the legitimacy of transnational NGOs in global governance. I make three arguments: (1) Whether or not a particular transnational NGO is accepted as a legitimate actor in policy advocacy depends on the values, identities, and interests of the target audiences for its advocacy. In other words, this legitimacy is most appropriately conceived as a subjective, relational, sociological, and empirical question. (2) As a practical matter, transnational NGO legitimacy matters. That is, this legitimacy has important effects on the outcome of policy advocacy by transnational NGOs. (3) The legitimacy of transnational NGOs can therefore be understood as a strategic resource: an asset for advocacy that NGOs can seek strategically to generate and cultivate, endogenously. Where they fail to do so, this may limit the effectiveness of their advocacy. These arguments are illustrated and supported through a comparative analysis of the anti-corruption advocacy efforts of Transparency International (TI), the leading transnational NGO in the international regime of anti-corruption, in France and in Germany in the period leading up to and surrounding the conclusion of the 1997 OECD Anti-Bribery Convention.

Guterman, Ellen (eguterman@glendon.yorku.ca)

Easier Done Than Said: Transnational Bribery, Norm Resonance, and the Origins of the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act

The US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 is having an unprecedented moment. In 2010, corporations paid \$1 billion in FCPA fines, penalties, and disgorgements - the most ever recorded in this controversial Act's 33 year history and half of all criminal division penalties at the Justice Department. While this recent pattern of enforcement is itself interesting, a deeper puzzle lies in an examination of the origins and early trajectory of the FCPA. Throughout the late 1970s and most of the 1980s, major U.S. business groups opposed its unilateral ban on transnational bribery and lobbied the government to repeal this costly constraint on American businesses operating overseas. Yet despite a decade of pressure from otherwise powerful groups, the government failed to respond to business demands amidst strategic trade concerns about the FCPA. Why? The paper applies a constructivist lens and concepts from the theory of legal reasoning to analyze the early history of the FCPA and explain its continued significance in US foreign economic policy. Anti-corruption norm resonance and the pressure publicly to justify norm-transgressing practices made foreign corrupt practices by American businesses easier done than said.

Hale, Geoffrey (geoffrey.hale@uleth.ca)

So Near Yet So Far: Managing the Multiple Dimensions of Canada-U.S. Relations

This panel addresses the major themes of *So Near Yet So Far: The Public and Hidden Worlds of Canada-U.S. Relations* (Geoffrey Hale, UBC Press), focusing on Canadian governments' efforts to balance ongoing integration within North America with the maintenance of their capacity for choice both domestic and international policy-making. Each roundtable panelist will address a major dimension of Canada-U.S. relations and a specific policy field, bringing them into conversation with other research perspectives. George Hoberg (UBC, *Capacity for Choice*, 2002) will assess the evolution of Canadian governments' capacity for choice in their domestic and broader international policies, focusing specifically on environmental and resource development policies. The Hon. Anne McLellan will address the shaping of executive branch relationships and homeland security policies from her perspective as a practitioner and former senior policy-maker. Monica Gattinger (Ottawa; *Power Switch: Energy Regulatory Governance in the 21st Century*, 2003, with G. Bruce Doern; *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America*, 2010, co-edited with Geoffrey Hale) will engage ongoing trends towards cross-border policy-making in North America, with focusing specifically on energy policies. Christopher Kukucha (Lethbridge; *Provinces and Canadian Trade Policy*, 2008) will consider Canada's evolving trade policies, including provinces' shifting role in cross-border and international economic relations. Geoffrey Hale will respond to the panelists' comments.

Hancock, Robert (rola@uvic.ca)

Emergent Metis Political Thought as Decolonising Political Theory

In the three decades since the inclusion of the Metis in s. 35 of the Constitution, Metis research has focused predominantly on the enumeration and elaboration of universalised historical and legal conceptualisations of Metis identity that could meet thresholds for recognition by the Canadian state. More recently, a number of scholars in a variety of disciplines have begun to examine Metis concepts of community and political relationships on their own terms, both current and historical, as part of emerging projects of decolonisation. This recent work parallels but does not necessarily engage with similar decolonising work done by other Indigenous scholars (e.g., Alfred and Corntassel's concept of Indigenous resurgence) and neglects entirely congruent non-Indigenous approaches (e.g., Foucault's critical conceptualisation of practices of freedom) which work to dismantle the same conceptual and state structures of liberal governance from different perspectives. This paper contextualises these emerging Metis projects in relation to other theoretical and practical approaches to decolonisation, and demonstrates the contributions that these latter approaches offer to emerging decolonising Metis political discourses seeking to operate beyond the constraints of the Canadian state. The result is a preliminary articulation of Metis political thought that can contribute to further conversations about processes and projects of decolonisation, both within and between Metis communities and in wider Indigenous and academic settings.

Hankivsky, Olena (oah@sfu.ca), **Kaur Dhamoon, Rita** (Rita.Dhamoon@ufv.ca)

Which genocide matters the most? The Problem with 'Oppression Olympics'

Winnipeg's Museum of Human Rights is envisioned as a place to learn about the struggle for human rights in Canada and internationally. In 2009, a content advisory committee recommended that the museum should position the Holocaust as a separate zone at the centre of the museum showing the centrality of the Holocaust in the overall human rights story prompting other groups to demand that the museum provided equal treatment of other national and international atrocities. This has resulted in a type of Oppression Olympics, whereby groups compete for the mantle of the oppressed without dismantling the structures and discourses that dominate. In this paper, we will examine the Oppression Olympics surrounding the museum as a case study and illustrate the potential of feminist intersectionality theory to provide an alternative lens and policy direction. In particular, we seek to show that intersectionality offers a solution to the apparent impasse between communities who are competing with one another to have their human rights abuses represented. We will illustrate this by showing how intersectionality can be drawn on to cultivate what may be considered counter-intuitive solidarity and coalitions between groups typically categorized as having competing interests. Not only does this feminist perspective provide an alternative way of approaching and framing what a museum of human rights should do, but we argue that intersectionality can provide useful direction for bringing together groups and communities who have not succeeded in finding common ground in other contentious politics and policies.

Hankivsky, Olena (oah@sfu.ca)

Examining 'diversity' alternatives to gender mainstreaming: gender and diversity analysis and intersectionality-based analysis

In Canada important efforts are being made across many government departments and within non-governmental organizations to create gender mainstreaming models and policy tools that are more responsive to diversity, including multiple inequalities. Arguably, two alternative directions are being explored: gender and diversity analysis (GDA) and intersectionality-based analysis (IBA). The focus of this paper is to interrogate both these alternatives and clarify their similarities and differences which are often conflated in policy, practice and academic literature. The paper specifically focuses on each alternative's limitations and possibilities for capturing and responding to the intersecting nature of social inequalities in the context of public policy. The central argument put forward is that intersectionality-based analysis is a more promising and advanced approach for capturing the interactive dynamics and process of various social locations and processes on people's experiences of discrimination and oppression but at the same time more difficult to implement because of the extent to which it challenges the status quo, namely policy practices that prioritize separate strands of equality including gender, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, sexuality, disability and geography. The paper concludes by drawing on international developments and good practices to recommend how intersectionality can start to make inroads in Canada to disrupt current dominant discourses and policy strategies around diversity.

Hankivsky, Olena (oah@sfu.ca)

Gender Mainstreaming and Health: A Five Country Examination

Paper for Panel: The Politics and Practice of Gender Mainstreaming
Participants: Christina Gabriel, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Olena Hankivsky, Associate Professor, Simon Fraser University
Pauline Rankin, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Chair: Linda Trimble, University of Alberta
Discussant: Joan Grace, University of Winnipeg
Although gender mainstreaming (GM) has become the international norm for working towards gender equality, the impact of this strategy has been uneven. The lack of substantive results has led to much debate in terms of GM's capacity for engendering substantive policy changes and for addressing the

multidimensional nature of oppression and discrimination. Moreover, because many jurisdictions including Canada, are continually re-assessing GM, the need for ongoing evaluation research of GM strategies is both timely and pressing. The proposed paper will synthesize the author's four year study of 5 countries Canada, Australia, Sweden, the UK, and Ukraine which included over 150 key gender mainstreaming stakeholders in government, academia and equality seeking organizations. Focusing on the health sector, the paper documents and analyzes the development of a variety of country level approaches to mainstreaming gender, identifies the main factors inhibiting or leading to the promotion and operationalization of GM, and proposes how current GM strategies can be modified, strengthened and or replaced by alternative approaches. Central to the analysis is the question that continues to be raised in the literature: Can present gender mainstreaming approaches be broadened? (Woodward 2007, 180) and specifically whether GM in current or expanded versions has the potential to address the wide variety of diversities among nation state populations, and specifically Canada, which are based on many factors including but not limited to gender.

Hanna, Lauren (laurenhanna@hotmail.com)

Officers of the Legislature and Policy Innovation

Title of Panel: Policy and Political Change in the Ontario Legislature with Sylvia Pena (presenter), Monika Wyrzykowska (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Michael Atkinson (discussant) This research paper will examine two independent officers of the legislature and examine policy innovations in their offices. This report will contrast them with the seeming obstacles to innovations in legislative committees. The Auditor General's Office has changed dramatically over the last ten years. The current Auditor General, Jim McCarter, has garnered a great of attention with his development of Value for Money audits. The objective of this work is to assess whether public services are being reliably delivered in a cost-effective manner. His work is sometimes seen as work legislative committees should do and indeed legislative committees now sometimes ask that his audits be released immediately upon completion. The Information and Privacy Commissioner is making waves in the world of privacy regulation by moving forward with aggressive standards in her Privacy by Design model. Because of the increasing complexity and interconnectedness of information technologies, the Commissioner, Ann Cavoukian, has argued for building privacy right into system design. Her advocacy goes far beyond the borders of Ontario. In contrast, legislative committees seem to lack the resources to foster policy innovation. The committees lack staff, time and continuity of leadership and membership. It is probably no wonder that we see the growth of independent officers and their widening activities. To assess the relationship between sluggish committees and dynamic independent officers, interviews will be conducted with committee chairs and members, committee clerks, and the commissioners.

Hanniman, Kyle (hanniman@wisc.edu)

Transfers, Bailouts, and the Power to Tax: Fiscal Federalism and the Market Discipline of Subnational Governments

According to economic theories of federalism, credit markets do not discipline the fiscal policies of governments that fund most of their responsibilities through central transfers. The assumption has been that creditors interpret transfers as implicit guarantees on subnational debts. This paper argues that transfer dependence, long considered the aspect of fiscal federalism most likely to insulate subnational units from market discipline, actually invites harsher credit conditions. This argument is based on three claims about the effects of transfer dependence. First, transfer dependence does not send creditors clear bailout signals. Investors consider other aspects of the fiscal federal environment, including the politics and institutions governing transfer systems, more informative. Second, to the extent dependence does signal bailout intentions, it does not appear to indicate implicit support. My results suggest, if anything, a negative relationship between bailout expectations and transfer dependence. Finally, transfer dependence restricts local capacity to raise taxes during periods of fiscal distress. This incapacity limits subnationals' ability to adjust to negative fiscal shocks, conveying a higher probability of default. The upshot is higher risk premia and lower credit ratings for dependent governments. I back these claims with analyses of bailout probabilities and standalone credit ratings assigned by Moody's Investors Services, one of the big three international rating agencies. I find additional support from a review of rating methodologies and reports issued by Moody's and its two closest competitors, Standard and Poor's and Fitch Ratings. The advantages of the ratings data are fourfold: they are pure measures of credit risk; represent both causes and proxies for market beliefs and behavior; disaggregate subnational credit risk into two of its most basic components (bailout expectations and standalone credit risk); and enable tractable comparisons across several countries.

Hanvelt, Marc (marc_hanvelt@carleton.ca)

Playing With Fire: Factionalism and the Opposition of Interests in Hume's Political Philosophy

Central to the development of David Hume's political philosophy was his struggle with the paradoxical nature of the opposition of interests in the public sphere. On Hume's account, the opposition of interests was simultaneously the primary support of the British constitution and, because it could so easily give rise to factionalism that tore at the fabric of British society, the greatest danger to it. A fundamental question that arises from Hume's work is how to distinguish, what Hume would have considered, a legitimate opposition of interests

from factionalism and blind partisanship, the deleterious effects of which Hume detailed in his essays and in his *History of England*. This question is important for making sense of Hume's political philosophy. However, it is at least equally significant for contemporary democratic theory, especially in political societies where political discourse seems increasingly partisan and vitriolic. Drawing primarily on Hume's essays and on his *History of England*, and through a comparison with the account of faction that James Madison developed in *Federalist 10*, this paper will present an interpretation of Hume's treatment of faction that will highlight his concern with differentiating a principled form of agonistic politics from the blind partisanship of faction that he fought so hard to dispel. The paper will argue that Hume's concern with establishing this distinction fundamentally shaped his political philosophy, and that his insights with regard to faction and the opposition of interests are valuable resources for contemporary democratic theorists interested in improving democratic practices and democratic discourse.

Harasymiw, Bohdan (bharasym@ucalgary.ca)

Snatching Defeat from the Jaws of Victory: The All-Too-Brief Premiership of Ed Stelmach in Alberta

Why would a new provincial premier, having in his first general election increased his governing party's seats in the legislature from 62 to 72 out of 83, resign just three years later? Normally, in Canada a provincial first minister remains in office so long as s/he wins elections, and either retires of his/her own accord or is forced to resign after an electoral defeat. Ed Stelmach's brief tenure as premier of Alberta is a singular anomaly in that regard. Answers to this puzzle are to be sought in the leadership selection process, the supposed shortcomings in his style of leadership and policy decisions, the threat to the Progressive Conservatives' forty-year hegemony from the wildly popular Wildrose Alliance, and lack of confidence from the party's financial backers. Relying on interviews with the principal players, monographic and newspaper accounts, and party as well as Elections Alberta archives, the paper makes systematic comparisons between the major features of Stelmach's term in office and those of his predecessor, the inimitable Ralph Klein. It also compares prospectively, to test the validity of hypotheses resting on Stelmach's presence as the explanatory variable. All of this retrospective and prospective scrutiny is in the search for a credible explanation or interpretation. This leads to the conclusion that Stelmach's ethnicity, widely credited as responsible for his selection as party leader, may also have brought about his demise. Popularity with the voting public simply did not translate into popularity in the backrooms of Alberta politics, where it apparently counts most.

Harasymiw, Bohdan (bharasym@ucalgary.ca)

President Medvedev's Reform of the MVD: A Step Towards Democratic Policing in Russia?

Brian D. Taylor's groundbreaking study, *State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion after Communism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), demonstrates the critical importance of the development of democratic policing if Russia is to build the institutions and order which are essential in a democracy. He also shows that President Putin's state-building policies, unfortunately, carried Russia in the opposite direction. Nowadays under President Medvedev a new effort is being made to reform the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), responsible for the police, and its operations. The objective of the present paper, then, is to assess whether this most recent reform effort is finally taking Russia away from the predatory and/or repressive models of policing into the democratic mould. Rule of law means nothing if a country's police are not bound by the rule of law. Using official Russian government sources (e.g., *Rossiiskaia gazeta*) as well as other newspaper and monographic accounts, including results of public opinion surveys, the paper assesses progress made in 2011 in the reform of Russian policing. History and bureaucratic inertia predict a pessimistic outcome to Medvedev's policies. Russia's situation is further complicated by universal trends, especially in Western democracies, whereby traditional patterns of policing, and police accountability, are coming increasingly into question, thus thoroughly muddling the whole notion of policing. The present writer's interest in the evolution of the Soviet police state into its postcommunist form found expression initially in a 2003 CJPS article on the political use of the police under Ukraine's President Kuchma.

Harding, Mark (mshardin@ucalgary.ca), **Knopff, Rainer** (knopff@ucalgary.ca)

Charter Values in Question: Ontario v. Fraser 2011

The concept of Charter values - expressed either in that very term or closely related language - has appeared in more than 85 Supreme Court of Canada decisions since the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted in 1982. In some of these cases, Charter values denotes a jurisprudential strategy to make a law Charter compliant without resorting to the sledgehammer of invalidation. In other cases, Charter values are invoked as underlying concepts that help judges give meaning to, and perhaps expand, the Charter's explicit rights and freedoms. This second usage of Charter values - what might be called the underlying values usage - is the focus of this paper. In this second sense, Charter values are akin to the famous unwritten principles used to decide such cases as the *Quebec Secession Reference* (1998), or the penumbral rights used by the U.S. Supreme Court in famous privacy rights cases. While this underlying values approach attracted judicial unanimity in the *Secession Reference*, it has generated sharp disagreement in the recent case of *Ontario (Attorney General) v. Fraser, 2011*. This paper

examines the Charter-values controversy in Fraser, setting it in the context of similar debates in such cases as *Griswold v. Connecticut* 381 U.S. 479 and *Reference re Remuneration of Judges of the Provincial Court (P.E.I.)*, 1997.

Hardy, Nick (nhardy@uwo.ca)

Towards a Critical Realist Account of the Nuclear Industry

In March 2011 the failure of the cooling mechanism and the partial-meltdown of a reactor at Japan's Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear power plant brought, once again, into stark contrast nuclear energy's promise to be a safe, reliable, cheap, and environmentally friendly energy source and the practical difficulties in taming and controlling its immense power and destructive potential. Nuclear reactors represent an extraordinary feat of engineering and knowledge but are, as one leading physicist termed them, a Faustian bargain (Weinberg, 1972). The analysis presented here investigates this 'bargain' through the lens of political economy and social theory. Using critical realism (Roy Bhaskar, 1975, 1979; Andrew Sayer, 1992; Pearce and Frauley, 2007) as a theoretical underpinning, elements of Michel Foucault's post-structuralism and Louis Althusser's 'aleatory' Marxism are brought together and integrated. This perspective provides a holistic account of discursive, socio-political, and natural structures, as well as their inter-relations. Examining the development of the British nuclear industry, I argue that the industrial 'form' of the nuclear industry is almost unique in its need to contain (despite at times wishing to utilise) the dangerous by-products it continually produces. I conclude that under present political and socio-economic circumstances, it necessarily fails to do so safely.

Harell, Allison (harell.allison@uqam.ca), **Soroka, Stuart** (stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca), **Ladner, Kiera** (ladnerk@cc.umanitoba.ca)

Public Opinion, Prejudice and the Racialization of Welfare in Canada

Drawing on a unique survey experiment in the 2011 Canadian Election Study dataset, this paper examines the ways in which racialized images influence attitudes toward redistributive policy. While work in the US points to a strong racialization of welfare attitudes, little research explores the ways in which racial cues may structure attitudes about welfare elsewhere. In the Canadian context, Aboriginal peoples have faced both historic persecution and continue to face severe discrimination. Prejudice toward Aboriginal peoples is higher than for other minority groups in Canada, while Aboriginal peoples often face much higher levels of poverty than other groups in Canada. Our results examine the effect that being Aboriginal has on the public's support for social assistance. Our results suggest that support for redistribution is lower when recipients are portrayed as Aboriginal than when they are portrayed as white. As we have seen in the US, then, support for welfare is related to racialized perceptions about those who benefit from social assistance.

Harrison, Kathryn (Kathryn.Harrison@ubc.ca)

Climate Policy in Federal Systems: Innovation, Inaction, and Obstruction

Title of Panel: Climate Federalism and Carbon Pricing with Barry George RAbe/Chrisotpher Borick (presenter), Erick Lachapelle (presenter), Erik Lachapelle/Jean-Philippe Gauvin (presenter) and Debora Van Nijnatten (chair/discussant) The literature on the policymaking role of subnational governments in federal systems is replete with contradictions. On one hand, provinces and states may serve as "laboratories of democracy," innovating and learning from each other. Their policies may exhibit desirable heterogeneity in response to regionally diverse preferences and needs. And they may fill critical gaps in the face of federal inaction. On the other hand, subnational governments may decline to act lest they deter job-creating investment, stuck at if not "racing" to the bottom. Their policies may conflict with those of their neighbors or the federal government. And they may obstruct desirable federal government action. All of these dynamics have been evident at one time or another as provinces and states have responded to climate change in four federal or quasi-federal systems. Member states in the EU have coordinated their efforts and even shared burdens across regions. In the US, a subset of state governments have adopted and shared innovative policies in the face of federal inaction. In Canada and Australia, efforts have been more mixed. While some states or provinces have acted unilaterally, others have pursued contrary policies and attempted to block federal action. This paper will compare the climate policies of subnational governments in these four jurisdictions and consider several explanations for the variation: decision rules and norms for federal-provincial/state coordination; heterogeneity of interests (especially greenhouse gas intensity of regional economies), and the nature of federal or commonwealth climate policies.

Harrison, Trevor (trevor.harrison@uleth.ca)

Politics and Public Policy in a Petroleum-Based Economy

This session will examine the challenges and opportunities of developing public policy in a province, such as Alberta, dominated by the oil and gas industry. The session will examine the rise of public policy institutes in Alberta since the early 1990s, with specific attention to Parkland's experiences, with a focus on the political, economic, fiscal, and organizational constraints that such institutions face. Presenters: Trevor Harrison, Professor

and Chair of Sociology, UofL, Co-Director, Parkland Institute Ricardo Acuna, Executive Director Diana Gibson, Research Director

Hayden, Anders (anders.hayden@dal.ca)

Climate Conservatives: Understanding Support for Climate Policy Among British Tories

A key obstacle to strong climate action in North America has been resistance from political conservatives. With some exceptions, North American conservatives argue that the economic costs of climate action are excessive. Some openly reject mainstream climate science. Climate policy also represents a threat to many conservatives' vision of minimal state intervention in the economy. Although such views also appear in Europe, conservative leaders in major EU member states-including the UK-have been more favourable to climate action. Indeed, the British Conservative Party is currently leading a coalition aspiring to be the greenest government ever. How does one explain conservative support for relatively strong climate policy in Britain? This question will be answered in light of theory that emphasizes the importance of linking environmental objectives to the core political imperatives of states. It will be argued that many British conservatives have seen the possibility of linking climate policy to imperatives of economic expansion (via ecological modernization or green growth), security (including energy security), and legitimation (notably decontamination of the Tory brand). The paper will also examine tensions within the party among defenders of business-as-usual who reject strong climate action, the dominant current that favours a project of green growth, and a surprising minority current of sufficiency-based thinking that questions the endless expansion of production and consumption. The paper will draw on semi-structured interviews with Conservative Party officials, along with analysis of party documents, including position papers, election manifestos, transcript of speeches, and postings on party-affiliated websites.

Healy, Teresa (teresahealy@sympatico.ca), **Martinez, Hepzibah** (hmartin@unb.ca), **Clarkson, Stephen** (clarkson@chass.utoronto.ca) , **D'Aquino, Thomas** (thomas.daquino@gowlings.com)

ROUNDTABLE Dependent America?: How Canada and Mexico Construct US Power

In their 2011 book published by University of Toronto Press, *Dependent America?: How Canada and Mexico Construct US Power*, Stephen Clarkson and Matto Mildenberger argue that Canada and Mexico make extraordinarily large contributions to the economic strength and security of the United States. Nevertheless, the United States has been able to neutralize its neighbours' capacity to influence it. Clarkson and Mildenberger call on Canada and Mexico to recognize the ways in which they contribute to the construction of US power and assert their self-confidence in continental issues. The intention of this Roundtable is to have a thoughtful discussion of the arguments presented by the authors as regards the specific role Canada and Mexico play in the politics of North American economic integration.

Healy, Teresa (teresahealy@sympatico.ca), **Prentice, Susan** (susan_prentice@umanitoba.ca)

Embodying the local and the transnational: A critical review of approaches to gender and social infrastructure

As economic development in Northern Canada begins to reshape regional economies engaged in oil sands, mining and hydro-electric development projects, many communities are being fundamentally transformed without the necessary supports to ensure that economic growth will result in equitable development, sustainability and the full participation of women, in particular. This paper reviews the literature on gender and social infrastructure in an effort to reflect on the different ways in which social infrastructure is seen. If the main focus of Northern development is on production, what is the character of social reproduction? Is there a false distinction between economic and social infrastructure, or is hard and soft infrastructure understood as being intertwined? Does social infrastructure tend to imply social services for the needy or public services for all? How is the role of private investment, financing and service delivery analyzed? Are these issues presented in local terms, or at the level of the transnational? What are the implications of a political economy approach versus a social capital approach, and what potential impact does this have on the political demands made in support of the diverse needs of women with disabilities, migrant women, Aboriginal women, or women who are working class, immigrants, LGBT, racialized, young or older?

Hedrick, James (jjh4@rice.edu), **Ksiazkiewicz, Aleks** (aleksks@rice.edu)

Implicit Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration

Recent work has indicated that attitudes toward immigrants are impacted by high-skilled vs. low-skilled immigrant status (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2010). However, this study and others have primarily utilized explicit measures of immigration attitudes, which have several shortcomings. First, they are subject to social desirability bias. Second, even if one expresses a positive explicit attitude towards immigrants, one can still have a negative implicit attitude which has behavioral consequences (Jost, Rudman, Blair, Carney, Dasgupta, Glaser & Hardin 2009). Additionally, Perez (2010) has established the empirical importance of implicit attitudes for understanding immigration policy attitudes, but the immigrant skill dimension has not been examined in previous research. For these reasons, implicit attitudes towards immigrants may be better predictors of stances on various immigration policies and/or attitudes toward high vs. low-skilled immigrants than previously used survey measures. We also re-examine the

issue of whether personal economic situation impacts implicit attitudes toward immigrants and policy preferences over immigration. We use the Implicit Association Test (IAT) and Amazon M-Turk to explore these questions comparatively in the US and Canada.

Hendrix, Burke (burke.hendrix@fandm.edu)

Decolonizing Political Thought in the United States: The Case of William Apess

Theorists who investigate the idea of the people in democratic theory have often focused on the ways in which excluded groups seek to become full members of a more encompassing demos. This approach is especially pronounced in the United States when historical figures in American political thought are considered. Frederick Douglass is often an exemplar, in seeking to foster a vision of the American demos that did not yet exist at the time of his speeches and writings. Yet many who attempted to shape visions of the American demos did not seek inclusion - in the case of many indigenous actors, they sought instead measured political separation. This paper investigates the attempts of Pequot orator William Apess to shape a vision of the American nation and of separate indigenous nations in the 1820's and 1830's. The essay looks particularly at Apess's attempt to claim moral citizenship in the human community without claiming political citizenship in the United States. The essay focuses especially on Apess's *An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man* (1833) and his *Eulogy on King Philip* (1836), while seeking to put them within the context of David Walker's work on race in America and the Cherokees' attempt to resist government-mandated Removal. Although this paper focuses on the United States, I believe that it is relevant for Canadian audiences as well, given the complexity of the task of decolonizing the history of political thought and the inevitable spillovers that result in our shared North American context.

Heyes, Cressida (cressida.heyas@ualberta.ca)

The Grammar of Concepts: Decolonizing Western Feminist Norms of Agency

Saba Mahmood's anthropological work on Muslim women's participation in the Egyptian piety movement challenges the understanding of agency as the agonistic exercise of free will with the goal of subverting a norm. In contrast, she argues, norms can also be "performed, inhabited, and experienced in a variety of ways." Investigating possible ethical relationships to norms outside the binary logic of "doing and undoing" can enable better understanding of the functioning of norms in their specific contexts, and hence ground an account of agency "within the grammar of concepts within which it resides." Mahmood joins a tradition of postcolonial feminists such as Gayatri Spivak and Saidiya Hartman, as well as queer theorists such as Judith Halberstam, in pointing out that western feminism typically presupposes an understanding of agency as (transgressive) self-making which is neither universal nor immune to critique on its own terms. This paper argues that decolonizing western feminist political theory will entail taking these challenges to normative agency seriously. Specifically, it motivates the question: what would western feminists have to change if we accepted that the subversive acts of self-making we see as the apotheosis of resistance often function to hook us back in to practices of normalization as much as to escape them? The answer, I suggest, hangs on accepting as resistance acts that lack explicit engagement with existing norms and that are typically read in the grammar of western political theory as surrender rather than agency.

Hiebert, Maureen (maureen.hiebert@ucalgary.ca)

From Principle to Practice: W2i, the Genocide Prevention Task Force Report, and the Political Operationalization of R2P

Formulated at the turn of the millennium, the Responsibility to Protect doctrine (R2P) moved away from the notion of humanitarian intervention by outsiders in response to the perpetration of atrocities to an emphasis on the responsibility of states and the international community as a whole to prevent and stop atrocity crimes. Although the central principles of R2P - that states must uphold the human rights of populations under their control, that the continued recognition of the sovereignty of states is contingent on fulfilling this function, and that the international community can act to safeguard vulnerable populations if host states cannot or will not do so - has become widely accepted, R2P has not found its way into the practices of most states and international organizations. Two recent reports have sought to change this by operationalizing R2P in very concrete ways: the Will to Intervene Project by the Montreal Institute of Genocide and Human Rights Studies and the Genocide Prevention Task Force Report (Albright-Cohen Report). This paper will offer an analysis of each report, noting that both attempt, with varying degrees of success, to operationalize R2P in a series of specific political and military considerations and recommendations by moving beyond the general normative framework of R2P and embracing a pragmatic approach to atrocity prevention and intervention to stop the on-going perpetration of atrocity crimes.

Hill, Tony (tlh@alum.mit.edu)

Developing a New Measure of Volatility for Multi-Party Elections

The multi-party electoral system in Canada does not lend itself well to measures of volatility developed for true two-party systems, where a gain for one party amounts to a loss for the other party. Using aggregate election

results, I propose some alternate measures of volatility that can be used to assess the true impact of electoral swings, taking into account disparate effects of party declines with regard to changing fortunes of other parties.

Hoberg, George (george.hoberg@ubc.ca), **Rowlands, Ian** (irowland@uwaterloo.ca)

Green Energy Politics in Canada: Comparing Electricity Policies in BC and Ontario

This paper will compare the dramatic changes over the past decade in electricity policy pursued by two Canadian provinces, Ontario and British Columbia. Both provinces embarked on aggressive sustainable energy (especially electricity) policy initiatives that have become intensely politicized. While some social science research has been published on these policy developments separately, to date there have been no comparisons of these pivotal developments in provincial politics. This paper will compare these two provincial policies to develop insights into energy policy dynamics and Canadian provincial politics on significant environmental and nature resource issues. For each province, we will briefly describe the electricity system and how it is governed in terms of relations between public and private operators, the role of regulatory commissions and their relationship to the parliamentary system in place. We will then describe and compare the policy shifts during the 2000s and early 2010s, focusing on efforts to promote renewable electricity and the policy instruments used to do so. We will also address the dynamics of the political backlash that occurred in both provinces, and how the party in power responded to those criticisms. The analysis will reveal the similarities and differences in the two provinces' energy policies, and explanations for those patterns. This work is a new collaboration between two well-established environmental policy scholars.

Hoberg, George (george.hoberg@ubc.ca)

Comparative Pipeline Politics: Oil Sands Pipeline Controversies in Canada and the United States

For the panel North American Energy Policy and Governance Presenters: Monica Gattinger, George Hoberg, Keith Brownsey
This paper will compare energy policy and governance in Canada and the United States through a case study of two controversial oil sands pipelines: Keystone XL to the US Gulf Coast, and Northern Gateway to BC's West Coast. This comparative case study provides an excellent opportunity to assess the impact of different institutional structures in the two countries on the process for environmental assessment and regulatory review and the eventual regulatory policy outcome. Policy outcomes in this case are the decisions on pipeline approval and the terms and conditions established for the pipeline if approved. By June of 2012, the US decision is expected but the Canadian one is not, so this paper will focus more on the structure and dynamics of political conflict than on explaining policy outcomes. The cross-jurisdictional comparisons will provide enhanced leverage of institutions as a potential explanatory variable. Of particular interest are the procedural requirements for the review process and their relation to the larger legal and political structures of each country. What are the similarities and differences in these processes, and do the differences contribute to differences in strategies, resources, or influence of any of the major political actors? There have also been significant interaction effects in this case that may be highly influential, especially cross-border lobbying of industry groups and NGOs. This paper is a first stage of a larger energy policy project designed to build on the author's expertise in comparative Canada-US policies and Canada-US relations.

Holland, Kerri (hollandk@shaw.ca)

Transitioning to a New Approach for Sustainable Development: The Case of Manitoba Agriculture

My paper examines a shift in policy approach towards the primary agricultural industry that has incorporated incentive based programming to enable improvements in ecological management. Particularly within the last decade, Manitoba stands out as having actively implemented multiple policy tools at the provincial level to address environmental concerns related to primary agriculture (new departments, legislation, moratoriums on livestock operation expansion, water stewardship regulations, innovative incentive and education programs, etc.). This project's aim is to better understand what catalysts provoked such policy changes, how conceptions of 'development' and 'multifunctionality' are being applied, and what opportunities and challenges exist within the political environment to employing policy instruments that seek alternative ways to improve landowners' capacity to meet changing standards. The methods utilized will include a literature review, an evaluation of relevant federal and provincial programs (1990-2011), and a statistical analysis of agricultural and environmental trends. Using Neil Bradford's work on national policy change and innovation (1998) as a theoretical foundation, this research will study the interplay of ideas, interests, and institutions within the political environment that are enabling and/or impeding innovative policy solutions as part of the larger goal of sustainability (economic, social, and environmental). This paper is part of a dissertation project that will contribute to the ongoing interdisciplinary debate as to how economic and environmental objectives can be reconciled within Canadian public policy. Moreover, it is hoped that this policy analysis will identify measurable steps and policy principles that could be adapted as part of a national sustainable development framework.

Holman, Chris (cholman@ic.sunysb.edu)

Imagination and Political Creativity: Castoriadis and Citizens' Democracy

Panel: Social and Political Imaginaries through a Canadian Lens John Grant, University of Toronto Chris Holman, Stoney Brook University David Tabachnik, Nipissing University The British Columbia and Ontario Citizens' Assemblies on Electoral Reform have justifiably generated much discussion on the part of political theorists, who see in these phenomena the actualization of certain deliberative democratic principles that have traditionally not been able to be affirmed within increasingly corporatized political orders. These phenomena, it is argued, give a form to a relatively new model of representation which emphasizes not the reproduction of an already existent popular will, but rather the critical construction of a potential political will under institutional conditions allowing for adequate knowledge acquisition. I will argue, however, that such readings are in the final instance limited from a democratic standpoint to the degree that politics is still primarily considered in terms of political competency and rationality. Rather than interpret CAs as manifestations of a new mode of representation, I will attempt to read them through the radical democratic prism articulated by Cornelius Castoriadis, emphasizing the CAs' possible deployment in a germinal project of autonomy which gives an expression to the non-determinate drives of individuals and social-historical communities. The possibility of the CAs contributing to a rejuvenation of the democratic experience is to be located in their shifting of the terms of democracy away from issues of representation and rationality, and towards those of creativity and imagination.

Honkanen, Michelle (mhonkanen@gmail.com)

The Treaty Order and Political Science: Moving Toward Reconciliation

In a previous paper (Honkanen, 2011), I argued that reconciliation between Canada and its Indigenous peoples requires that Canada engage with and accommodate Indigenous world view, specifically, the Indigenous understanding of their relationship with the newcomers. This idea will be further developed within this paper, which explores how the concept of treaty federalism can be integrated as a foundational concept within the discipline of political science. Traditional systems of governance, with their underlying laws, principles, and values, historically undergirded the treaty-making process, and continue to govern Indigenous understandings of their relationship with Canada into the modern context. These understandings, encompassed within the oral treaties, are known as treaty federalism (Henderson, 1994) or the treaty order (Ladner, 2003). Yet, the concept of treaty federalism is little understood within the discipline of political science, which, even when addressing Canada's Indigenous peoples, is rooted almost entirely within approaches that reflect western epistemological and ontological assumptions (Jobin, 2011). After conducting a review of the historical, political and legal scholarship surrounding the foundational treaties (e.g., Venne, 1997; Monture-Angus, 1999; Fumoleau, 2004), the paper will compare treaty federalism with the dominant disciplinary narratives surrounding the Canada-First Nation relationship, exploring the possibility of forging a paradigm of genuine inclusiveness within the discipline.

Howell, Graham (grhowell@connect.carleton.ca)

A New Idol - Nietzsche's critique of Leviathan

This paper examines Nietzsche's critique of the foundations of liberalism through a consideration of Thus Spoke Zarathustra. I argue a New Idol reflects a careful and considered interpretation of Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan, which has been largely ignored by book length studies of Zarathustra such as Stanley Rosen's Mask of Enlightenment and Laurence Lampert's Nietzsche's Teaching. I also argue that there is an Hobbesean response to Nietzsche's criticism which improves our understanding of Hobbes' political philosophy. By focusing on Nietzsche's interpretation and criticism of Hobbes, as well as Hobbes' possible response to those criticisms this paper aims to contribute to the debates about the meaning of the post-modern rejection of modernity.

Hsu, Jennifer (jhsu@ualberta.ca)

The Urban Local Chinese State and the Development of NGOs

This paper explores the development and interactions of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with the central and local state in China. Case studies in Beijing and Shanghai suggest that while the central state is active in the management of NGOs through various regulations, the local urban state is increasingly becoming important in the effectiveness of NGOs' operations. In this vein, the paper highlights an emerging set of informal rules in local urban state-NGO interactions, and discusses the implications of this finding.

Hsu, Jennifer (jhsu@ualberta.ca)

Domestic Experiences and the Shaping of a China Model of Development

This article will assess China's development over the last thirty years and seek to understand how its domestic experiences have shaped China's engagement with its African and Southeast Asian partners. Corporatist and developmental frameworks have come to the fore at different points in time to explain China's unprecedented economic growth. The corporatist framework suggests that the Chinese state remains in power through its coordinating efforts with social stakeholders, such as associations. By permitting some level of autonomy, it does not erode the power of the state, rather, it is moving from state control to indirect state coordination. China's economic success has also been likened to the East Asian developmental state model, where the central state is the director of industrialisation and modernisation efforts and subsequently leading to high rates of economic

growth. However, with the developmental state model, there is little room to account for the influence of local forces, as it assumes that all stakeholders are beholden to the central state's goals. Both models of development apply to different points in China's development. Thus, this paper will assess whether China's domestic experiences of development, contextualised within these two frameworks, will have any resonance in a China model particularly as it engages with Africa and Southeast Asia.

Hsu, Jennifer (jhsu@ualberta.ca), **Li, Krista** (krista3@ualberta.ca), **Ng, Elim** (elim1@ualberta.ca) , **Dunch, Ryan** (ryan.dunch@ualberta.ca)

Understanding China's Development Through the Perspective of Social Actors

The rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a potential world power is often attributed to its national political and economic policies, with little attention paid to social actors that may play an equally important contributing role. This roundtable brings explores various social forces, both domestic and international, that have impacted China's rapid development. Krista Li and Elim Ng will focus on the role of the overseas Chinese diaspora in China's contemporary development. Elim Ng's paper argues that the PRC has attempted to harness Chinese transnational networks for its own developmental purposes. Krista Li's paper, through a historical perspective, echoes a similar perspective, save for the fact that she suggests that it is a recent phenomena that the PRC has sought to utilize the potential of the Chinese diaspora for its own developmental goals. To further emphasise the importance of external factors, Isaac Odoom analyzes China's role in Africa, particularly in Ghana as a strategy to enhance China's global standing. Ryan Dunch will place China's development and its external engagement within a wider discourse on human rights. Dunch will explore the place of religion in the human rights discourse internationally and in China's governance since the 1980s. This roundtable will show that there is an urgent need to consider the social aspects of China's development in order to understand its future trajectory.

Humpage, Louise (l.humpage@auckland.ac.nz)

Intersections between indigenous politics and social citizenship: A case study of Māori in New Zealand

Recent concern with the impact ethnic diversity and sub-national recognition have had on mainstream public attitudes towards social citizenship (Banting et al. 2006; Keating 2005; McEwan 2006) has thus far ignored how such ethnic politics may shape the attitudes of indigenous peoples themselves. Building on the author's previous work in comparative indigenous politics, this paper offers a case study of Māori, the indigenous peoples of New Zealand, whose indigenous rights are (incompletely) recognised through an official discourse of biculturalism, separate Māori electorate seats and a welfare state that has provided space for considerable mobilisation and identity-building potential (Béland and Lecours, 2008), to the degree that Māori delivery models are increasingly being applied to non-Māori populations. Drawing upon New Zealand Election Study data 1990-2008 and a 2007-2008 qualitative study of New Zealand attitudes to social citizenship, the paper argues that these political realities positively shape the relatively strong support Māori offer for the welfare state, government responsibility and economic interventionism. There is some concern that recognition of indigenous-specific historical and cultural losses frames Māori views on inequality and stigma to the detriment of structurally-based arguments that are commonly considered the best way to build solidarity against anti-working class policies (Poata-Smith 2004). However, the paper challenges this traditional distinction between recognitive and redistributive justice (Fraser and Honneth 2003), arguing that analysis of the intersections between indigeneity and social citizenship supports Isin et al's (2008) claim that both involve performing the fundamental right to have rights by asking questions concerning social justice.

Inkina, Svetlana (svetlana.inkina@gmail.com)

Public Administrative Reform in Russia: Explaining the Cross-Regional Variation

Public administrative reform has widely been used as a popular strategy to bring about major changes in entrenched bureaucracies. The general trend of change that occurred in recent years was to adopt comprehensive policy measures dealing with the efficiency and effectiveness of policy-making system, reforming the machinery of government, civil service and public sector revenue system. Much of the debate has centered on strategies of policy implementation process, whereas the major prerequisites of comprehensive policy change were largely omitted. My paper examines the prerequisites of policy change and looks into the way in which it deals with the complexity of Post-Communist transformation. Based upon interviews with experts and senior public officials, it explores the variation in policy implementation capacity across Russian regions. It argues that the obstacles to successful policy implementation process cannot be reduced to the availability of resources, or wealth, in each particular region. By contrast, a range of factors that constrain reform capacity include some other variables, such as political will, the inherited bureaucratic structure, governance and administrative reform. My study will discuss the cases of policy implementation success and explain what factors account for the achieved outcomes.

Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie (stephaniefox@theedge.ca)

A Proposal for Constitutional Renewal in the Northwest Territories, Canada

Residents of the Northwest territories, of whom fully half are Indigenous, are slowly gaining increased control of the lands, resources and political self determination through a series of jurisdictional, policy and land transfers through instruments including land claims, self government, and most recently, devolution. A distinctive feature of the NWT is that its constitutional development's hallmark has been fragmentation, resulting in a politics and institutions characterized by increasingly close jurisdictional relationships among public and Indigenous governments, without an intergovernmental mechanism to accommodate those relationships. This paper surveys literature on formal Constitutional development in the NWT (Dacks 1990; Dickerson 1995; Cameron and White 1995), a goal elusive prior to the settlement of land and self government agreements during the 1990s. Failure was due in part to uncertainty of how jurisdiction, land and resource governance would be shared among public and Indigenous governments. Similar to NWT constitutional development itself, scholarship on NWT politics has splintered into literatures on various institutions such as resource co-management institutions (White 2006; 2008), land claims (White 2002; Nadasdy 2005) and self government (Irlbacher-Fox, 2009; Slowey 2008). This paper surveys points of jurisdictional and functional interconnection of NWT governance institutions. It recommends a framework for constitutional development in the NWT based on authorities described in land claim, self government, resource and land management agreements, and related resource governance frameworks.

Jabir, Humera (humera.jabir@gmail.com)

New Minorities in the Ontario Legislature

Title of Panel: Representation in the Ontario Legislature with Belinda Ellsworth (presenter), Diego Ortiz (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and David Docherty (discussant) In the past decade, Ontario's diverse communities have increasingly found representation on the floor of the legislature. How has this diversity been received? Are members originating in minority communities being integrated into life at Queen's Park? These questions can be approached from two perspectives. First, how do the minority MMPs view the answers to these questions? Second, do party leaders believe they are doing enough to welcome and integrate these minority MMPs into legislative life and power at Queen's Park? We also need to assess, independent of the members and the party leaders, whether there are unique barriers to full and representative participation of minority MMPs. If these barriers exist, do they vary among different types of diversity, such as cultural, racial, ethnic or religious ones? How exactly do they affect integration into the political and social life of the legislature? From the political party perspective, has each party's leadership responded in the same way to Ontario's increasing diversity? Is inclusiveness a primary or secondary goal or not a goal at all? How do the leaders weigh visual representation versus policy representation? Are supports offered to minority MMPs who feel there are adjustment barriers? Are the parties pro-active in addressing barriers to greater representation by new minority representatives? The processes of new minority integration are currently underway in non-political areas of our society. The pace seems to be faster. Can our legislatures now make progress to match these other areas?

Jackson, Kyle (kyle.jackson@queensu.ca)

Canada and Jamaica: Homonationalism and Homophobia in Transnational Perspective

Political science and sociological scholarship has engaged how the Canadian nation-state regulates gender and sexuality in general, and homosexuality in particular, and therefore how homosexuality figures historically and presently in Canadian nationalism, but it has yet to consider how such national regulation of homosexuality is forged in relation to other nation-states, and how they are perceived to regulate homosexuality. Adapting a theoretical framework developed by Jasbir Puar, this paper is focused on answering the following question: does Canadian homonationalism depend on the ideological production of a racialized, homophobic Other nation-state in the form of Jamaica? The argument advanced is that it does. That Canadian homonationalism depends on the ideological production of a racialized, homophobic Other nation-state in the form of Jamaica is demonstrated by showing how the Canadian state, civil society and popular culture discursively produce Jamaica as exceptionally homophobic, and in the process, referentially produce Canada as homonational.

Jaeger, Hans-Martin (Hans-Martin_Jaeger@carleton.ca)

ImBRICationS of Global Governmentality

Existing studies of the recently institutionalized cooperation among the so-called BRIC(S) countries have largely focused on this group's challenges and its contributions to global economic governance (especially in the G-20 context). This paper uses a (global) governmentality lens to shed light on the security dimension (including both traditional and biopolitical security issues) of the inchoate global governance agenda of the BRIC(S) group. While conventional approaches to global governance highlight material power, institutions and norms, the focus of this paper will be on the emerging political rationalities, techniques and ethos of government apparent in the evolving BRICS framework. In order to flesh out the specificity of this global governmentality project, it will be compared both synchronically with the (largely) neoliberal approach in the context of the UN and diachronically (and to some extent genealogically) with the original postcolonial global governmentality of the 1955 Bandung conference. Drawing on both programmatic statements and topical interventions by the BRICS group, the paper will demonstrate how the latter's global governmentality project is imbricated in these two alternative formations.

Janara, Laura (laura.janara@ubc.ca)

Nonhuman Animals, Political Theory, Power

Laura Janara, UBCWill Kymlicka, Queen's UniversityRod Preece, Wilfrid Laurier University Paul Hamilton, Brock UniversityAs the CPSA celebrates its centenary in 2012, conference organizers ask us to consider the discipline. The 2012 Political Theory Workshop is entitled Decolonizing Political Theory. This proposed roundtable responds to both of these thematic challenges. We confront political theory (and science) as a historical practice that recurrently conceptualizes human animals as political subjects and nonhuman animals as objects of nature. The roundtable thus disrupts the calcified subject matter of political theory (and science) and how it supports what we may call the colonization of animals, as we use resources within political theory to join with the emergent scholarship outside political science that poses, in this liberal democratic, late-capitalist moment, the question of the animal. The question of the animal has yet to be posed at the CPSA meetings; this would be an inaugural effort. The roundtable brings together the pioneer political philosopher Rod Preece, long rooted in critical historical-philosophical study of animals in Western culture; Will Kymlicka, whose work to include human diversity within the polity has recently been brought to bear on the question of animal membership; Paul Hamilton, whose experience in animal activism is translating into his teaching and research in comparative political science; and Laura Janara, whose political theory class on nonhuman life connects students to community work, and who is hosting an interdisciplinary panel series on human/nonhuman animals at the university at UBC in 2011-12.

Jansen, Harold (harold.jansen@uleth.ca), **Thomas, Melanee** (melanee_lynn@yahoo.co.uk), **Young, Lisa** (lisa.young@ucalgary.ca)

Who donates to Canada's political parties?

Canada's Election Expenses Act, 1974 provided incentives for individuals to donate to political parties through a system of tax credits. These incentives were strengthened in the reforms to Canada's political party finance regime that came into effect in 2004. Those reforms enriched the tax credit individuals receive, but also banned corporate and trade union donations to political parties. Furthermore, the 2004 reforms (amended in 2006) put limits on the amount any single individual could donate to a political party, forcing Canadian parties to diversify their fundraising efforts among individuals. In the Fall of 2011, the Conservative government has begun to carry out its pledge to eliminate the quarterly allowance that provided significant state support for political parties. Although the effects of these changes are yet to be felt, Canada's political parties are going to be even more reliant on donations from individuals than ever before. Almost all analyses of political party finance in Canada look at the effect of party finance legislation on party organization or political competition (e.g., see Young and Jansen, 2011; Jansen and Young, 2011). There is little, if any, research on the characteristics of donors to Canadian political parties. In this paper, we address this deficiency by using Canadian Election Study data from 2004, 2006 and 2008 to build a profile of donors to Canadian political parties.

Jarvis, Douglas (djarvis2@connect.carleton.ca)

The Politics of Empire and Desire in Late Roman Antiquity: A Post-Sexual Revolution Era Reading of Saint Augustine's Confessions

For many of today's scholars, Augustine's views on the sinfulness of sexual desire seem historically interesting, but are at best unfashionable, or at worst, morally misdirected. It is the difference in political circumstances between late antiquity and the late twentieth century's Sexual Revolution that has established this view of Augustinian sexual morality as being archaic. That being said, both eras share a common trait in which political transitions of imperialism were directly affecting sexual behavior. During the twilight years of the Western Roman Empire, political shifts in power necessitated a new appraisal of sexual morality. The sexual desires of Greco-Roman social life could no longer be seen as compatible with a newly emerging political existence. Alternatively, the Sexual Revolution of the late twentieth century was the result of there being competing ideological frameworks of global governance, which were no longer capable of meeting newly emerging sexual needs. It is these historical circumstances that have established today's disdain for Augustine's sexual morality. However, both shifts in sexual behavior were related to a fundamental disconnect existing between 'personal' understandings of sexual desire and the social demands of 'political' realities. It is the correlation between desire and imperialism that have defined these politically important trends. As Western society finds itself in a new paradigm of potential socio-economic decline, which is diametrically different from the variables of prosperity that existed during the late twentieth century, a new and more politically oriented reading of Saint Augustine's views and their historical context is warranted.

Jarvis, Mark (mdjarvis@uvic.ca)

The Prerogative Powers of First Ministers

Canada relies on unwritten conventions, including constitutional conventions, to govern a range of practices such as proroguing and dissolving Parliament, declaring non-confidence in the government and military deployments. This roundtable will explore how the scope of executive power has expanded through the ineffectiveness of these

conventions at constraining constitutional and common law prerogative powers. This is a fundamental problem for Canadian democracy. The lack of consensus among politicians, scholars and journalists about the meaning, significance and establishment of these conventions has allowed them to erode, clearing the way for first ministers to abuse power. For example, at times first ministers have used constitutional prerogative powers such as prorogation to effectively silence the legislative assembly and achieve partisan goals. At other times, first ministers have exploited the weakness of conventions constraining common law powers to muddy accountability for decisions or to limit opposition input, as desirable. Participants will present their research projects during this roundtable, discussing the situation here and abroad, how these powers relate to other mechanisms of power and how this weakness might be addressed. Though we permit this situation to exist in Canada, it is not inevitable in Westminster systems. Other jurisdictions have taken steps to limit the executive's ability to declare potentially self-serving interpretations of these powers. Consideration will be given to whether efforts elsewhere lend themselves to application in Canada. Participants: Bruce Hicks (Carleton) Gerard Horgan (UNB); Mark D. Jarvis (UVic); Philippe Lagassé (Ottawa); and, Lori Turnbull (Dal)

Jarvis, Mark (mdjarvis@uvic.ca)

The Black Box of Bureaucracy: Interrogating Accountability in the Public Service

Bolstering accountability, especially among civil servants, has been at the centre of international public governance reform efforts in the past decade. A critical gap has been the lack of empirical understanding of the actual practice of accountability, especially below the deputy minister level. This paper presents findings from a larger research study aimed at addressing this gap. The study seeks to understand both how, and for what, individual executive, managerial/supervisory and working-level public servants in traditional line departments are held to account. The study is designed as a series of comparative case studies based on key-informant interviews. While it focuses primarily on Canada, it provides limited investigations of the national-level public services of the Netherlands and Australia. This presentation will focus on how actual practice 'fits' with existing theoretical perspectives on the 'purposes' of accountability. Results suggest that while there is evidence that all four normative purposes - democratic control, assurance, learning and results - are reflected in the practice of accountability, practice is wanting in at least some respect with regards to each of the four - beyond the tensions one could expect between them. As heuristic devices, the four purposes allow us to identify limitations in the practice of accountability, the clearest of which is the failure of those to whom accounts are due to adequately hold individuals to account. Finally, the results suggest the need for evolution in our theoretical understanding of the purposes of accountability.

Jobin, Shalene (sjobin@ualberta.ca)

Market Citizenship and Indigeneity

This paper examines Indigenous notions of identity, through citizenship, and the extent to which these understandings are conditioned by market liberalism. Within Indigenous views of citizenship, a reciprocal relationship between economic interactions (relations to land) and modes of subjectivity (relations with land) is often demonstrated. How we relate to the land impacts who we are and the types of rights and responsibilities we can lay claim to. In contrast, a liberal economic model can falsely accept that to fundamentally alter a relationship to the land will not significantly alter who we are. Colonial domination of Indigenous peoples in settler-societies has often taken a two-pronged approach: state domination and economic exploitation. If we only focus on the state domination aspect of settler-society, we miss how attempts to resist this may further entrench the second colonial logic. Current self-government initiatives can further enable traditional lands to be exploited by market interests, missing the second logic of settler-colonialism. Similarly, the focus on capitalist exploitation of the land as a way for Indigenous peoples to gain increased financial independence from the state further embeds the second type of colonial logic. This entrenchment impacts on identity - creating a type of market citizenship and a further subjection to colonial logic. Two Indigenous societies in Alberta are used as case studies, exploring external pressures and their practices of resistance.

Johnston, Richard (rjohnston@politics.ubc.ca)

The Class Basis of Canadian Elections

The Canadian party system has stood out for the weakness of its class basis. Early attempts to to define the problem away--by redefinition of class categories, by reclassification of parties, or by reframing of the statistical issues--largely failed. Arguments that accepted weakness in the class basis--emphasizing the union movement's failures or imputing agenda control to the bourgeois parties--begged as many questions as they purported to answer. Then the research agenda just seemed to fade, an irony in light of the 2011 election. This paper proposes a structural account with affinities to analyses of left mobilization in other countries. On this account, social forces--the union movement, ethnoreligious and and linguistic-regional groups--are important but so are local electoral equilibria that reflect party strategies operating in a federal context. Most critical has been the NDP's inability to connect with the largest provincial concentration of union members, in Quebec. Not only did this denied the party a serious bloc of votes but it inhibited NDP credibility as a primary coordination point for progressive voters

outside that province. For understanding federal elections, a critical counterfactual is the provincial electoral arena. The account has obvious implications for understanding the 2011 election but also for a more general understanding of Canada's electoral system and party system. Evidence comes from labour force and electoral data, from Gallup data from the 1950s to the 1980s, and from Canadian Election Studies from 1965 to the present.

Jolicoeur, Pierre (pierre.jolicoeur@rmc.ca)

Influence des relations Russie-OTAN

L'objet de cette présentation est d'analyser comment les relations OTAN-Russie ont influencé la sécurité européenne depuis le début des années 2000. Pour orienter la recherche, nous posons les questions suivantes : comment le paradigme de la sécurité européenne a-t-il évolué au cours de la dernière décennie et comment a-t-il transformé la nature des relations Russie-OTAN; est-ce que la Russie est prête à se positionner auprès de l'OTAN pour faire face aux nouvelles menaces, et est-ce que les États membres de l'OTAN seront en mesure de forger une position commune à l'endroit de la Russie ou les divisions internes au sein de l'Alliance atlantique continueront-elles à miner les relations avec Moscou? Pour mener à bien cette étude, nous analyserons la position des acteurs par rapport aux principaux enjeux sécuritaires européens de la dernière décennie. Cette analyse permettra de dégager les différentes lignes de fractures apparues au sein de l'OTAN au cours des dernières années, notamment quant aux relations à entretenir avec la Russie. Nous verrons que le paradigme de la sécurité européenne a grandement évolué; si les années 2000 se sont amorcées sous l'égide des institutions régionales de sécurité dans un contexte de lutte au terrorisme et de relations difficiles avec la Russie, l'évolution balbutiante de ces institutions et le succès économique de la Russie auront réaffirmé la primauté de l'État dans les relations internationales en milieu de décennie. À la fin de cette décennie, la multipolarité - non le multilatéralisme - définit la sécurité européenne.

Jolicoeur, Pierre (pierre.jolicoeur@rmc.ca)

Reconnaissance étatique, autodétermination et sécession : les problèmes que posent les cas du Kosovo et de l'Ossétie du Sud en droit international

Incontestablement, les États constituent les principaux acteurs des relations internationales et les principaux sujets touchés par le droit international. Ce qui constitue un État reste pourtant difficile à définir. Les États eux-mêmes s'opposent à ce sujet. La présente communication vise à examiner la notion d'État en tant que sujet légal, plus particulièrement sous l'angle de la relation entre l'État souverain et l'autodétermination des peuples. Le problème de la sécession sera ainsi au centre de l'analyse. La communication débutera par une présentation des caractéristiques pouvant faire partie d'une définition de l'État. Par la suite, nous étudierons les problèmes de la reconnaissance étatique dans une perspective de droit international. Dans ce contexte, le droit à l'autodétermination, à la base un idéal politique qui est devenu un concept légal, étroitement lié à l'intégrité territoriale des États, joue un rôle clé. Suite à ces considérations générales et théoriques, la communication portera enfin sur la façon dont le droit international approche le problème de la sécession. Il sera notamment question du courant dominant voulant que le droit international ne reconnaisse pas un droit à la sécession et qu'il gère les questions de sécession comme des événements factuels pouvant avoir des conséquences légales. Pour finir, à travers des études de cas récents, le Kosovo, l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud, la communication montrera les possibilités et les limites du droit international en matière de reconnaissance étatique dans le cadre de sécessions.

Joseph, Garcea (joe.garcea@usask.ca)

Empowerment of Cities in Canada and the United States

During the past two decades there has been an empowerment of cities movement in Canada and the United States. The thrust of the movement has been to provide cities with greater authority and autonomy in performing their respective governance and financial management functions. The purpose of this paper to compare and contrast what gave rise to the movement in the two countries, the focus and extent of the resulting empowerment, and to provide an assessment of the intended and unintended consequences of the empowerment. This paper will be based on two major sources--the extant primary and secondary literature on the empowerment of cities, and interviews with officials from national and sub-national organizations representing cities.

Kading, Terry (tkading@tru.ca)

The Politics of Social Planning in the Small City

This paper examines the challenges and limitations confronted by local governments in four small cities in British Columbia as they have become increasingly involved in addressing local social problems - homelessness, panhandling, addictions, and prostitution - in response to reductions in program spending at the provincial and federal levels of government. For municipal governments this has entailed the contracting of consultants, the creation of local social plans and homeless action plans, the hiring of social planners, and the establishment of goals and resources to be committed at the local level to address these social problems in order to leverage financial support from higher levels of government. Using municipal reports, local press coverage, and interviews

with social planners from the cities of Kamloops, Nanaimo, Prince George and Kelowna, this paper reveals the political challenges faced by small cities as they are expected play a larger leadership role in addressing and resolving local social problems. This paper is a novel contribution to the study of local government in Canada, as it draws attention to the important 'social role' of local governments in small cities as they confront broader concerns over economic development and diversification, infrastructure needs, limited revenues for core services, and environmental standards. This paper advances an initial assessment of the capacity of these small cities to address local social problems, and evaluates the pros and cons of this lead role at the municipal level.

Kahane, David (david.kahane@ualberta.ca)

Successes and challenges in innovative public involvement: the case of Edmonton's environmental strategic plan
Canada's big municipalities invest mightily in 'public engagement' in policy processes, often with goals of both increasing the alignment of policy with public values and the legitimacy of tough decisions in the eyes of the public. Engagement processes often fall short of these goals, and many municipalities are seeking to innovate in methods used, including by drawing on the field of 'deliberative democracy'. This roundtable brings together a number of key players seeking to build innovative citizen involvement processes around climate policy in Edmonton, in connection with a SSHRC-funded community-university research collaboration. This collaborative work is generating new learning around 'embedding' deliberative democratic processes in civic governance; divergent languages and understandings of 'public engagement' and its potential; and relationships between citizen- and stakeholder-driven engagement processes. The collaboration is likely to lead to a major citizen deliberation process on community GHG reduction that may be taking place around the time of the CPSA meetings. Roundtable participants will draw on research and practice in municipal governance, municipal sustainability policy, citizen involvement, and environmental citizenship: Fiona Cavanagh (Project Manager, Centre for Public Involvement -- a research centre co-managed by the City of Edmonton and University of Alberta) Lorelei Hanson (Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, Athabasca University; member of the City of Edmonton Environmental Advisory Committee; and member of "ABCD: Alberta Climate Dialogue," a SSHRC CURA based at the University of Alberta) Don Iveson (Edmonton City Councilor) David Kahane (Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Alberta and Project Director of Alberta Climate Dialogue) Jesse Row (Director, Sustainable Communities Group, Pembina Institute) All participants are confirmed.

Kahane, David (david.kahane@ualberta.ca)

Deliberative democracy and climate change: theory meets practice

Title: Deliberative democracy and climate change: theory meets practice
Abstract: Theorists of deliberative democracy have increasingly turned to practice to understand how new forms of citizen involvement in complex policy decisions can yield wiser, more just, and more sustainable outcomes. Climate policy is about as complex as it gets: cause and effect are far apart, rendering piecemeal solutions inadequate and demanding both political and social innovation. Actors respond to different incentives and signals, rendering expert and top-down solutions inadequate and demanding more deeply participative approaches to problem-solving and policy-making. The climate future is unfamiliar and undetermined: existing processes and solutions are of limited help, as the problem calls for iterative decision-making processes. This roundtable brings together experts on deliberative democracy and climate politics to talk about the forms of citizen involvement that may actually be able to make a difference to climate responses. Themes of will include challenges posed to deliberative democratic models by both the jurisdictional complexity of climate policy and the influence of powerful sectoral interests and stakeholder groups; the dangers of 'citizen-washing' irresponsible climate policies; and specific real-world modes of citizen involvement that seem promising in the face of the climate challenge. Roundtable participants: John Dryzek (Political Science and Climate Change Institute, Australian National University) Genevieve Fuji-Johnson (Political Science, Simon Fraser University) Roger Gibbins (President and CEO, Canada West Foundation) David Kahane (Political Science, University of Alberta and Project Director, Alberta Climate Dialogue CURA) Mark Warren (Political Science, University of British Columbia) All participants confirmed.

Kahane, David (david.kahane@ualberta.ca)

Stakeholders and citizens in Alberta environmental policy making

Public consultation in Alberta often uses the language of engaging 'citizens' or 'Albertans'. In fact, these processes in many cases privilege the voices and influence of organized stakeholder groups-business and corporate interests, NGOs, First Nations, labour organizations, landowners, and others. This roundtable shares interim results from a collaborative research project on environmental consultations in Alberta, which is drawing on published and grey literatures as well as interviews to analyze Roles played by organized stakeholders and 'ordinary' citizens in these processes Rationales from elected officials, civil servants, and consultants for who is involved and how Operations of power within these consultation exercises, and impacts of consultation on policy decisions How these findings relate to conceptualizations of public participation and consultation in deliberative democratic theory, theories of environmental citizenship, and policy studies. The panel will focus on public engagement exercises around the Lower Athabasca Regional Plan, and on a series of citizen and stakeholder consultations on provincial climate

change policy. Panelists: Laurie Adkin, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Alberta; David Kahane, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Alberta; John Parkins, Associate Professor of Resource Economics and Environmental Sociology, University of Alberta. Commentators: Genevieve Fuji Johnson, Associate Professor of Political Science, Simon Fraser University; Lorna Stefanick, Associate Professor of Governance, Law, and Management, Athabasca University (All participants confirmed)

Karabulut, Tolga (karabulut_tolga@yahoo.com)

Republicanism, National Identity and Citizenship

The place of the national identity and culture in a liberal democracy has been subject to many debates in recent sociopolitical theory. Liberal theorists who are sympathetic to nationalism claims that national identity is indispensable for democratic politics and citizenship. Nationality provides the locus of attachment and belonging among citizens in liberal democracies. Social integration and motivation for political participation of citizens are only possible with the background of a shared national public culture. In this paper, I want to argue that liberal nationalists' arguments on citizenship derive their meaning and power from the historical interplay between republicanism and nationalism which emerged in the eighteenth century. Political values such as solidarity, political participation, and public good, which are central to the tradition of republican citizenship, were adopted by nationalism in modern states. This resulted in defining the nationality as the basis of citizenship and claiming that if republican citizenship is to succeed, the political community needs to have the cement that a common national identity provides (Miller, 2008). Contrary to this thesis, this paper aims to reveal the republican origins and content of liberal nationalism, and argue that republican conception of citizenship does not presuppose a shared national identity. This discussion will also provide some light on the questions whether and how citizenship can be conceptualized without reference to common national identity in culturally diverse liberal democracies.

Kavalski, Emilian (e.kavalski@uws.edu.au)

A Chinese Community of Practice: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Beijing's Relational Governance of Central Asia

This study interrogates the strategies advanced by China in world affairs by analysing Beijing's agency in Central Asia. The contention is that the external agency of China attests to its distinct normative power. The lodestone of China's normative power is its idiosyncratic logic of relationships. Thus, in contrast to the dominant logic of appropriateness and logic of consequences practices by Western international actors, China's normative foreign policy is characterized by (i) the deliberate practice of interaction; (ii) respect for the partner of interaction; and (iii) Beijing's willingness to change itself to accommodate its partner's interests. It is these dynamics that construct not only socializing effects, but also nascent communities of practice. The paper engages the susceptibility of Central Asian states to China's normative power, by focusing on the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The conceptualization of SCO as an instance of a Beijing-led community of practice offers unique opportunities to reflect upon China's emerging international roles not only in Central Asia, but in global politics. The paper also argues that the development of the SCO is indicative of a particular post-Cold War phenomenon. After the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, commentators were pondering how far Western ideas can/will spread. Twenty years later, the question seems to be how far Chinese influence will spread.

Keating, Tom (tom.keating@ualberta.ca)

Responding to failed states: Assessing Canadian policy

The paper will examine the origins of the Canadian government's attention to failed states and the evolution of policy responses to such states. It will give particular attention to the government's interest and willingness in responding to such conditions with more overt policy instruments, including armed intervention. In reviewing policy in this area the paper will consider the relative influence of external and domestic ideas and interests and, in turn, the likelihood that such a policy will be sustained over time. The paper will also consider policy developments in this area in light of their implications for some of the more established traditions of Canadian foreign policy including respect for state sovereignty, the rule of law, and working through multilateral institutions.

Kellogg, Paul (pkellogg@athabascau.ca)

Boiling Mud: Towards a comparative political economy of Venezuela and Alberta

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - The Context of Democracy in Alberta: Petro Politics with Peter (Jay) Smith (presenter), Lorna Stefanick (presenter), Meenal Shrivastava (chair) and Margaret Little (discussant) The staple trap metaphor is ubiquitous in Canadian political economy. It implies that Canada's wealth is rooted in the exploitation of natural resources, and that the export of these staples forms the (very unstable) core of the economy. This paper will explore the staple trap metaphor through a comparative analysis of Venezuela and Alberta. Venezuela has the same oil-soaked mud as does Alberta - but Venezuela remains extremely poor, while Alberta is a centre of enormous wealth. First the paper will compare the two boiling mud economies through the lens of Canada and Venezuela's very different locations in the world economy. Canada is very much at the top of the hierarchy of nations, not at the bottom. It is one of

the architects of the current world system, not one of that system's principal victims. Second, the paper will deploy the political half of the couplet political economy. Alberta's economic development has occurred in the context of a capitalist class whose establishment of effective sovereignty and the creation of a home market has roots going back to the 19th century in Central Canada, and to early in the 20th century in the West. Venezuela, it will be argued, has only begun to assert effective sovereignty this century, in the shape of the controversial rule of President Hugo Chávez Frías. This paper is a continuation of research developed in a forthcoming book, *Escape from the Staple Trap: The future of Canadian political economy*.

Kelly, James (james.kelly@concordia.ca)

The Limits of Legal Mobilisation: Alliance Quebec, Bill 101, and the Canadian Charter of Rights

This paper considers the limits of legal mobilization involving Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language (CFL) introduced by the Parti Québécois upon attaining office in 1977. In many regards, Bill 101 is an ideal test for the limitations of legal mobilization as a policy strategy advanced by interest groups. This paper considers key Charter challenges launched by Alliance Quebec in an effort to demonstrate the limitations of legal mobilization: Protestant School Boards (1984); Ford v. Quebec (1988); Solksi v. Quebec (2005); Gosselin v. Quebec (2005); and Nguyen v. Quebec (2009). A number of factors are suggested that demonstrate the limitations of legal mobilization for Alliance Quebec: judicial decisions that uphold the constitutionality of Bill 101 while determining the application of the law as unconstitutional (Solksi), thus resulting in a pyrrhic victory; mechanisms within the Charter of Rights that allow for legislative reversal of judicial decisions (Ford); and finally, judicial decisions that provide large discretion for Quebec's National Assembly when fashioning a legislative response that render the judicial victory - and legal mobilization - as less than optimal strategies for shaping public policy (Nguyen). Although not proposed as a general theory for the limitations of legal mobilization, the Canadian and Quebec case will be used to demonstrate the institutional and judicial barriers to this strategy involving a critical dimension of provincial legislation involving language and education policy.

Kennedy Dalseg, Sheena (sheenakennedy@gmail.com)

Local Governance and Implications for Citizen Engagement in Nunavut

It is well documented that nearly all the institutions of local governance that exist in what is now Nunavut have their roots in the period between the late 1950s and the 1970s. Predicated on their understanding of local governments as training grounds for democracy, the political and administrative officials of this period established and promoted the development of local governing councils and committees as well as a handful of non-governmental institutions in the growing number of Inuit communities across the Eastern Arctic. There is an obvious tension between the implantation of these political and socio-economic institutions and the concept of local government as self-government. Despite government attempts to decentralize programmatic decision-making to the local level, Inuit soon began to organize and establish new political institutions to represent their interests, raising questions about the role and perceived legitimacy of local governments as arenas for citizen engagement and civic participation. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement dramatically altered the institutional landscape but the questions concerning the role of local institutions remain. Building on the four dimensions of citizen regimes: geographical borders, institutional mechanisms and modes of participation, concepts of identity and affiliation, and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of a political community; this paper seeks to trace the evolution of the citizen regime in the Eastern Arctic through the development of institutions of local governance. The paper concludes with questions about the salience of local government and the implications this has for the development of an active and engaged citizenry in Nunavut.

Kim, Sylvia (sylvia.kim15@gmail.com)

The Role of House Leaders In Minority government

Title of Panel: Politics Inside the Legislature with Evan Akriotis (presenter), Craig Ruttan (presenter), Patrick DeRochie (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Graham White (discussant) Subsequent to his election victory with reduced seats, Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty was quick to consult with former Premier Bill Davis on strategies of governing with a minority. Yet seldom discussed are house leaders of all parties whose mandate of their party's day to day business, strategy development, and interparty negotiations become enlarged to one of managing the overall passing of legislation, arguably one of the most arduous tasks within a minority setting. This research paper will compare and contrast the roles and functions of house leaders in the minority governments of Bill Davis from 1975 to 1981, and of those appointed in the McGuinty minority government. By assessing their role, strategies, and success or lack thereof in cases where multiparty collaboration is required, this research paper will attempt to analyze the nuances of the house leaders' strategy development that affect the balance of power in the house. How are the house leaders able to safeguard their party's interests while allowing the conditions that enable the passage of legislation? What characteristics of house leaders are most important for success in a minority situation? This research will collect information from academic, journalistic and politician accounts on the politics in these two time periods. Then interviews will be conducted with the premiers and the other party leaders, as

well as other MPPs. Especially important will be interviews with the house leaders themselves as well as previous and subsequent house leaders, academics and journalists familiar with this period.

King, Loren (lking@wlu.ca)

Democratizing Knowledge, Engaging Dissent

Existing liberal democracies encourage citizen participation in politics and protect freedoms to pursue myriad (reasonable) ways of life. Yet these regimes also allow some reasonable but unpopular ways of life - and associated moral and political viewpoints - to be persistently excluded from public debates and authoritative decisions, sometimes over many generations. Is this a problem? I frame this question in light of two examples, one fanciful (polyamorous pacifist vegans), the other very real and important (indigenous knowledge claims and sustainable local practices). I consider three related reasons why persistent exclusion of reasonable views may be a serious problem: eventual instability, violation of reasonable expectations, and dominated options. Panel Description: Public health officials offer recommendations about HIV prevention in African communities. Climate scientists recommend policy responses to global warming. Good science is always provisional, but in cases like these, scientific consensus is generally taken to be a powerful signal: authoritative knowledge has been produced, and so the scientific question is, for practical purposes, settled. Further dissent, we assume, is likely motivated by dogma or partisan interests. Yet dissent is as vital to science as to democracy: in both settings, more voices can liberate us from the tyranny of received wisdom and vested interests. More voices can also distract and confuse, however, sometimes deliberately. When should we take dissent seriously? When is consensus a reliable indicator of legitimate authoritative knowledge, rather than unjustified deference to the status quo? When is disagreement vital? When is it epistemically suspect? These questions matter to both epistemology and democratic theory. Inspired by recent work at the intersection between democratic theory and epistemology (e.g. David Estlund, Fabienne Peter, Helen Longino and Philip Kitcher), our panel explores the roles of disagreement in democratizing the process of knowledge production, and achieving legitimate democratic governance. Chair and Discussant: Robert Nichols (Political Science, University of Alberta) Papers: Loren King (Political Science, Wilfrid Laurier University): Hopeful Losers? Democratic Legitimacy and the Problem of Persistent Reasonable Minorities Brandon Morgan-Olsen (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Philosophy, Washington University): Distinguishing Dissent from Difference James Wong (Philosophy, Wilfrid Laurier University): What is at Stake in Democratizing Knowledge? The Relation Between Knowledge and the Political

Klar, Samara (samara@u.northwestern.edu)

The Influence of Competing Identities on Political Preferences: An Experimental Study

In our increasingly diverse society, many individuals identify with more than one social or political group. These identities, at times, align with opposing policy choices. When it comes to making political decisions, respondents are thus torn between two interests. In this experimental study, I examine how competing identities influence public opinion on contentious issues. I administered a survey experiment on a large sample of American adults who simultaneously identify both as Democrats and as parents. In a 3-by-3 factorial design, I prime none, one, or both of these identities using three different types of identity appeals: threatening, high status, and straightforward messages. I find that each identity appeal in isolation influences an individual's opinion. However, when appeals are simultaneously used against two identities with competing interests, the identity facing the greatest perceived threat exerts the most influence. When the same type of appeal is simultaneously used on both identities, each cancels out the other and preference remains neutral. Existing studies show the effect of appealing to only one identity, but here I demonstrate that such appeals are only effective in isolation or in situations of low competing threat.

Koning, Edward (edward.koning@queensu.ca)

When and How Does Solidarity Become Selective? Comparing Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden

While a growing body of scholarly literature notes that some Western welfare states have recently responded to immigration by limiting or reducing immigrants' access to social benefits and programs, few have attempted to explain when and how we can expect such exclusionary reforms to take place. This paper develops such a theory, and predicts these exclusions to be most likely in a context where immigrants are overrepresented among long-term recipients of welfare benefits and where a well-mobilized anti-immigrant elite politicizes this overrepresentation and frames immigration as a drain on the welfare system. Next, this paper demonstrates the merit of this theory in a brief qualitative comparison of Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden that draws on evidence from policy documents, parliamentary debates, and qualitative interviews with civil servants and politicians. It shows, first, that immigrants' comparatively successful economic integration in Canada has muted support for exclusionary reforms in that country. Second, the comparison between the other two cases illustrates that the more xenophobic discursive climate in the Netherlands has opened the door for further-going exclusions than in Sweden, where the success of anti-immigrant parties has been limited and the overrepresentation of immigrants among welfare dependents has been framed as a failure of the state to facilitate integration rather than as a sign that immigration is a threat to a redistributive welfare state.

Krawchenko, Tamara (tkrawche@gmail.com)

Institutional responses to regional growth and complexity: regional special purpose bodies in the United States and Canada

The post-war period has seen the growth of exceedingly large and fragmented metropolises with fluid functional boundaries and new levels of social, economic and political complexity, all of which presents an inherent challenge for effective governance. Most simply put: as the functional areas of cities expand beyond that of established administrative units, how should the planning and provision of services across these spaces occur? Regional special purpose bodies (SPBs) have arisen as an institutional response to such collective action problems requiring coordination between diverse actors across a metropolitan region and their constituent political units. The adoption of these bodies adds another layer of complexity to regional governance and raises issues concerning: the allocation of resources in a city-region; the appropriate political and administrative units for the provision of such services and policy development; and the structure of decision-making and accountability. This paper will examine regional SPBs across Canada and the United States with the aims of explaining variations in institutional form and practice.

Kukucha, Chris (christopher.kukucha@uleth.ca)

The Provinces and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy

This roundtable, sponsored by the Alberta Ministry of Intergovernmental, International and Aboriginal Relations, will explore the foreign trade policy of Canadian provinces. Specific attention will be given to current and ongoing trade negotiations with over a dozen partners, including India, South Korea, the European Union, Singapore, Ukraine and Turkey. The purpose of the panel will be to explore two specific questions that address broader theoretical perspectives in the literature: (1) Has the role of provincial governments in the negotiation process significantly changed from previous involvement? If so, how and why? (2) Do Canadian provinces have a direct impact on Canada's negotiating position and, subsequently, does this extend to the draft or final legal text of these agreements? Chair 1. Chris Kukucha - Associate Professor, University of Lethbridge, E-Mail - christopher.kukucha@uleth.ca, Tel: (403) 329-2575 Participants 1. Stéphane Paquin - Professeur, ENAP à Montréal, E-mail - stephane.paquin@enap.ca, Tel: (514) 849-3989 2. Mary Ballantyne - Director, Trade Policy International, Alberta Ministry of Intergovernmental, International and Aboriginal Relations, E-Mail - mary.ballantyne@gov.ab.ca, Tel: (780) 422-1133 3. Patrick Fafard - Associate Professor, University of Ottawa, E-Mail - Patrick.Fafard@uottawa.ca, Tel: (613) 562-5800 ext. 4186 4. Helmut Mach - Former Alberta Trade Negotiator, then Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations, E-Mail - HelmutMach@shaw.ca, Tel: (780) 483-9421

Kukucha, Chris (christopher.kukucha@uleth.ca)

Societal Interests and Sub-Federal Trade Policy in North America

This paper will examine the impact of non-governmental interests, specifically labour and civil society, on sub-federal foreign trade policy in North America. Ultimately, societal groups in Canada, the United States, and Mexico, such as the Council of Canadians, the AFL-CIO, Public Citizen, and the Red Mexicana de Acción frente al Libre Comercio (RMLC), have limited influence for four main reasons. The most significant is the constitutional and institutional realities of federalism in all three countries. Canadian provinces have the most constitutional legitimacy, and formalized consultative mechanisms between both levels of government, but a reliance on executive federalism limits contact between societal groups and provincial officials. Although there is a surprisingly high level of societal activism in US states, focusing on legislative initiatives opposing liberalized trade, citizen commissions, presidential fast-track authority, and recent Buy American initiatives, influence is limited to specific areas of state jurisdiction, such as procurement. In Mexico, the RMLC actually supported a European style agreement, with an emphasis on social democratic policies and regulation, but this position did not resonate with either level of government. Additional considerations limiting sub-federal societal relevance in North America include the declining influence of labour, limited bureaucratic resources and budgets, and the fact that many groups, which rely on the work of a very small group of individuals, often suffer from consultation fatigue.

Kymlicka, Will (kymlicka@queensu.ca)

Neoliberal Multiculturalism?

When neoliberals came to power in the 1980s, they inherited not just Keynesian welfare states, but also long-established multiculturalism policies. These policies varied from country to country, and indeed from group to group (e.g. different policies for indigenous peoples and immigrant groups). But in most countries, ethnic groups had managed to secure some degree of public recognition and state support for their identities and projects. Neoliberal actors therefore had to decide how to respond to the multiculturalist policies that had emerged in response to ethnic political mobilization. Conversely, ethnic political actors had to decide how to respond to neoliberal reforms, which often put at risk their hard-won gains. This paper explores the resulting struggle between neoliberalism and multiculturalism. It argues:- multiculturalism was committed originally to enhancing

the citizenship status of minorities;- rather than directly attack multiculturalism, neoliberal actors typically tried to reframe it in market rather than democratic terms;- far from passively accepting this neoliberal reframing, minority actors have creatively responded to it, in some cases fighting it, but in others cooperating with or even co-opting neoliberal reforms as part of larger strategies;- these responses provide insights into the complex nature of social resources. In some cases, neoliberalism has eroded minority social resources, but in others, minorities have integrated their citizenship status and market participation in novel ways that suggest forms of resilience not visualized either by multiculturalism's original defenders or neoliberal reformers.

Lachapelle, Erick (Erick.lachapelle@umontreal.ca)

Carbon Pricing in Sub-Federal Jurisdictions: Canada and the United States Compared

Title of Panel: Climate Federalism and Carbon Pricing with Barry George Rabe/Christopher Borick (presenter), Erik Lachapelle/Jean-Philippe Gauvin (presenter), Kathryn Harrison (presenter) and Debora Van Nijnatten (chair/discussant). Despite much enthusiasm for direct emissions charges and other carbon pricing tools among climate policy experts, national government experience--particularly in North America--suggests that such policies continue to face numerous political hurdles (Rabe 2011; Harrison 2009). However, research on the politics of carbon pricing has demonstrated that many jurisdictions impose indirect prices on carbon, at both the national and sub-federal level (Lachapelle 2011; Rabe 2011). Building on this research, the paper assembles a new data set on carbon price policies at the sub-federal level. After exploring cross-jurisdictional variance in these policies, the paper examines the correlates and constraints of carbon pricing in the American states and Canadian provinces. It concludes with reflection on the implications of this research for carbon price policy moving forward.

Lachapelle, Erick (Erick.lachapelle@umontreal.ca), **Gauvin, Jean-Philippe** (jean-philippe.gauvin@umontreal.ca)

Against the Odds: The Politics of Carbon Pricing in Australia

Title of Panel: Climate Federalism and Carbon Pricing with Barry George Rabe/Christopher Borick (presenter), Erik Lachapelle (presenter), Kathryn Harrison (presenter) and Debora Van Nijnatten (chair/discussant). Despite numerous political hurdles, the Australian House of Representatives narrowly passed Prime Minister Julia Gillard's controversial carbon tax in October 2011. This development represents an important and remarkable shift in Australian climate policy for at least three reasons. First, Australia is not known as a "pioneer" in environmental policy, and is one of the world's largest emitters of greenhouse gases on a per capita basis. Second, a growing number of studies document the difficulty of passing carbon tax legislation in general, and of implementing a tax at the national level in federal systems of government, in particular. Third, carbon taxes are often considered a tougher political sell than a system of cap-and-trade, yet a carbon tax passed in Australia just a short time after the demise of the Australian Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (CPRS). This paper seeks to explain the apparent success of the Australian carbon tax proposal. Analyzing climate policy developments in the country over the period 1996-2011, the paper argues that the carbon tax was politically successful due to a confluence of factors; the interaction among a growing concern over the problem of climate change, the emergence of a carbon tax in Australian climate policy discourse, and the balance of power held by the Australian Greens--encouraged by a more proportional electoral system--created the conditions for successful carbon tax legislation, against all odds.

Lachapelle, Jean (jean.lachapelle@utoronto.ca)

The Role of Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution

When and under what conditions are social media useful tools for mobilization under authoritarianism? This paper attempts to answer this question through an analysis of the 2011 Egyptian uprisings. It argues that social media have two inherent weaknesses for mobilizing under authoritarianism: they produce very low levels of commitment; and they can reach only certain parts of the population. In Egypt, a unique combination of factors allowed online activists to overcome these obstacles. The method of this study is process tracing. Through the careful analysis of the sequence of events that led to the overthrow of Mubarak and through a review of the Egyptian press, it identifies the conditions that allowed online mobilization to succeed.

Laforest, Rachel (laforest@queensu.ca), **Graefe, Peter** (graefep@mcmaster.ca)

Federalism and Governance: Whither Federal Leadership

Despite the sense that federal-provincial dynamics have changed since the election of federal Conservative governments since 2006, there are few accounts that consider both changes and continuities. This paper will provide an account that seeks to understand the Conservative approach against the backdrop of the deeper governance challenges such as collaboration, the localization of policy interventions and the use of third parties in policy development and delivery. It will argue that the Conservatives have a different set of approaches to these challenges than the preceding Liberal governments, ones that involve placing the federal government in a very different and more limited manner in the social policy domain. In many ways, this involves consecrating parts of the preceding Liberal approach, without adopting the forms of countervailing agenda-setting leadership that the Liberals used to limit the push to decentralization. We argue that this opens the door to the provinces to define social policy leadership, should they be able to seize the opportunity. This opening comes not only from the federal

government's positioning in intergovernmental relations, but also from the longer-term redrawing of the maps of political belonging resulting from the federal governance agenda.

Laforest, Rachel (laforest@queensu.ca)

Multilevel governance in Canada: Digging Wells or Building Fences?

Voluntary sector organizations are important partners in the design and delivery of social policy. Over the past decades, that role has been recognized in Canada. In many places, the relationship between different orders of governments and voluntary organizations has been formalized through specific funding arrangements, framework agreements, and institutional arrangements that grant voluntary organizations privileged access to policy makers. While these initiatives are important to foster engagement of voluntary organizations and of citizens in policy making, they also can steer and shift the emphasis of participation to one scale at the expense of another, with longer-term implications on the infrastructure for representation and engagement. In complex multilevel governance systems, where the roles and responsibilities in the field of social policy of each order of government are dispersed and negotiated across multiple scales of action, the focal point of voluntary sector engagement can matter in the balance of power. This paper will analyze the multilevel dynamics of voluntary organizations across orders of governments in Canada. The mobilization of voluntary organizations has traditionally gravitated around the federal government and been weakly organized at the provincial level. Yet, since 2006, the federal government has gradually cut back funding programs and initiatives supporting the voluntary sector resulting in a profound social infrastructure crisis in Canada and creating huge capacity issues at the provincial and local levels. The paper will conclude with some thoughts on how the scales of actions are shifting and what the implications may be for Canadian Politics.

Lalancette, Mireille (mireille.lalancette@uqtr.ca)

Playing Along New Rules: Personalised Politics in a 24/7 World

This presentation will take a look at the personalisation phenomenon, abundantly discussed and criticised by scholars in political communication. The phenomenon is not completely novel to politics but appear amplified by this mediated context as leaders and media play according to new rules. We will discuss the phenomenon and offer a comparative newspaper coverage case study of the Canadian political party leadership races from 1970 until 2005. These will help shed light on the overall changes and continuity in the news coverage of politics during this period. We will show that personalisation brings an enhanced emphasis on human interest and the individual perspective of politics. Personalisation also goes hand in hand with horse race journalism where language in politics is centered on metaphors of war, sports, competition and game. Adopting the celebrity culture codes, leaders try to offer a human persona by letting people see how they are in their private life and by performing on infotainment shows. Thus, issues of personality, style, private life and family values, play, over the years, a significant role when assessing politicians. Finally, we will illustrate how personalisation operates as a device for the newspaper journalists and editorialists for evaluating leadership styles, and how they seem to be on an ongoing quest for authenticity in this new information world.

Lam, Carla (carla.lam@otago.ac.nz)

Past the impasse - The (New) Material Feminisms

Anglo-American feminism has long been at an unproductive impasse, too readily incorporated into antifeminist narratives. The root of the problem lies in theoretical disagreements about the nature of embodied gender differences, especially as they are represented as irreconcilable, polarized positions. This essentialist versus constructionist debate has been heightened by the linguistic turn in academia of the late 80s/early 90s, which favoured the constructionist perspective. The dominance of the discursive approach to gendered reality relates to the new feminist backlash in that feminism's entanglement in the debate, and subsequent political quietude, is presented as evidence of its contemporary irrelevance. In spite of this, in recent years there has been an emergence of feminist literature on the body that emphasizes materiality as part of a discontent with the social constructionist orthodoxy (Alaimo and Hekman, 90). This paper focuses on such scholars as Ann Fausto Sterling, Linda Alcoff, and Karen Barad who theorize the body as a thoroughly complex dialectic of biological and cultural elements problematically (and often contrary to stated objectives) presented as predominantly discursive. Can the latest material feminisms catalyse a feminist renaissance, and do they have the potential to negotiate the theoretical stalemate beneath feminism's outward decline? These emerging formulations are variously articulated, for example Alcoff's post positivist realism (2000) and Barad's agential realism (1996) and onto-epistemology (2003), but constitute 'a material turn' in feminist theory (Ibid, 243) that promises to transcend the impasse. Alaimo, Stacy and Susan Hekman, eds. *Material Feminisms*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Lambert, Lisa (lalamber@ucalgary.ca)

Movement Organization or Political Party: Why people join environmental organizations and/or the Green Party
Membership in emerging political parties like the Green Party of Canada appeals to a potentially different group of people than either traditional political parties or social movement organizations. Drawing on results from a web-

based survey of the members of the Green Party of Canada and two environmental organizations in Canada, this paper considers the differences between those who join one or the other (or both). The role that orientation to government plays and the importance of social networks are both found to be important but the linkages between social movement organization and political party are also explored.

Laperrière, Marie (marie.laperriere.1@umontreal.ca), **Lépinard Éléonore** (eleonore.lepinard@umontreal.ca)
Identity or Politics? Multiculturalism and the Politics of Inclusion in the Québécois Women's Movement

The political incorporation of immigrant populations is one of the main challenges facing large-scale immigration receiving countries. While many studies have considered the impact on incorporation of individual factors, only a few have examined the impact of institutional factors and scholars have remained surprisingly silent on that of immigrant community organizations. In Québec, a very important, and so far overlooked, collective actor which plays a major role in immigrant integration is the women's movement. Indeed, it has become, in the last thirty years, a major provider of services to immigrant women and has been increasingly organized along ethnic and cultural lines. Our paper will explore the transformations that this new role has brought for the Québec's women's movement. In particular, we will focus on the changes that Québécois feminists have had to perform in order to make their organizations more inclusive, by paying more attention to minority women's needs, while continuing to advocate for women rights in a more universal manner. Using a qualitative methodology, we will look into these new discourses on plurality, equality and integration developed by workers from women's rights NGOs and how they transform previous understanding of feminist practice in Québec. The analysis will be based on a set of semi-directive interviews (n=30) with women working with immigrant communities in different women associations situated in Montreal.

Larin, Stephen (stephen.larin@queensu.ca)

Relational approaches to nations and nationalism

Relational social theory (or 'relationalism') has played an important but largely unrecognized role in recent scholarship on nations and nationalism. Relationalism is a type of social constructivism that treats social phenomena as the product of regularities in social relations rather than substantial entities. Simply put, social groups are the way that we conceptualize particular kinds of enduring, processual relationships between people, not 'things' in themselves. Beginning in the mid-1990s, Rogers Brubaker and Charles Tilly each developed influential theories of nations and nationalism featuring a relational social ontology: the former derived from Bourdieu, and the latter based on a combination of social network theory and philosophical pragmatism. Interestingly, however, while their contributions to the study of nationalism have been well-received, the relational basis of Brubaker and Tilly's work is rarely appreciated or even recognized. Many students of their work seem unaware of the ontological entailments of the models they are following, and few have adopted a deliberately and consistently relational approach. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that a general social ontology based on relational social theory is a key feature of Brubaker and Tilly's theories of nations and nationalism, and to argue that recognizing and following their example is an important part of making progress in our understanding of these complex phenomena. To support this argument I provide a relationalist critique of theories of civic nationalism that explains the discrepancy between the ideological self-understanding of civic nationalists and the real social relations that constitute nationhood.

Last, David (last-d@rmc.ca)

Comparing Regional Security Communities

What is being taught to the world's security professionals? The pattern of police, gendarme and military education of leaders at entry, mid-career, and senior command levels is the foundation on which national and international response to evolving security problems is based. The map is large, but characterized by distinct nodes (US, Russia, UK, France, and some surprising smaller ones), which produce most of what passes for security knowledge applied in other countries. Stable regions like Europe and the Americas have denser networks and sharing practices than less stable regions, and more consistent content related to human rights, law, and civilian control. If we know more about where and how security leaders are educated, we are better placed to shape education across national boundaries to address new threats based on shared evidence. This multinational project began with an exploratory mandate to describe security education in 13 regional security complexes (Buzan and Waever, 2003) and is now moving on to an analysis of innovation and diffusion of security knowledge, applying empirical institutionalism (Peters, 2005). Data from 195 countries suggest different patterns of education in military and police institutions, but convergence at senior levels in some important centres. Comparison of four security complexes in Africa (funded by CIGI's Africa Initiative) suggests some potential for using common curricula to improve collaboration in support of human security communities that extend beyond national boundaries. This compares favourably to NATO's Partnership Action Plan for Defence Institution Building.

Latta, Alex (alatta@wlu.ca)

Matter, Politics and the Sacred: Insurgent Ecologies of Citizenship

The paper explores citizen insurgency in response to global capitalism's commodification of the life world. While prolific literatures on environmental justice and ecological citizenship illuminate the dimensions of social justice and democratic agency within struggles for alternate futures, less attention has been paid to the role of cultural and symbolic orders as spaces of resistance. Aiming to address this shortcoming, the analysis recasts these struggles as hybrid socio-ecological assemblages comprised not only by biophysical systems, political power and relations of production, but also by embodied material encounters, discursive practices and symbolic orders. In doing so, it singles out a dialectical relationship between the material and the sacred that serves as an important fulcrum for peoples' insurgence against the culture of capitalism. The paper treats two case studies, beginning with the declaration from the 2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth. This trans-local response to climate change grafts rights claims onto a quasi-spiritual discourse of mother earth, together forming the basis for an alternative moral order revolving around the notion of living well. The second case study takes up the *agua y vida* movement in Latin America, with a particular focus ANAMURI, a network of women's agricultural cooperatives in Chile. Here we see embodied relationships between humans and water linked simultaneously to claims for justice and calls for a new culture of water, where the sacred becomes a crucial mode of de-commodification.

Laurence, Marion (marion.laurence@utoronto.ca)

Inclusive Neutrality and Justice as Evenhandedness: a New Approach to Legitimacy and Impartiality in Peace Support Operations

The legitimacy of international peace support operations has traditionally hinged on a commitment to neutrality and impartiality. This commitment is supposed to provide some assurance that outsiders will avoid taking sides in local disputes, and that they will abstain from active promotion of particular values or interests. However, this hands-off approach to neutrality frequently comes into conflict with the ambitious goals of contemporary peace support operations. International actors are increasingly focused on addressing the root causes of armed conflict through social, political and economic transformation. In practice, this has meant promoting a distinctly liberal approach to conflict resolution and post-conflict stabilization. This is a decidedly normative project, and international actors are often torn between substantive mission objectives that are supposed to foster peace, and the constraints of hands-off neutrality. This paper will address the following research question: Is it possible to reconceptualize neutrality in a way that alleviates some of these tensions? In a domestic setting, Joseph Carens (2000) recommends replacing neutrality in the form of equal indifference with an evenhanded approach that involves a sensitive balancing of competing claims, where history, identity, and context are taken into account (p. 12-13). Drawing on a case study of recent UN operations in Côte d'Ivoire, this paper will argue that an evenhanded approach could provide a new foundation for legitimacy in international peace support operations. This paper is a preliminary effort to develop the author's proposed dissertation research examining the relationships between neutrality, impartiality and legitimacy in peace support operations.

Laurence, Michael (mlauren3@uwo.ca)

Re-thinking Democracy After the Subject

One of the major characteristics of contemporary theory is what Jean-Luc Nancy has termed 'the putting into question of the instance of the subject.' Thinkers such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault have critiqued the notion of the subject as a transcendent, sovereign and autonomous reality. They have replaced it with an understanding of the body as 'totally imprinted by history,' as an effect of power. The question I want to ask is: what does this critique have to do with the concept and practice of Democracy? What are the consequences for the Democratic of the critique of the subject? I will argue that this critique requires us to re-think Democracy in a way that is not compatible with its institutionalization or embodiment in formal organizations. If relations of power are constitutive of all identities and social orders, then democracy must position itself as a dissensus from those orders in order to maintain itself as coherent and meaningful.

Lawlor, Andrea (andrea.lawlor@mail.mcgill.ca)

Having your mind made up for you: The role of racial cues in Canadian media

The racial component of policy framing is well documented in the US (Gilens 1996; Kellstedt 2000; 2003; Iyengar 1987), however, in other contexts it is chronically under-documented, even ignored because racial stereotyping in relation to social policy is not perceived to be a problem. Yet, it is well known in the American context that media distortions of social conditions tend to result in public misperceptions that reinforce existing biases (Gilens 1996: 516; also see Shafer & Johnston 2009). And there is no reason to believe that negative racial stereotyping in the media stops at the American border. Indeed, media framing is thought to have substantial power in shaping political cognitions and beliefs - particularly with respect to out groups. Certainly Canada, with its growing visible minority population and generous social safety net, is also subject to race-based framing effects that may alter political attitudes toward public policy spending. This paper focuses in on the use of negative racial frames in the media and public perceptions of race in Canadian social policy; it asks whether racial cues in the media can structure citizens' attitudes toward public policies. Looking at twenty years (1990-2010) of Canadian news

coverage (dailies and television news broadcasts), this paper uses automated content analysis to determine the prevalence of racial cues in media coverage of social policies. It analyses what types of racial frames are most dominant, and considers whether these frames are positioned to alter public perceptions toward social policy spending.

Lazar, Nomi (nlazar@uottawa.ca)

Calendars and colonies: time technologies and the legitimacy of new regimes

Every colonizer faces a legitimacy challenge and this paper presents a new theory to explain the ubiquitous use of time technologies to legitimate new regimes. With striking frequency, conquerors reform calendars, alter clock use and foreground different conceptions of the flow of time (rupture, progress, eschatology, etc) at times of political change. I aim to explain why, when executed with care, these actions help naturalize new ideas or new orders. Whatever time is in itself, I argue, we can only understand it as relationships between events. There are as many ways of relating events in sequence - cognitive and mechanical technologies of time - as there are reasons to relate them (the aims of time keeping). Many of time's uses concern social, economic, and political coordination, and the technologies we employ to meet these ends often relate to natural phenomena, and hence can themselves come to seem 'natural'. While dozens of examples illustrate this strategy, in the proposed paper, in light of the theme of colonization, I will use the example of Khubilai Khan's use of clock and calendar reform to legitimize his conquest of China. This example is particularly interesting because the political colonization of China required Chinese cultural colonization of Khubilai Khan and the Yuan Dynasty which followed. Time technologies played a core role in eradicating these various boundaries. Simultaneously, this paper illustrates and consciously explores a method for the interpenetration of empirical and theoretical research.

LeBlanc Haley, Tobin (tobinh@yorku.ca)

Tracing Transinstitutionalization: An analysis of the emergence of transinstitutionalization through a case study of psychiatric Boarding Homes in Toronto

Scholars of Canadian political science increasingly recognize psychiatric disability as a rich entry point into discussions of public policy and the neoliberal welfare-state. Yet the issue of transinstitutionalization remains largely unexplored. This paper traces the emergence of Toronto's 41 Habitat Services Boarding Homes (Habitat Homes) as a means for initiating discussion of transinstitutionalization in the context of broader trends of welfare-state restructuring. Transinstitutionalization (Slovenko 2003) is the dispersed operation of services for people with psychiatric diagnoses through governmental and extra-governmental structures, including hospitals, prisons and social housing (Knowles 2003), that developed following deinstitutionalization. Habitat Homes are primarily private businesses providing rooms and assisted living to people with psychiatric diagnoses. The homes are monitored by Habitat Services, a non-profit entity which distributes provincial and municipal subsidies to owners. Most residents pay rent through income support and access other social services. Habitat Homes, therefore, operate where public and private services, organized at multiple scales, intersect. They are microcosms of transinstitutionalization and an appropriate case study for analyzing its emergence. Mapping the emergence of Habitat Homes specifically, and transinstitutionalization generally, this paper employs multiscale analysis of archival and documentary research from all levels of government and private institutions from 1960 to today. Particularly important are records of municipal council meetings and municipal and provincial budgets documenting governmental arrangements with Habitat Services. This paper draws on Critical Disability scholarship (Fabris 2006) for insights into processes of transinstitutionalization and Critical Political Economy (Graefe 2007) to analyze the relationship between the emergence of transinstitutionalization and neoliberalism.

Lecours, André (a.lecours@videotron.ca), **Nootens, Geneviève** (genevieve_nootens@uqac.ca)

Trust, Mistrust, and Constitutional Reform in Multinational States.

In multinational states, the relationship between majority and minority communities is fraught with tensions and ambiguity. These tensions are in large part the product of unresolved constitutional situations involving claims for increased autonomy and/or collective recognition on the part of minority national communities. This paper will analyze this relationship between majority and minority communities using the notions of trust and mistrust. First, we will develop an approach for understanding political tensions and stalemates in such societies based on the idea that trust and mistrust are not solely qualities of interpersonal social relations necessary for democratic practices, but that they also shape the relationships between national communities within state. Second, we will show how a measure of mistrust structures elite bargaining, intergovernmental relations as well as constitutional politics in Belgium, Spain and Canada, and how it represents a major obstacle in the management of national diversity in these countries. We will show that, in each case, certain constitutional positions and moments triggered a spike in an already existing legacy of mistrust stemming from a history on unequal community relations and built up inter-community tensions or stalemates: the incapacity to form a government in Belgium; the failure to reform the Spanish constitution in a way that satisfies Autonomous Communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country; the Scottish National Party's project of organizing a referendum on independence. Finally, the

paper will provides some clues as to what types of attitudes and policies can contribute to building trust between national communities.

LeDuc, Lawrence (leduc@chass.utoronto.ca), **Bastedo, Heather** (hbastedo@sympatico.ca), **Dougherty, Ilona** (ilona@apathyisboring.com) , **Rudny, Bernard** (programs@apathyisboring.com)

Youth, Democracy and Civic Engagement: The 'Apathy is Boring' Surveys

Apathy is Boring is a national charitable organization that uses art and technology to educate youth about democracy. Over the past several years, it has reached youth through street teams at concerts and festivals across Canada, and at the same time surveyed the youth in attendance to better understand their attitudes toward issues of democratic participation and civic engagement. In this paper, we analyze the content of 4037 responses to these surveys, which have been collected annually since 2007. Attitudes toward voting and elections, volunteerism and community action are among the topics covered in all of the surveys. In the most recent (2010) wave, we added questions on representation, civic duty, and major social issues. While much of the recent literature on this topic finds declining participation of youth in traditional electoral politics, the evidence examined in this paper provides a window on the mechanisms through which young people might become more fully engaged in politics, and the possible implications of such engagement.

Lee, Hyunji (lee.lhyunji@gmail.com)

Distributional Judgment in Individual Preferences over Trade Liberalization

This paper provides an empirical test of how much individuals' trade policy evaluations are affected by the policy's distributional consequences, as a concomitant of income growth generated by trade liberalization. Like many economic policies, there is a trade-off between equality and efficiency in pursuing trade liberalization: trade liberalization promotes economic growth; but trade-induced economic growth is (or is perceived to be) often accompanied by negative distributional consequences. Do the findings of behavioral economists that an individual's state of well-being is affected by changes of other people's income and that people tend to prefer equalizing welfare gains than maximizing total welfare gains apply to the context of trade policy? More specifically, based on the psychological implications of the trade-off between efficiency of income growth and equality of income distribution, 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.

Lee, Martha (leema@uwindsor.ca), **Sutcliffe, John** (sutclif@uwindsor.ca)

The North American Union: Conspiracy Discourse and State Sovereignty in the Post-9/11 Era

The United States and Canada are politically, culturally and economically interdependent, and in both countries, this relationship is a perennial feature of political and popular debate. One element of this debate is the idea of a North American Union. In a limited fashion in public forums, and more pervasively in popular discourse, the concept of a North American Union (NAU) is a recognizable theme, comprised of a cluster of theories centered on the argument that the governments of the United States, Canada and Mexico are secretly negotiating the unification of their states into a single political entity. According to believers, this secret plan has several elements, including the creation of a NAFTA 'superhighway' a single currency, and contentions that is part of a larger plan to create a totalitarian New World Order. In its assumptions and understanding of causality, this is a conspiracy theory. Interestingly, in Canada there is little sustained conspiratorial concern regarding the NAU. These themes are more pronounced in the United States, where they are a major theme of popular culture, and increasingly of public political discourse. This is counterintuitive, for the Canada-US relationship is one of asymmetrical interdependence, wherein Canada depends more heavily on the US than the US on Canada. This paper utilizes the literature on conspiracy theory and beliefs to explore the prevalence of conspiratorial concerns on the NAU in the US, as compared to Canada, and explores what this suggests about the nature of political debate in the two countries.

Leite, Christopher (leit094@uottawa.ca)

Speed in the Union: Emerging Public and Private Actors, Risk Logics, and EU Rapid Reaction Crisis Management

Title of Panel Critical Security Studies: Domestic/International with Mark Salter/Can E Mutlu (presenters), Miguel deLarrinaga/Marc Doucet (presenters) and Benjamin Muller (presenter). This paper begins by asking 'what has the introduction of EU Rapid Reaction Crisis Management initiatives changed in the field of EU security policy makers?' The paper examines changes to security policy by referring to three cases: first, the EU's Battlegroup (EU BG) military project; second, the EU's border agency FRONTEX and their Rapid Border Intervention Teams (RABITs); and third, the Civil Protection Mechanism (CPM) and resultant European Civil Protection (ECP) teams. Using these cases as indicative of a larger trend in EU security policymaking, the paper specifically focuses on how new public and private security actors and a focus on risk-driven security logics have emerged as a result of the institutional rhetoric of the use of speed to combat instances of insecurity. This highlights the limitations of two sets of literature: first, structural theories' inability to understand changes in bureaucratic behaviour across multiple

institutions; and second, risk literature's neglect of the immediate, present, spatial dimension in combating risks - in both cases the omissions being because of an overemphasis on examining the political management of future fear/insecurity by singular security institutions. I argue that the rhetorical use of speed forces us to confront the fact that new actors are being created in response to new forms of risk and then those actors are also redefining the risk logics that necessitated their creation - outlining political changes in both who the important security actors are and how they conduct their security policymaking.

Leo, Christopher (christopher.leo@shaw.ca)

How to regulate urban growth: The state of the art in Canada

Like the weather, urban sprawl is one of those subjects everyone talks about without necessarily doing anything about it. Indeed, as a discipline, we are unsure whether concrete, practical measures to control sprawl are even possible. My paper is the first in a series of North American-European comparisons designed to move beyond anti-sprawl rhetoric to the development of a catalogue of actual regulatory measures and political moves aimed at the encouragement of economical land use and compactness and urbanity of built form - development that minimize impact on the environment and agriculture. The paper is based on a case study of Markham, Ontario, a Toronto suburb that arguably leads Canada in the attempt to implement practical growth management measures. The paper defines the terminology of growth management and explains the rules, showing how the implementation of those rules involves complex interactions among three levels of government. It concludes that, though much has been accomplished, Markham's system of growth management falls considerably short of putting paid to worries about sprawl.

L'Espérance, Audrey (audrey.lesperance@gmail.com)

Fertilize this: comparing the politics of infertility treatments provision in the Canadian provinces

This communication explores the construction and diffusion of meanings regarding assisted reproductive technology (ART) by legal framers, medical practitioners and would-be parents and its influence on the political decision-making process. The negotiations of knowledge engendered by medically assisted reproduction produce new ways of thinking and talking about individual and institutional responsibilities in the creation of a family. If we consider that these types of policy issues raise concerns about expertise and social norms, it is not surprising that policies are developed differently within Canada. The objective of this article is to shed light on why Quebec and Ontario are dealing with infertility politics differently in the Canadian context. First, I argue that Quebec's innovation in the Canadian context is due to the slow and constant construction of a new meaning to infertility, infertility treatments and State-family relationship. Second, I argue that Ontarian actors learned from the Quebec experience, which now leads to policy status quo. Finally, I argue that various debates inherent to these policies and a variety of discursive mechanisms acted as drivers for change (Quebec) or continuity (Ontario) in the three streams of the political process (problem, politics, policy). That part of my doctoral dissertation rely on a qualitative and interpretative research based on interviews conducted with social groups representatives, medical practitioners and legal framers who had experience with ART; the analysis of laws on medically assisted reproduction and the decision making processes; and grey and academic literature.

Levasseur, Karine (levasseu@cc.umanitoba.ca)

Registered Charities and the 2011 Manitoba Election: Unearthing Hidden Gems

Canada's voluntary sector plays a critical governing role from the delivery of goods/services, representation of interests and involvement in the public policy process. While academic study of this sector is growing, little is known about its involvement during elections. This chapter explores how registered charities and non-profit organizations engaged in the 2011 Manitoba election. Manitoba has one of the highest density rates of non-profit organizations and registered charities in the country. This may mean there is a preference for expression of identity and interests through these organizations making research into their electoral engagement even more important to understanding democracy in the keystone province. The chapter begins with an outline of the legal and regulatory frameworks that limit the type and extent of acceptable electoral involvement for charities and non-profit organizations. Data from key informant interviews will then be reported and analyzed. The chapter concludes by offering offer an assessment of the participation of these organizations.

Lightfoot, Sheryl (sheryl.lightfoot@ubc.ca)

State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework

During the past two decades, an increasing number of states have issued official apologies to Indigenous peoples. Norway and Sweden each apologized to the Saami people in 1997 and 1998. The United States has issued multiple apologies for its historical conduct vis-à-vis Native peoples. In 2008 and 2009, both the Australian and Canadian prime minister offered public and highly ceremonial apologies for their devastating residential school systems. Meanwhile, highly detailed and ceremonial apologies to Maori by the New Zealand government have been ongoing since 1992, as standard practice in settling treaty claims. Given the increase the number and prominence of state apologies to Indigenous peoples, coupled with debate amongst Indigenous peoples over the intent and

outcome of these apologies, it is appropriate to assess the normative value of state apologies to Indigenous peoples. In this paper, I will build a normative theory on state apologies to Indigenous peoples, arguing that official apologies to Indigenous peoples have the potential to play a meaningful role within a larger program of Indigenous-state reconciliation only if such apologies are authentic, and if they are employed in a way that helps re-set the relationship between the state and Indigenous peoples away from colonial power relations and toward one grounded in the principle of Indigenous self-determination. Using this normative framework, Anglosphere apologies to Indigenous peoples will be assessed in comparative perspective.

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The Xinhua Net: An Indicator of China's Changing Mode of Governance?

The Xinhua Net, run by China's official news agency, carried daily domestic and international news, reporters' commentaries, and a variety of other information. The official nature of this net provides a window for us to examine the extent of China's internet censorship and look into larger issues such as continuity and adaptation in the state control in a rapidly changing economy and society. The discussions of this paper will be based on a collection of hundreds of items on the Chinese community in Canada as they were posted on the Xinhua Net from 2007 to 2011. Many of these items were news files and commentaries by Xinhua reporters stationed in Canada, and many of them originated in the Chinese newspapers circulating in Canada. They have a variety of information such as Canada's immigration policies, successes and problems in the Chinese-Canadian community, the workings of the Canadian multiculturalism, and the Chinese-Canadian participation in Canadian politics and elections. This paper will analyze why these items were first filed back to the Xinhua headquarters, and secondly posted for public consumption in the context of both the state control and social-economic opening. The central finding of this paper is: while subject to the state censorship and clearly serving the interests of the government, the Xinhua Net is very much tuned to the needs of the Chinese middle class both domestic and abroad for information on the contemporary world, and has provided a wide ranging coverage of the Chinese-Canadian community largely free of ideological distortion.

Little, Margaret (mjhl@queensu.ca)

"Eeny, Meany, Miny, Moe; Catch a Pauper By the Toe': Neoliberal Tools to Exclude and Police the Poor

Welfare states in industrialized liberal democratic nations have undergone dramatic changes at the beginning of the 21st century. Nowhere is this more vividly illustrated than in the field of welfare. Administrative changes to welfare have transformed the basis of entitlement. With the demise of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1996 there are virtually no national standards for welfare policy. As a result, provinces and territories have been free to experiment with a number of welfare policy instruments. Although there is great diversity in welfare reform measures across the country there are four distinct policy options which have been implemented: 1) a substantial cut to benefit rates; 2) the introduction of workfare; 3) a restriction in eligibility criteria; and 4) an increased emphasis on fraud and fraud investigations. All four of these policy options, and any combination, are administered with little regard to the realities of low income peoples' lives. This paper will explore these four new welfare administrative tools used to exclude and police Canada's poor. In particular, the paper will pay attention to how seemingly neutral welfare policy instruments act to further marginalize people according to race and gender. The results are increased moral policing of low-income single mothers and escalating racialized poverty for immigrants, racial-minorities and Aboriginal peoples. This begs us to ask important questions about how diversity is managed by neoliberal welfare regimes.

Loat, Alison (alison.loat@samaracanada.com), **Eagles, Donald** (eagles@buffalo.edu), **Koop, Royce** (royce.koop@me.com)

MPs and Their Constituencies - Evidence from Exit Interviews

From Fenno (1978) and other researchers, we know that political representation as a process often takes place in a country's constituency trenches as much as in legislatures. Legislators routinely report that constituency service is one of the most time consuming - and often most satisfying - aspects of their job. We also know that constituencies (an important segment of the demand side for representation) and representatives (the supply side of representation) differ along a great many dimensions, resulting in a potentially infinite diversity in the 'home styles' that legislators develop. Research into the grounding of representational practices in diverse territorial settings is in its infancy in Canada. Our paper will contribute to the understanding of the constituency connection in representational behavior in Canada by looking at MPs' reflections on their experiences in elected life in Canada. In 2009 and 2010, a group from Samara partnered with the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians to conduct Canada's first-ever series of exit interviews with 65 former Members of Parliament, including 21 cabinet ministers and one prime minister. These far-ranging interviews covered many aspects of concern to constituency representation (among other things). In this paper, we present a qualitative analysis that explores the self-reported representational styles and activities of MPs as they pertain to their constituents and their constituencies. We are specifically interested in determining whether there are common patterns in these

activities that are related to characteristics of their constituency settings (e.g., relatively homogeneous versus heterogeneous ridings; different regions, rural/urban/suburban settings, etc.).

Locas, Marie-Chantal (mloca072@uottawa.ca)

At the Frontiers of Digital Art: A New Horizon of Resistance

Title of the panel - Analysing the Digital Societal Assemblage: a Renewed Perspective on the Question of the Human-Technology Aggregates With Marie-Chantal Locas (presenter), Guillaume Filion (presenter), Sylvain Munger (presenter), In the last century, new technological forms, such as photography and cinema, have raised various questions about art. In fact, artists have added new media, new contexts, and new purposes to their practice. More recently the increasing cultural convergence of art and digital technology has provided opportunities for artists to challenge the very notion of how art is produced and call into question its subject matter and its function in society. By seeking to create gestures that distance their practice from either a Luddite or a hyper-consumer approach to technology, digital artists have encouraged the emergence of a space of critical thinking, and developed an aesthetic of altering and disturbance. This paper therefore analyses the work of digital artists using tactical media, which is a form of interventionism that challenge the existing semiotic regime by replicating and redeploying it in a manner that offers the audience a new way of seeing, understanding, and interacting with a given system. By doing this, I will examine the ways in which these artists address the profound political, social and cultural transformations implicit in the advance of digital culture. In fact, I will argue that artists working at the frontiers of emerging technologies bear the potential of creating new types of subjectivities, thus offering a new horizon of resistance.

Loewen Walker, Rachel (rl.walker@ualberta.ca)

From Identity Politics to Encounters: Locating the Western Woman in Feminist Theory

Early second and third-wave feminists employed the term third world as a means of avoiding the collapse of all women's identities into the experiences of white, Western, upwardly mobile women. However, in practice, the term has served to compartmentalize identities into hermetic categories, therefore perpetuating a first world/third world dichotomy and maintaining, rather than challenging, the ascendancy of the Western world. This paper looks specifically at the role that the phrase third world women has played in the development of Western feminist theory and more generally within Western political and economic environments (i.e. within the war tactics of the Bush era). I will argue that the discourse of the third world sustains a divisive relationship between so-called third- and first-world feminists and enacts a form of cultural essentialism, not unlike gender essentialism, by continuing to construct non-Western women and women of colour as strangers (in the words of Sara Ahmed). To trouble these outcomes, I explore the discursive category of the western woman and the ways that it has prioritized the image of the free and empowered modern woman. Further, the concept of the western woman sanctions a narcissism that dangerously coincides with neoliberal and neocolonial agendas. To trouble these outcomes, I draw on Ahmed's theoretical and experiential framing of the encounter. The concept of the encounter moves beyond a framework of identity politics to open up reciprocal and co-constitutive lines of communication, therefore offering a valuable method of theorizing the relationships between and amongst women transnationally.

Loptson, Kristjana (loptson@ualberta.ca)

Individualistic discourse and the de-politicization of the Canadian housing crisis

My paper will argue that the lack of politicization over increasing homelessness and housing insecurity in Canada reflects neo-liberal ideological notions of personal reasonability regarding housing; this has undermined public understandings of the structural causes of the current national housing crisis (for instance, a lack of rent controls, high levels of condominium conversions, an inadequate supply of affordable rental unit developments, government disinvestment in social housing, etc.). The lack of politicization over the housing crisis stands as a poignant example of the extent to which individuals are now forced to carry the burden of responsibility and blame for issues that were once understood as problems to be managed collectively through public policy. Although a sizable body of research has been carried out that focuses on the implications of the housing crisis in Canada, scant research has investigated the significance of public discourse on permitting this crisis to grow to the level of severity that it has. My research will address this gap by examining public perceptions of homelessness through a discourse analysis of Canadian media; understanding how this issue has avoided politicization may be central to understanding how this critical social issue can best be addressed. Although I focus specifically on housing, my research will contribute to wider issues of culpability and responsibility; how Canadians understand and respond to pressing social issues such as housing insecurity illuminates fundamentally contested values concerning social rights, exclusion, and responsibility for protecting the most vulnerable segments of society.

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Apathy, Marginalization or Radicalization: The Political Integration of Young Long-term Unemployed in Europe

Are contemporary youth apathetic and alienated from politics or are they engaged in new forms of activism? It is important to clarify whether youth are disengaged from politics, not interested in politics, feel alienated from

politics or unhappy with how the system works and engaged in non-conventional forms of political participation. We propose to link political attitudes and political behaviors of youth in order to construct a typology comprising four ideal-types of political integration: apathy; marginalization; radicalization and mainstream political integration. This typology is even more useful for the study of youngsters who are neither in the labor market nor in education, namely the young unemployed, because few studies have worked on their political behaviors. Moreover comparing them to employed youth permit to understand the impact of unemployment on political behaviors. We propose to address these questions through a study of long-term unemployed and regularly employed youth across four cities in Europe. We use statistical analysis to test the effects of both the macro level and the micro level on youth political behavior, including predictors of the unemployment regime at the macro level and predictors of political attitudes and socioeconomic integration at the micro level. This paper is part of an on-going PhD thesis on young long-term unemployed social integration and political participation that uses both qualitative and quantitative data to study young long-term unemployed political behavior in Geneva, Cologne, Lyon, and Turin.

Lucas, Jack (jack.lucas@utoronto.ca)

Why do local special purpose bodies exist? A case study from the age of the ABC

Why do local special purpose bodies exist? This essay, which is part of a broader project on the historical development and political significance of local special purpose bodies in Canada, attempts to begin to answer this question. Arguing that special purpose bodies cannot be adequately understood until we have grasped the circumstances of their creation, this essay returns to the deep historical roots of local special purpose bodies, offering a fine-grained analysis of a single Ontario city (Berlin/Kitchener) during what might be called the age of the ABC (1885-1910). By selecting a mid-sized city for close study, and by focusing directly on special purpose bodies themselves, my analysis is able to expand upon and modify the work of urban historians such as John Weaver and Paul Rutherford. Not only should we examine the arguments and interests of urban reformers and local elites, as Weaver and Rutherford have done, but we must also understand the legal-historical context in which they operated, the diffusion process by which ABCs spread within and among municipalities, and the effects of those ABCs on the local context. A careful focus on a single time and place allows us to begin to understand the creation of local special purpose bodies in Canada and the effects of those bodies on the local environment -- some of which remain with us to the present day.

Luchies, Timothy (timothy.luchies@queensu.ca)

The Promise of Prefiguration: Theorizing Anarchism and Anti-Oppression

Experiments in alternative political, economic and cultural institutions saturate the radical left in North America. Including free schools, radical childcare provision and the latest wave of financial district 'occupations', the most compelling projects have developed multidimensional analyses of violence impacting their communities. An applied theory called 'anti-oppression' has emerged with these experiments, providing a new language to facilitate the construction of radically inclusive and empowering forms of political community. With roots in anti-nuclear and radical feminist organizing, anti-oppression draws from multiple resistance discourses (anarchist, anti-racist, feminist, queer and indigenous) to actively reinvent social movement praxis. While academic work has only tangentially engaged with this grassroots project, activist writing and workshoping has facilitated the spread of anti-oppressive principles throughout the radical left, supplying practical tools to problem-solve privilege and oppression within social movements. Notably then, anti-oppression is a political project more often concerned with developing practice than theory, yet a project embedded in rich theoretical terrain. In this paper I explore this terrain as part of a larger research project examining the emergence of anti-oppression in North American anarchism. Introducing anti-oppression theory as it has been developed in key activist texts, I suggest that it represents a powerful development in the painstaking but empowering struggle to politicize racism, heterosexism, and ableism within social movement organizations. I theorize anti-oppression's relationship to anarchism and feminism in terms of 'prefiguration', referencing its intensification of the anti-authoritarian impulse central to anarchism and its radical response to feminist work on intersectional privilege and oppression.

Lyth, Bruce (bruce.lyth@utoronto.ca)

The Civil Religion of John Rawls

This paper situates John Rawls' later political philosophy in the tradition of theorizing about civil religion. Rawls' Political Liberalism contains a theory of civil religion, in that it is an attempt to appropriate the motivational resources of membership in a religious community for the political purposes of unity and stability. A key element of this argument is the interpretive claim that Rawls intends for there to be a strong relationship between the content of citizens' comprehensive doctrines and the political conception of justice that they work up and use to regulate their society's basic structure. This stands in contrast to much of the secondary literature on Rawls, which either takes him to intend a weak relation between the two sorts of doctrines, or to be strenuously asserting his own preferred political conception of justice, justice as fairness. Instead, I distinguish between political liberalism the theory of politics, and justice as fairness the political conception of justice, the latter of which is but one

candidate conception among many which citizens may relate to their doctrines in some way. The civil religion dimensions of Rawls' project are centred on the ways in which he regards it as necessary for citizens to view the political conception as belonging to a complete moral worldview, arising from within their comprehensive doctrines, since this furnishes society with 'stability for the right reasons.' Finally, I discuss the elements of a Rawlsian civil religion: its anti-clericalism and its reliance on a tradition of democratic thought and practice.

MacDonald, David (dmacdo03@uoguelph.ca)

Reconciliation in Canada after Genocide? Reinterpreting the UNGC Through Indian Residential Schools

I argue in this paper that the UN Genocide Convention puts undue stress on intentionality. Pre-genocidal planning and intent, as well as the processes by which genocide occurred, are given priority, while the aftermath, the traumatic legacies on survivors and their families, is often downplayed. Much of this has to do with the compressed nature of the Armenian Genocide and the Shoah, both of which served as models to the UNGC; colonialism fits poorly into the existing legal architecture of the UNGC. In interpreting the Canadian Indian Residential Schools experience through the UNGC, international case law, and legal precedents in Canada, the case for genocide is ambiguous. This reflects the way genocide has been legally defined and interpreted. Normatively, what happened to indigenous people should be considered genocide, especially when considering demographic losses, cultural destruction, intergenerational trauma, and alienation from traditional land. Any successful reconciliation effort should ideally proceed as if genocide had occurred, irrespective of legal ambiguities surrounding the term. This is consonant with what many Aboriginal leaders and survivors understand about their experiences, and how they interpret their historical and continued interactions with the federal and provincial governments.

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Elected Officials and Aboriginal Politics in Canada: A Survey of Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Attitudes

We summarise the methodology, rationale behind, and conclusions of a nationwide survey we have conducted at federal, provincial, and territorial levels across Canada. Elected officials were approached in confidence to complete a survey concerning their attitudes towards changes in the political system to facilitate increased Aboriginal representation, in line with models in other countries, and based on recommendations by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The federal government of Canada pursued Indian Residential Schooling (IRS) policies for over a century as part of a process of forced assimilation. There is a growing sense among aboriginal leaders that IRS policies violated aspects of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. This paper surveys elected officials to investigate their familiarity with the UNGC, with the history of the IRS, while gauging their opinion on whether or not genocide was committed and what forms of reconciliation should be pursued. We also asked elected officials about their views on female representation, racism and multiculturalism. The data obtained will enable us to gain an extensive understanding of the extent to which Aboriginal policy is considered a salient policy issue by each political party. In obtaining quantified indicators from the survey we intend to gain a nuanced understanding of the current state of the political spectrum's knowledge and opinions regarding past, present and future Aboriginal policy in Canada. Finally, the data collected through this survey will enable the paper to assess the potential for future alterations to the current political status quo.

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Political resistance to Canadian climate change policy

This paper examines political resistance to Canadian climate change policy engendered by perceived inequity in distribution of the cost of emission mitigation amongst regions, industries and demographic groups. Such distributional conflict has stalled development of national climate policy; led Ontario to cancel two gas-fired electricity plants and put a moratorium on Lake Ontario wind plans; and led BC to modify its carbon tax. Distributional conflict is both slowing climate policy development and shifting it away from full effectiveness. To implement effective policy, governments must do more to address the issue of equity in carbon cost distribution, for which they need a better understanding of the problem. The proposed paper will provide analysis of the way in which scholars understand this phenomenon, both through economic analysis of distributive impacts of tax and other instruments and the need to balance efficiency with equity, and political science analysis of veto players, motivated by perceived inequity in cost distribution. The research question is: "How are distributional conflicts currently influencing Canadian climate-change policy making?" The paper will fill a gap in current scholarship, which to date has been limited to prescription without analysis of the underlying problem. All four authors have published extensively on energy and climate policy and are currently engaged in a joint Carleton-U. of T. project to research this phenomenon, funded by Carbon Management Canada.

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Paradoxes of Human Rights: Indigenous Peoples, Canada, and the Declaration of Indigenous Rights

Our paper takes Canada's signing of the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a departure point for exploring the relationship between concepts of Indigenous rights and human rights more generally. In so doing

we will directly engage with Peter Kulchyski's recent argument that Aboriginal rights are not human rights. According to Kulchyski, the growing discourse around Aboriginal rights has suffered from a conceptual confusion between Aboriginal rights and human rights. In response, the central question of our discussion is: what are the potential benefits and potential losses Indigenous peoples may encounter from the growing association of Indigenous rights with human rights. In our examination we will consider how issues are framed within the human rights doctrine using the terms equality and universality, and how this framework may help certain objectives of various Indigenous social movements while hurting others. One example to be included in the discussion is the recent Canadian human rights commission case launched by the Assembly of First Nations and the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society. Overall, the objective of our discussion is to shed further critical light on the potential impact of associating human rights with Indigenous rights.

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Bills of Rights as Policy: Measuring the 'Political Success' of Australia's Sub-National Bills of Rights

Two bills of rights recently enacted at the sub-national level in Australia - the Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities in the state of Victoria and the Human Rights Act in the Australian Capital Territory - follow Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom in implementing judicial review of rights in a Westminster Parliamentary system. The bills of rights in these countries are often characterized as promoting a dialogue about rights between the judicial and elected branches in which courts do not always have the final say on the status of policies implicating rights. They are said to mark a middle ground between traditional Parliamentary sovereignty and American-style judicial supremacy. Much debate about the normative desirability and empirical veracity of dialogue has taken place in relation to Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. The Australian bills of rights, however, are the first to be enacted with the explicit goal of promoting this purported dialogue. They thus provide a unique opportunity to develop measures for ascertaining whether, and to what extent, political actors and institutions operate in a manner conforming to expectations under the dialogue model. My paper will draw on the experience of these other countries to develop and apply these measures and to explore the political success of the bills of rights in Australia.

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The Effectiveness of Neo-Liberal Labour Market Policy as a Response to the Poverty and Social Exclusion of Aboriginal Second-Chance Learners

This paper examines the political economy of labour market policy in Canada and its effectiveness in addressing the social and economic exclusion of Aboriginal people. For many Aboriginal people, the colonial experience has left a legacy of destruction that all too often makes the journey through life extremely complicated. Aboriginal people generally have lower education levels than non-Aboriginal people and they earn lower incomes. The Aboriginal population is growing at a faster rate than the non-Aboriginal population and is on average much younger. In provinces like Manitoba where Aboriginal people make up 15 percent of the overall population, they are an important source of labour. Yet the statistics suggest that there is much to be done to bring Aboriginal people to a state of social and economic inclusion. Low high-school completion rates imply that the primary school system is failing Aboriginal children, leaving many unprepared to enter post secondary education and the labour market. Labour market policies can help address poverty and exclusion. While they can broadly include a set of policies affecting both the supply and demand for labour, this research shows that in a neo-liberal political economy, they have come to be much more limited in scope, focusing almost solely on short-term, supply-side solutions. Yet some Manitoba based initiatives have managed to work around neo-liberal constraints. The experience tells us much about what the state can and must do to improve outcomes for Aboriginal second-chance learners.

MacMILLAN, CHARLES (michael.macmillan@msvu.ca)

Calling All Citizens and Stakeholders: Harvesting Consensus or Mining Conflict in Natural Resource Policy?

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. To do so in a policy context where there are powerful stakeholders and substantial economic consequences from the options selected makes the process particularly rare and challenging for governments. This study addresses a decade lacuna in the field of citizen engagement - evaluating its effectiveness and impact on public policy. It is based on a survey of the citizen and stakeholder participants in a Nova Scotia government initiative to establish a natural resource development strategy. This study examines the attitudes of the citizens and stakeholder participants on the responsiveness and effectiveness of this particular process, and the degree to which the resulting policy reflected their input. It also explores the impact of this public input on the government policy decisions that ultimately emerged. It concludes that the government policy was differentially responsive to public input in the different resource sectors depending on the degree of consensus achieved in the stages of the process, and that citizens and stakeholders had conflicting views about the proper role of public input on resource policy. These

disagreements suggest the need for refining the public/stakeholder engagement process in controversial policy areas to enhance the dialogic element for both groups.

Mahdavi, Mojtaba (mahdavia@ualberta.ca)

Rentier State and Beyond: Politics of Petro populism in post-revolutionary Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran is often identified as a theocracy but seldom characterized as a rentier state. Oil rent can be an obstacle to democracy when it substitutes people's voice. This paper is an attempt to problematize the rentier state and its relationship to authoritarianism in post-revolutionary Iran. The first section is devoted to theories of rentier state and democracy. The second section demonstrates how and why the oil revenue has strengthened authoritarianism in post-revolutionary Iran. It suggests that oil dependency has increased under the Islamic Republic. Oil rents have made public policies in the interests of the ruling oligarchy and produced a new class whose interests and survival rest on the status quo. Petrodollars in post-revolutionary Iran have produced politics of petro-populism. The conclusion is threefold: first, oil is not the only explanatory factor for authoritarianism; autocracy existed long before the discovery of oil in Iran. However, rentierism has immensely reinforced the socio-political impediments for democracy in post-revolutionary Iran. Second, rentier state is a double-edged sword: rentier state consolidates authoritarianism but it also contributes to a greater socio-economic development and the expansion of middle class; the middle class often pushes for political reform and democracy. Hence, in the long run, rentierism in Iran has nurtured its own enemy within itself. Third, rentierism is not a destiny. The paper examines three different strategies to move beyond rentierism for the future of democracy in Iran.

Mahdavi, Mojtaba (mahdavia@ualberta.ca)

Arab Spring, Libya and R2P: Reinforcing Power Relations or People's Position?

The events unfolding before our eyes in the Middle East and North Africa have turned the region into a social laboratory of the R2P doctrine. Libya is the first test case of the implementation of R2P in the region. This paper problematizes the implementation of R2P in the context of the Arab Spring. It aims to answer the following questions: does the R2P doctrine act as an instrument of inconsistent unjust coercive intervention? Does the implementation of R2P reinforce the hegemonic neo-liberal international power relations, or does it strengthen people's position? Whether and how the norms and practice of R2P in the region puts people at first and are capable of transforming promise into practice and words into deeds. The paper is divided into two parts. First, it will outline political and intellectual origins of R2P at three phases, followed by an examination of the implications of the R2P norms in practice. Second, it will problematize the application of the R2P norms in the context of the Arab Spring. The conclusion suggests that there is a clear gap between the discourse and practice of R2P. However, a total disengagement with the international institutions is not a solution. There is a need for radical reforms in the UN as well as empowering regional organizations and mobilizing world public opinion. The question is not to act or not to act; inaction is not an option. Rather, the question remains who has the responsibility to protect whom under what conditions and toward what end?

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Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan

National integration had been a challenge to Pakistan, a federation. Regional political parties played a critical role to add up to the misery of situation. The regional parties have their vested interests and they do everything to achieve those interests. The leadership is mostly low profile and parochial. Since it is not possible for them to earn some prominent place in the national politics, they appeal to the regional sentiments of the masses and aggravate the provincial and ethnic issues to stay in news headlines. They contest the elections on the regional issues, and traumatized later to make people scared about the threats to the community's interests and even to its survival. They win a few seats in elections and start black mailing the governments on the matters of national interests. Some of them have no recognition among the masses but they continue to haunt the process of national integration. No doubt that the regional discrepancies and depravations remained there and the allocation of scarce resources had been the source of conflict in a post-colonial state like Pakistan. The absence of representative institutions and the prolonged periods of military rule further complicated these issues but the strong articulated political parties could have consolidated the feelings of oneness among the people of Pakistan. Nonetheless the absence of organized political parties established on democratic principles and the negative role of regional parties made the national integration process a challenge for the political stability and to the existence of polity. This paper studies the challenges to the political system of Pakistan due to the presence of regional political parties.

Mahon, Lindsay (lindsay.mahon@utoronto.ca)

Storytelling and Political Knowledge in Herodotus

Political science continually grapples with how to study the varieties of human diversity without doing violence to the particularity of each. Perhaps counter-intuitively, bringing to bear an ancient perspective might cast new light

on our common dilemma of experiencing and negotiating difference. While under-theorised within the discipline, Herodotus offers this alternative and suggestive way of thinking through this problem. As I argue, he suggests that, although we initially experience politics through a particular viewpoint, we can expand and clarify our vision and, in so doing, train ourselves to see others in a more balanced way. To do this, Herodotus takes his readers through vivid accounts of various peoples and the stories they tell about themselves; as he does this, he suggests the ways in which a narrow political vision impedes or perverts a more complete flourishing human community. Through this, he leads his readers to see for themselves the limitations that inhere in their own perspectives, if left unchallenged. Importantly, he does this not to castigate, but to inspire an ever more nuanced vision of human life. My reading of Herodotus' Histories argues that his work offers a therapy of vision, a method of leading us to see for ourselves the ways in which our own sight fails us. This realization results in an ever more clear and balanced view of the political lives of others. Because of this, a deeper understanding of Herodotus offers an alternative way of viewing our task as contemporary political scientists.

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Of Two Minds: The OECD's Policy Prescriptions for Resolving the Crisis

Title of Panel: Policy Responses in the Shadow of the Global Economic Crisis with Rianne Mahon (presenter), Stephen McBride/Scott Smith (co-authors but only Smith to present paper) and Stephen McBride as chair. The 2008 global financial crisis has not gone away but rather, as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) forecast, we can expect to see deepening global recession, further job loss and increased social unrest. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has long been seen as a source of policy advice for its members and, increasingly through fora such as the G20, also for the 'emerging' economies. Yet it seems to be of two minds as to the appropriate measures for dealing with the crisis. While the Economics Department continues to rely on neo-liberal nostrums, the Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (DELSA), working in conjunction with the ILO, has somewhat different advice to offer. For Barnett and Finnemore, such internal 'cultural contestation' is a sign of organisational pathology yet the existence of distinct (sub)organisational discourses can also be seen to reflect a welcome break from the philosophy that 'there is no alternative.' My paper will thus explore the differences in the advice tendered by the Economics Department and DELSA, locating these differences in the distinctive (sub)organisational discourses that began to take shape in the 1990s.

Makus, Ingrid (imakus@brocku.ca)

Reconfiguring Gender Exclusivity in Western Political Thought: Aristotle Meets de Beauvoir

The gender exclusivity of Aristotle - a major canonical figure in Western Political Thought - has been well-documented in feminist political theory over the past decade. Similarly, the tendencies of canonical feminist theorist - Simone de Beauvoir - have been subject to a similar critique - one that emphasizes exclusionary tendencies based on assumptions about gender, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Yet, both thinkers provide an account of 'practical deliberation' (Aristotle in *The Nichomachean Ethics* and de Beauvoir in *The Ethics of Ambiguity*) that eschews universalist moral categories, offers a particularist, embedded, and embodied notion of political engagement, and is particularly salient to attempts at formulating a contemporary liberatory politics of inclusivity and engagement. This paper examines how and if these Western accounts of political community can be 'rescued' from their exclusionary imperatives, in a way that offers a standpoint for a contemporary liberatory politics of inclusivity and engagement.

Marland, Alex (amarland@mun.ca), **Flanagan, Tom** (tflanaga@ucalgary.ca)

Rebranding the Right: The Development and Marketing of the New Conservative Party of Canada

International political marketing literature treats Tony Blair's 'New' Labour as the ultimate benchmark in the rebranding of a political party. An important case that has yet to be studied from a political marketing perspective is the 2003 merger of the Canadian Reform Conservative Alliance party with the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. By 2006 the new Conservative Party of Canada formed the government and it was re-elected in 2008 and 2011, each time increasing its share of the vote and its seat count under the leadership of Stephen Harper. Political marketing has played a major role in this success. We draw upon data collected through original depth interviews with party insiders to supplement limited existing literature and one author's participant observation. What can business literature about corporate mergers inform us about the merger of political parties? How did senior party personnel respond to the merger announcement? To what extent did marketing research inform decisions about designing policy, branding and messaging? What was the interplay with PC party family brands in the provinces and with PC Senators? How were party membership issues handled? What types of distribution channels and promotional tactics were pursued? Our analysis of this case contributes to the growing study and practice of political marketing. It enriches our understanding of the marketing strategies and tactics employed by the 'new' Conservative Party. Moreover it can improve our recognition of the logistical issues associated with any potential Liberal-NDP merger.

Marland, Alex (amarland@mun.ca)

Political parties' strategies and tactics: Political marketing in the 2011 provincial and territorial election campaigns
Panel: The 2011 Provincial Elections: A Comparative Analysis Political marketing, which involves the use of market intelligence by political elites to inform decision-making, is a growing area of study and interest internationally and in Canada. Such research helps us to understand how political elites make decisions at the national level, especially during election campaigns. It indicates that in Canada political parties tend to have ideological underpinnings that preclude them from being market-oriented and, though their targeting of narrow segments of the electorate is increasingly sophisticated, they tend to embody a sales orientation that emphasizes political communication. This paper is the first attempt to benchmark the strategies and tactics of political parties during Canadian provincial and territorial election campaigns. Fall 2011 was an excellent opportunity for sub-national analysis given that seven jurisdictions went to the polls: Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories, Manitoba, Ontario, Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan and Yukon. It features an analysis of publicly available information such as the parties' campaign platforms, election advertisements and media coverage of political marketing. This examination is enhanced with data collected via in-depth interviews with party strategists to delve into understanding the decisions behind policy positions, strategic positioning and campaign tactics. The result is the first systemic comparison of political marketing across Canada and provides fresh insights into how political parties balance internal party priorities while responding to the external pressures of what voters want.

Marshall, Nicole (nicole2@ualberta.ca)

Locating a Global Responsibility for Action: Reframing the Human Rights Debate in the Context of Climate Change Displacement

This paper seeks to learn from new applications by revisiting the human rights debate in the context of climate change. It is premised on the idea that the global community has a responsibility to pre-emptively establish a framework to address the human rights challenges of climate change displacement. The paper is separated into four sections: the first sets the context, addressing the nature of climate change displacement and locating three historic points of failed responsibility which have led to the current situation. The second section examines the responsibility for action from three theoretical perspectives - individual responsibility, cosmopolitanism, and self-interest - each of which ultimately locates the individual as the primary holder of responsibility. The paper makes note of the practical challenges this conclusion presents in section three (External Factors): specifically, the role of the state and the principle of sovereignty in the actualization of human rights. Section three also lends itself to a brief discussion of the ethical insufficiency of relying on non-state actors and charitable organizations for the realization of human rights without a guaranteed global financial support structure and the availability of effective action. Section four concludes by drawing the discussion back to the human rights debate in general, noting its primary strengths and central challenges as we move into the next generation of human rights requirements.

Martens, Stephanie (sbmartens@uottawa.ca)

Aboriginal imaginaries, state of nature, and modern subjectivity. 

This paper will present the findings of doctoral research, taking an original look at 17th century contractarianism. Rather than studying the internal logic of social contract theory, it proposes to look at the state of nature in relation to contemporary discourses on wilderness and naturalness. This leads to interrogate the epistemological status of the state of nature, analyzing mentions made in Hobbes' Leviathan and Locke's Treatises on Government on its possible reality. Such a study shows the significance of the state of nature may be further reaching than often thought: it is more than an old-fashioned rhetorical tool in service of theories of sovereignty and legitimacy. It echoes and reinforces prejudices against newly discovered populations, and also, imprints modern conceptions of humanity and nature. While the impact on colonization of social contract theories has been studied by historians and political theorists, its articulation within the texts remains understudied. My research showed how the articulation of Aboriginality by social contract theorists attempted to define human nature through the figure of the natural man. Applying a Foucauldian approach to the history of political thought, Aboriginal imaginaries and their articulation in social contract theories constitute an important but lesser known line of genealogy when studying modern political subjectivity. The presentation proposed would focus on Hobbes' accounts of the state of nature and its contribution to the sewing in of civilization within modern subjectivity; showing how a critical and genealogical perspective on the issue could be part of a decolonizing of political theory.

Massicotte, Marie-Josée (massicot@uottawa.ca), **Marques, Dan** (danfmarques@uottawa.ca)

Alternative economies in practice: exploring the political significance of everyday life in MST Settlements, Southern Brazil

The 1990s have been marked by mass protests to oppose a globalizing political economic system that has amplified injustices. At a time when many 'experts' were signing the death of this wave of protests and deploring the lack of impact of many forms of activism, we simultaneously witnessed a deepening of multiple crises and a resurgence-continuation of popular struggles around the world. This paper will explore the political significance of social forces resisting existing policies and structures of governance, and especially the multiple ways in which, on a daily basis, they are devising original tactics and strategies to maintain or consolidate alternative economies and

socio-political imaginaries. We will do so by examining some agricultural production cooperatives of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) in Brazil, an organization engaged in land occupation and social justice struggles since 1984. The MST participants are seeking to live a decent life, following principles and practices that foster socio-economic and environmental justice, participation, autonomy, solidarity and cooperation. Peasant agricultural cooperatives in Brazil are good examples of how concretely rural communities are experimenting with different socio-economic models of development and agriculture to put into practice such principles, thus nurturing new subjectivities among individuals and families that have long been excluded or marginalised within the Brazilian individualist society. Based on field research and analysis of the discourses and practices of the MST, we will examine how, in the day-to-day activities of these cooperatives, a radically different model of economy and ecology is taking roots, in the middle of a capitalist market.

Matthews, John (scott.matthews@queensu.ca), **McNeney, Denver** (dmcneney@gmail.com)

We like this: The impact of news websites' consensus information on political attitudes

News today is an increasingly social experience. Internet news sources, in particular, are distinguished by a high degree of user interaction: readers not only choose which stories to read - as in a newspaper - but they add content to the news by registering their opinions of news stories in real time. These opinions, in turn, typically become a part of the story - either as part of a collection of reader comments appended to the article or as a vote in a reader poll presented along with the story. Some news websites even indicate how many times a given story has been recommended or shared with others - hard evidence of interest in, if not quite approval of, a particular article. Importantly, countless social-psychological studies of information-processing in other settings reveal the regular effect of such consensus information on attitudes and perceptions. Does this influence carry into the new media environment, that is, into the world of news websites? And if so, how might the ubiquity of consensus information on news websites affect the stream of political information citizens receive? Do citizens' online contributions to the news represent a new form of political representation and deliberation, or do they crowd out independent judgment and promote social conformity? In this paper, we report the results of a series of experiments designed to test for the impact of consensus heuristics on Canadians' reactions to political news presented in the format of internet news sources.

McAndrews, John (john.mcandrews@gmail.com)

Conditional Partisan Representation: how American candidates and parties manage tension in their prospective electorates

An election victory is often the product of building and maintaining a diverse coalition of voters. To the extent that different groups within a candidate's prospective electoral coalition prefer different policies, then the candidate faces a strategic dilemma: actions that appeal to one group risk alienating others. How do candidates (and, more broadly, parties) manage, or preempt, this tension? To answer this question, I develop a theory of conditional partisan representation in which candidates and parties - particularly in low-turnout elections - tend to favor the preferences of their core supporters, but periodically moderate so as to appeal to swing voters (1) when threatened by the possible emergence of a credible, moderate opponent in the general election, (2) when swing voters have intensely held preferences relative to core supporters, and (3) when the means of defusing the tension within their electoral coalitions (e.g., through agenda control, the targeted distribution of goods, or symbolic appeals) are unavailable or ineffective. I test this theory using data on the legislative voting behavior of US members of Congress and extensive survey data on the policy preferences of their constituents. The project attempts to extend the already productive literature on representational inequality (e.g., Bartels 2008, Ezrow et al. 2010) by focusing on the elite decision-making that underpins such inequality and, in so doing, to reconcile seemingly contradictory empirical findings regarding which constituency groups are better represented in Congress (e.g., Shapiro et al. 1990, Bafumi and Herron 2007; cf. Wright 1989, Clinton 2006).

McBeth, Renée (rmcbeth@uvic.ca)

Decolonizing Political Movements: The Paradoxes and Persistence of Colonial Power/Knowledge

The persistence of colonial or neo-colonial dynamics within movements with anti-colonial intent is of paramount relevance today. In the Canadian context, many contemporary political movements claim to be anti-colonial, and are nonetheless mired in sovereigntist goals, narratives of progress, and other colonial rationalities. This paper studies the narratives of resistance and liberation in anti-colonial literature and raises the question: what do these works offer contemporary anti-colonial movements in regards to the problem of decolonizing the movements themselves? Many theoretical discourses and political movements have rejected the bounded notion of political modernity that plagues the work of enlightenment political theorists (Mill, Kant). This notion of political modernity deems less modern groups as in need of a period of preparation before they could be fit for the political responsibility of self-government. Instead, anti-colonial and post-colonial narratives strenuously defend the ability of colonial subjects to self-govern. However, as one finds in the work of Amílcar Cabral, an iconic leader in largely successful anti-colonial movements in Guinea and Cape Verde, narratives of modernization and stage theories of development plague nationalist struggles. Despite rejecting the historicism of the colonial imaginary by demanding

self-rule, anti-colonial movements retain a paradoxical relation to nationalist thinking and modernization frameworks in appealing to ideas of reason, progress and sovereignty that perpetuate colonial rationalities of power.

McBride, Stephen (mcbride@mcmaster.ca), **Smith, Scott** (smiths66@mcmaster.ca)

In the Shadow of Crisis: Economic Orthodoxy, Cognitive Locking, and the Responses of Global Labour

Title of Panel: Policy Responses in the Shadow of the Global Economic Crisis with Rianne Mahon (presenter), Stephen McBride/Scott Smith (co-authors ut only Smith to present paper) and Stephen McBride as chair. While the 2008 global financial crisis starkly demonstrated the instability of global neoliberal institutions, it also brought into sharp relief competing sets of ideas in governing the response to this crisis. Despite the initial promise of economic recovery through massive neo-Keynesian fiscal stimulus, and a pledge by the OECD to revisit the neoliberal architecture underpinning the free market paradigm, sweeping austerity measures across OECD states (and beyond) instead point to a 'cognitive locking' of interests within a particular economic orthodoxy. A rapid return to neoliberal policies - including concerted fiscal consolidation, broad withdrawal of stimulus spending, and large cuts to the public sector - arguably presents a further challenge to the welfare state resilience thesis, but also creates a significant opportunity for global labour organisations to further ideational change. To what extent does a similar cognitive locking mechanism constrains (or enable) the responses of global labour to this crisis? Through an analysis of statements and documents the paper probes the policy responses devised through the crisis and post-crisis periods by global unions and by organisations such as the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the OECD. Ultimately, the paper seeks to identify the extent to which alternatives have been canvassed and to evaluate policy change demanded by the organisations representing those most affected by the crisis.

McGovern, Clare (cmcgover@interchange.ubc.ca)

The Campaign Strategies of Separatist Parties.

How do actors engage with a political system they wish to leave? This paper examines the campaign strategies of parties which seek regional self-government yet run for election to the national legislature - the very institution they argue should not make decisions about their region. How do they persuade voters to send them to champion their region in the national legislature, while also making the case that it cannot serve their needs and that separation is therefore the best option? This research examines how four separatist parties have grappled with this dilemma: the Lega Nord, Bloc Québécois, Scottish National Party and the Irish Parliamentary Party. It uses parliamentary votes, debates and committee proceedings to test when separatists build alliances with other parties and how they frame their arguments when engaging with national, mainstream political actors. It then uses campaign materials to ask how these parties explain their legislative activities to their constituents. Cross-party comparisons test whether the size and legislative position of the party affects its approach. I also track whether these parties change their approach over time: do they behave differently when separation is on the immediate agenda, and how do they respond to shifts in electoral competition?

McGrane, David (david.mcgrane@usask.ca), **Berdahl, Loleen** (loleen.berdahl@usask.ca)

Still Small Worlds? A Quantitative Examination of Political Cultures in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan after the 2011 Provincial Elections

Panel: The 2011 Provincial Elections: A Comparative Analysis Since the publication of *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life* by Simeon and Elkins in 1980, there has been considerable debate over the nature and existence of provincial political cultures in Canada. Some researchers hold that political culture in Canada is best analyzed on a province-by-province basis while other researchers insist that political cultures in Canada supersede and cut across provincial boundaries. Using data compiled from mass surveys conducted in five provinces after the provincial elections in the Fall of 2011, this paper reconsiders the hypothesis that provinces have distinct political cultures. In doing so, the paper sheds new light on the question of whether provincial political cultures in Canada are converging or diverging in the second decade of the 21st century.

McGregor, R. Michael (rmcgreg8@uwo.ca)

Cause and Affect: The Institutional Sources of Negative Affective Orientations Toward Parties

It is well established that partisan identities can influence opinions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours. However, most work on partisanship and vote decision neglects the flipside of attachment - a negative affective orientation towards a particular party. While positive party identification operates as a force promoting a specific vote choice, strong negative feelings towards a party may also have important effects, such as reinforcing partisan leanings or directing strategic behaviour. This study explores the impact of institutional factors (such electoral and party systems, federalism and bicameralism) upon negative affective orientations towards parties. These factors are expected to influence rates and patterns of negative affect, the relationship between positive and negative affective evaluations, and the power of negative affective sentiment in explaining voting behaviour. Data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (module 3) and the Comparative Manifestos Project are employed to allow for a cross-national comparison. By considering negative, rather than only positive feelings towards parties, this

paper contributes to our understanding of the role of affect in explaining voting behaviour. It also adds to our knowledge of the impact that country-level institutional factors can have upon voters.

McNutt, Kathleen (kathy.mcnutt@uregina.ca), **Martens, Lindsay** (linsaymartens@gmail.com), **Rayner, Jeremy** (jeremy.rayner@usask.ca)

Power to the People? The Impacts and Outcomes of Energy Consultations in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia
Provincial policy subsectors offer many opportunities for comparative analysis but the genre remains relatively undeveloped in contrast to the large number of case studies of a single sector in one province. In this paper, we look at two provinces facing very similar policy challenges: the provision of electricity to relatively small but dispersed populations; a history of reliance on coal-fired generation based on local coal supplies; and pressure to reduce green house gas emissions from the power generation sector by switching to renewables, particularly wind power. Both provinces have seen significant new developments in the oil and gas sectors in the last decade. Both have used public consultations in an attempt to guide and legitimate provincial energy strategies. However, in Saskatchewan, SaskPower, a Crown Corporation, remains the monopoly provider, while in Nova Scotia, the provider is Nova Scotia Power Incorporated (NSPI), a regulated, private monopoly. The paper attempts to answer the question of whether the Crown Corporation/Energy Department governance arrangement is better able to design and use public engagement than the Private Monopoly/Regulator arrangement. Using content analysis of public consultation and interviews with key actors, the paper seeks to map the opportunity structures for consultation and policy learning in each jurisdiction and assess the relative importance of politics and policy in explaining the timing and extent of the transition to renewables.

Measor, John (john.measor@smu.ca)

Getting Lost @ Lulu #Feb14: Shi'a Transnationalism and Debates Over Foundations in Bahrain

Due to its peripheral status, a draconian state-led crackdown on reportage and civil society engagement, as well as sectarian fears stoked by global political hegemonies, Bahrain's 2011 encounter with political opposition to state rule has been widely ignored. I will argue that revoking this silence provides litmus for the salience of any interrogations of the regional events of 2011. Shi'a transnational networks have long informed the economies, cultures and intellectual exchanges of the Gulf. Tying together disparate Shi'a communities such as networks, heirs of clerics, merchants, and scholars from Iraqi and Iranian shrine cities, allowed various Iraqi-based social movements to expand their influence across the region spreading republican and populist notions of alternatives to the predominant absolute monarchies. Damped for decades through state technologies of control, including overt oppression, these networks have allowed for a new political vision to penetrate the last absolute monarchies on earth. Following the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq and its reshaping of regional geopolitics, emergent political opportunities across the region presented Bahraini-based activists with opportunities to oppose authoritarianism in profound ways. Incorporating methodologies as well as the inspiration from their neighbours Bahraini activists use of social networking technologies in opposition to the Al-Khalifa monarchy saw their emergent demands expressed in venues here-to-fore closed to such reform efforts. In doing so they were able to challenge traditional sectarian-infused explanations of their motivations while also challenging many traditional Shiite networks of authority.

Melançon, Jérôme (jmelancon@gmail.com)

Multinationalism and Polyethnicity in the Canadian Philosophy of Multiculturalism

When philosophy deals with social and political matters, as the philosophy of multiculturalism does, it can be read in its relationship with these different fields. This paper will explore how the distinction between multinationalism and polyethnicity, operated in the writings of Canadian political philosophers such as Kymlicka, Taylor, Ignatieff, and to a lesser extent, Tully, is related to the political field it aims to describe. The heritage of Berlin occupies a central position in the conception of culture and liberty at the basis of their philosophies. Similarly, the solutions proposed by political actors to the conflicts of the mid-1990s and the context in which these philosophers wrote shaped the space of possibilities for theorizing the political aspects of culture. One instance is the translation in philosophical terms of nationalist Quebecers' claims for recognition, which are framed in terms that set the nation apart from other, minority, cultures. What separates Tully from the other philosophers is his heritage and his set of philosophical connections and, emerging out of this background, his attempt at approaching the problem in broader terms than the distinction between multinationalism and polyethnicity. His philosophy thus offers possibilities for a way out of the current difficulties of multiculturalism, even as he shares many of the presuppositions that unite the other philosophers.

Mellon, Hugh (hmellon@uwo.ca)

Management of the Census Amid Canadian Diversity

Political and cultural diversity impacts the administration and operation of government in many ways. One, little studied way, is the census with its evolving range of questions. Perhaps the most obvious example of diversity at play within the census lies in the range of responses to questions asking for self-identification. It also enters in

other ways such as ethnic or religious campaigns to promote census completion, the growing choice of Canadian as an ethnic identity, and questions related to linguistic abilities. The proposed paper will survey the connections between Canadian diversity and the operation of the census. This work will draw on theorists of ethnicity and nationalism such as Akturk (World Politics, 2011) and Roger Brubaker (Cambridge, 2004) for theories of ethnicity regimes and the census as an element of Canada's multicultural regime. For historical background there will be reference to *The Politics of Population* by Bruce Curtis (Toronto, 2002) for insight into how past census results were vital to political ambitions and nation-building. Taking all this together the proposed paper will explore the inter-play of diversity and census design and administration. It will be argued that the census will be an ever more important issue of concern and that students of diversity will need pay greater attention to census planning.

Mercier, Arnaud (arno.mercier@wanadoo.fr)

Couverture en ligne de la campagne présidentielle 2012 en France

Les candidats français communiquent désormais beaucoup par sites et réseaux sociaux, avec une volonté de désintermédiation journalistique, entrant directement en contact avec leurs publics sans dépendance à la presse. Des questions sur la couverture web et sur réseaux sociaux des journalistes, en réponse, émergent donc. Mettent-ils en place des outils nouveaux pour apporter un regard différent des couvertures électorales traditionnelles ? Quels usages de Twitter pour relayer l'information ? Quels relais offerts aux propos tenus par les candidats ? Peut-on identifier une volonté de porter ainsi un regard alternatif sur la politique ? Peut-on parler de renouvellement du dispositif de couverture électorale ? Quelle place est accordée aux publics qui peuvent dans ces dispositifs être coproducteurs de l'information ? Comme directeur de l'Observatoire du webjournalisme (CREM, Metz) nous travaillons sur l'émergence de ce que nous nommons le "nouvel écosystème de l'information" (<http://obsweb.net>). La campagne présidentielle de 2012 sera l'occasion de renouer avec un article réalisé pour le Cevipof (IEP Paris) sur les modalités de la couverture journalistique lors de la campagne de 2002, mais cette fois nous étudierons la webcampagne. Grâce au suivi statistique de quelques sites d'information et de comptes twitter dédiés, et à leur analyse de contenu, nous dresserons un panorama critique des nouvelles interactions se nouant entre candidats et journalistes non plus "on the bus" mais sur le web, en identifiant l'agenda web de la campagne, en repérant sa spécificité éventuelle avec les autres médias, en évaluant le poids du participatif dans ces dispositifs.

Michaud-Ouellet, Joëlle Alice (jamo@uvic.ca)

On the Implications of Vulnerability for Post-colonial Politics

This paper explores the implications of the notion of vulnerability for post-colonial theory by paying special attention to the issues pertaining to Indigenous politics in the context of Canadian practices of sovereignty. First, it explores the notion of vulnerability in its uneasy relationship with the modern discourse of sovereignty. Germinal considerations on this problem can be traced back to Machiavelli and Hobbes. In analyzing this politico-theoretical problem, I draw on Judith Butler's argument according to which it is only at the price of denying its own vulnerability, its dependency, its exposure, where it exploits those very features in others, that the modern state establishes and maintains its privilege (Butler, 2004: 41). This hypothesis finds confirmation in the work of Andrea Smith, for whom gender and sexual violence are instrumental to the assertion of state sovereignty over indigenous lands and bodies. Second, the paper addresses the limits and pitfalls of the notion of vulnerability for the post-colonial struggles of Indigenous peoples. To argue for a politics of self-determination that explicitly recognizes the significance of vulnerability is not free of problematic implications, as vulnerability may invoke what Taiiaka Alfred calls a politics of pity (Alfred, 2005: 20). I argue that it is crucial, in addressing this problem, to develop a political notion of strong vulnerability. Accordingly, being vulnerable is not something that is equivalent to being weak but rather represents a fertile soil for transforming the relations we entertain with ourselves and others.

Migone, Andrea (amigone@sfu.ca), **Howlett, Micheal** (howlett@sfu.ca)

The Advance of Policy Consultants: The Canadian Experience in a Comparative Analysis

The paper focuses on the use of policy consultants in Canada, and uses the UK and Australian experiences to highlight similarities and differences in the handling of this personnel. After offering some reflections on the increasingly pervasive nature of consulting as a broad government tool (outsourcing, external advice, etc.) we engage the questions of how pervasive policy consulting has become and what that means in terms policy capacity and whether it may generate a 'dependency' within government agencies and departments on external skills and methods.

Millar, Heather (h.millar@utoronto.ca)

Multilevel Governance, Accountability Frameworks, and Policy Learning in Canada: A comparison of affordable housing policy in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario.

Policy scholars have characterized Canada as a complex multilevel governance system where authority is dispersed vertically between national and sub-national governments well as horizontally across spheres to non-state actors. The diffusion of authority in Canada presents a range of empirical and normative challenges to standard

accountability frameworks such as how to ensure the responsible and accurate accounting of public funds, how to maintain democratic oversight, and how to promote policy learning. While scholars have begun to examine the impact of multilevel governance structures on accountability mechanisms between provincial governments, less is known about the accountability relationships between governments and non-governmental actors and how they affect policy learning. To begin addressing this gap, this paper examines recent changes in provincial affordable housing policies in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario in order to address two research questions: Why are some accountability frameworks more effective than others? How do accountability schemes serve to enhance or hinder policy innovation and learning? Drawing on principal-agent and policy network literature, the paper examines the effect of variation in governance structures on accountability mechanisms and corresponding effects on policy change. The paper hypothesizes that policy learning is facilitated when institutional arrangements minimize principal-agent problems and strengthen horizontal accountability mechanisms, especially among provincial governments, private, and non-state actors. The paper is a pilot study to inform a larger comparative study examining the causal relationships between governance, accountability mechanisms, and policy learning across social policy areas and Canadian and European jurisdictions.

Millar, Katharine (katharine.millar@some.ox.ac.uk)

Political Mourning, Private Grief: An Examination of the Public Representation of the Deaths of Female Soldiers in the United States

Since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq by the United States and its allies, 153 female military personnel have been killed as a result of their duties abroad - 121 Americans, 74 following hostile fire. Given Western society's long-standing practice of reserving the conduct of collective violence to men, these very public deaths of female military personnel are difficult to encompass within the normative and ideological structures of the contemporary American political system. This study examines the ways in which the public duty to commemorate fallen soldiers - and private desire to grieve daughters and wives - poses a significant challenge to coherent discursive representation. In doing so, the study employs hermeneutical interpretation to analyze public representations - visual and verbal - of deceased female soldiers in American popular culture. These representations are examined via the lens of Judith Butler's concept of grievability - the possibility of receiving recognition as a worthy life within the existing social imaginary. The paper therefore seeks to understand the identity of the female soldier in American society by asking: On what grounds are female soldiers grieved?. It is argued that female soldiers are grieved as both good soldiers and good women, but not as good female soldiers. The unified subject position of good female soldier is liminal, and as such is often rendered socially and politically unintelligible. The paper concludes with an analysis of the problems posed in turn by this liminality for the political discourses of contemporary anti-imperialist, pacifist, and feminist movements.

Misina, Dalibor (dmisina@lakeheadu.ca), **Cruickshank, Neil** (neil.cruickshank@algomau.ca)

Roma at the Crossroads?: Political Mobilization, Self-determination and Statehood

At what point does a 'nation' begin to seriously consider the possibility of statehood? What prompts a discernable ethnic group to begin a process of self-determination? Is there a way for a nation to achieve de facto statehood without territory, full sovereignty, and a fixed, sedentary population? This paper will offer preliminary answers to these questions whilst exploring the viability/possibility of a trans-territorial (or non-territorially based) Romani state within Europe. The starting point for exploring the above questions is an impression that if any population is in need of such a political arrangement it would be European Roma, a group that has experienced acute forms of racism, discrimination and maltreatment, both at the hands of government and civil society organizations, for generations. The paper argues that the formation of a trans-territorial Romani state would significantly alter Roma's relationship with Europe by establishing viable socio-cultural and political mechanisms for dealing with the thorny issues of Roma's physical security, cultural autonomy, and political sovereignty. In pursuing this argument, the paper aims to (1) understand how/if statehood impacts/influences repertoires of contention and patterns of mobilization; (2) consider the practical and theoretical possibility of non-territorial based statehood amongst European Roma in an ever-integrating European Union; and (3) come to some understanding of how the existence or possibility of statehood influences 'othering'. In engaging with these, the paper will make contribution to existing literature on nationalism, ethnopolitics and identity, and offer a preliminary framework for theorization and analysis of the subject-matter and issues in question.

Mitchell, Matthew (matthew.mitchell@queensu.ca)

The Perils of Population Movements in International Relations: new directions for better understanding the relationship between migration and conflict

For most of the twentieth century, the literature in International Relations (IR) had relatively little to say about population movements. Only recently has the relationship between migration and security captured the attention of scholars in IR, notably in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001. Consequently, a burgeoning literature has emerged that explores the security implications of migration, suggesting that migration may indeed be a matter of high politics. Yet most of these works tend to focus on 'security' without fleshing out the conditions that

might lead to 'violent conflict.' They also focus on international migration and national security, without exploring internal migration and internal security. Our understanding of the migration-conflict nexus is therefore overly state-centric as most of this research fails to look inside the state as it is preoccupied with the potential threat of international migration to the state. Moreover, the literature is heavily biased towards studying dynamics in developed countries, and thus fails to recognize the unique security agendas in developing countries. This paper provides a comprehensive survey of important works on migration and security in IR in order to shed light on the major biases and important gaps in the literature. The paper ultimately argues for a new approach to studying migration in IR as the field has failed to capture and understand alternative forms of migration and the potential security implications of these dominant migration patterns. Finally, the paper suggests new directions for better understanding the relationship between migration and conflict.

Mitchell, Matthew (matthew.mitchell@queensu.ca)

The Political Economy of Migration and Conflict in Ghana's Cocoa Regions: enduring peace or deepening cleavages?

For more than a century, migrant labourers have played a pivotal role in Ghana's cocoa sector. Although this migration constitutes one of the largest movements of labour in Sub-Saharan Africa, there is little work that examines the socio-political impact of these flows on indigenous-migrant relations. This is an important oversight, as Sub-Saharan Africa has in recent years witnessed an upsurge in conflicts between indigenous and migrant populations. Consequently, a number of important questions have gone largely unanswered. What is the nature of the relationship between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana's cocoa regions? How has this relationship evolved throughout the development of the country's cocoa sector? Finally, what are the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities? In order to answer these questions, this paper explores the historical and contemporary relations between indigenous and migrant communities in the cocoa regions. The paper begins by tracing the development of the cocoa sector from the colonial period to the present while examining the evolution of indigenous-migrant relations throughout this period. It then uses insights from over 100 interviews conducted in Ghana's capital - Accra - and the two leading cocoa producing regions - Western and Ashanti - during the spring and summer of 2011 to examine the prospects for peace and conflict between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions. The overall findings reveal that while relations remain relatively 'cordial' between these groups, there is some indication to suggest that this trend may not hold into the future.

Mitropolitski, Simeon (simeon.mitropolitski@umontreal.ca)

Bounded generalizations revisited: is the post-communist area a world in reverse?

Since Valery Bunce's (2000) seminal work on bounded generalizations in the post-communist world, plenty of new research has time and again confirmed its main premise: these countries do not simply follow universal political trends. They may, for sure, adapt themselves to general movements, but when they do, they usually offer new, unexpected bounded tendencies. This applies not only to the key features and stages of political transition, but also to other important elements of political system and behavior, such as the levels of social capital and the dynamics of new radical right parties. This presentation has three aims. First, it will summarize the current research since 2000 that falls within the category of bounded generalizations. Second, it will analyze interpretatively this research from the point of view of its authors; for this purpose I will present the results of semi-directed interviews with some of them, by positioning their bounded paradigms within their larger theoretical and methodological frameworks. Third, I will discuss my findings through the lenses of the paradigmatic debate between instrumentalist, positivist and constructivist epistemologies in political science. In other words, I will discuss whether the bounded generalizations approach makes the facts speak for themselves, or is freely imposed by rational observers, or grows out of discursive research communities.

Montpetit, Éric (e.montpetit@umontreal.ca), **Lachapelle, Erick** (erick.lachapelle@umontreal.ca)

How Do Scientists Become Credible Enough to Inform Opinions on Technical Policy Issues?

In highly complex issue areas, characterized by risk and uncertainty, policy-makers increasingly rely on scientific information for the development of public policy. These areas include energy, the environment, food safety, and fisheries, among others. Citizens are also required to understand these complex policy domains if they are to actively participate in processes of democracy. Lacking adequate scientific training however, most citizens and policy-makers are dependent on the latest science, and more precisely, on their perceptions of particular scientific research, to inform their policy preferences. Perceptions of scientific debate and scientific knowledge are thus central to the functioning of modern democracy. Under what conditions do individuals take particular scientific knowledge claims as being true? Why do some perceive scientific consensus where others see controversy? Thanks to a survey experiment, conducted with 1500 residents of Quebec, this paper seeks answers to these questions. Specifically, it will test the hypothesis that not only do scientific qualifications matter in the evaluation of scientists' credibility, but the nature of scientific opinion matter as well. For example, qualified scientists who argue that technological risks are high might be more credible among left-leaning citizens than qualified scientists who argue that technological risks are low. The hypothesis tests rational and information deficit theories of opinion formation.

Moore, Aaron (a.moore@utoronto.ca)

Comparing the Politics of Urban Development in American and Canadian Cities: The Myth of the North-South Divide

The politics of urban development has been a major area of study in the United States for some time, and while the field is smaller in Canada, the study of urban development has always been an important aspect of the study of urban politics in this country. However, a fruitful discussion comparing Canadian and American cities has only emerged recently and is still largely in its infancy. Supposed institutional, legal, and cultural differences between the two countries continue to be cited as barriers to such research. This paper questions such assumptions, however. Drawing on existing empirical literature, and the author's current and past research on the politics of urban development in Canadian cities, this paper argues that what cultural distinctions exist are minor, and often peculiarities of specific cities, states and/or provinces, and that differences in planning law and institutions, though substantial, are not defined by a north-south divide. Rather, planning law and planning institutions vary significantly in both countries. Many Canadian jurisdictions share more in common with American jurisdictions than with fellow Canadian ones. These institutional differences do not act as a barrier to comparison, however, but are a useful means for gaining insight into the politics of urban development in both countries.

Moore, Aaron (a.moore@utoronto.ca), **Stoney, Christopher** (cstoney@connect.carelton.ca)

The Ontario Municipal Board and Bill 51, Five Years Later

In 2007, the Provincial Government of Ontario passed Bill 51, Planning and Conservation Land Statute Law Amendment Act, 2006. The Bill amended the province's Planning Act, in part to quell opponents of the Ontario Municipal Board, a body responsible for hearing appeals of municipal planning decisions. Bill 51 included a provision requiring that the Board adhere to provincial planning policy, and a section requiring the Board, to "have regard" for municipal decisions when hearing appeals. This paper examines what effect, if any, Bill 51 has had on OMB decisions in the past five years. Our research draws primarily on specific OMB decisions and cases from Toronto and Ottawa, and on court decisions regarding the OMB's powers. We conclude that not only has the amendment done little to address municipal complaints about the Board, but has actually served to further undermine municipalities in Board hearings.

Morgan-Olsen, Brandon (brandon.olsen@gmail.com)

Distinguishing Dissent from Difference

Panel Democratizing Knowledge, Engaging Dissent with Loren King and James Wong. Both deliberative and epistemic accounts of democracy emphasize the epistemic benefits that accrue from including a wide range of perspectives in the political process. Marginalized and underrepresented perspectives, in particular, are often championed as providing important political input towards the creation of just outcomes - input that would be unavailable if these perspectives were excluded or ignored. Yet as more voices are included in deliberation, the potential for persistent disagreement and a gridlock of conflicting values will increase. I argue that we must be careful in weighing this concern. The inclusion of diverse perspectives means that deliberation takes place across social and epistemic difference, where the potential for misunderstandings increases substantially. There is a real danger of incorrectly characterizing failures of understanding as deep disagreement, as, for example, when ethno-cultural or religious differences are presented as wholly and necessarily in conflict with one another (a stance that political actors often have a strategic incentive to adopt). We must disambiguate recalcitrant disagreement about values from less worrisome social, cultural, and religious differences before we draw conclusions about the potential for gridlock.

Muller, Benjamin (bmuller@uwo.ca)

Parallel Imaginaries: North American Borders and Canadian Critical Security Studies Post 9/11

Title of Panel Critical Security Studies: Domestic/International with Mark Salter/Can E Mutlu (presenters), Miguel deLarrinaga/Marc Doucet (presenters) and Christopher Leite (presenter). Historically, Canada has found itself oddly situated culturally, politically, socially and for a time, economically, in a tussle between the influences of America and Britain. For the majority of Canada's history, either the US or UK has dominated global politics, having startling impact on how issues and questions of (in)security are conceptualized. Along similar lines, the intellectual lineage of Canadian IR scholarship has also found itself situated in-between these forces. This paper considers burgeoning critical security studies scholarship in Canada, specifically engagements with the border, and draws links between the intellectual lineage of Canadian IR scholarship, and the relatively unique perception of our border. The paper considers the extent to which there are significant parallels between the evolution of critical security studies scholarship in Canada and the rather unique border imaginaries that continue to thrive, even in a post-9/11 context.

Munger, Sylvain (smung049@uottawa.ca)

Digital frontier of video games: performing the cyberpunk urban geopolitical space and the re-enchantment of war with posthuman warrior

Title of the panel - Analysing the Digital Societal Assemblage: a Renewed Perspective on the Question of the Human-Technology Aggregates With Marie-Chantal Locas (presenter), Guillaume Filion (presenter), Sylvain Munger (presenter), By combining critical geopolitics and an intertextual discursive analysis of Deus Ex: Human revolution, I argue that video game forms a meaning that is actualized in time and space because it must experience and premeditate (De Goede 2008) the reality of tomorrow with a particular aesthetic. Firstly, I demonstrate that the game features a post-States world order (Sassen 2001) in which the urban geopolitics is the next geographical pivot of history and replace the classical westphalia geopolitics era. Secondly, the game illustrates a post-human war (re)enchanted by technology (Coker 2004). In the cyborg age, the colonization of the body by new technologies- fusion of organic and cybernetic material capable of extending the range of human military actions (strength, endurance, speed, stealth) - is represented as a 'revolution of transplantations' (Virilio 1997) leads towards an 'endo-colonization' of the human body itself. This imaginary creates a segregated space where identities are no longer determined by class or ethnicity, but by technicity. As a result, a new boundary will emerge between the cyborg military upgraded body-the (re)production of mythic warrior hunter killer of colonial frontier in the postcolonial dangerous urban space -and the non-upgraded ordinary citizen.

Murakami, Go (gmurakam@interchange.ubc.ca)

Does candidates' ethnic minority background matter in voting?

While studying ethnic minority representation in the legislative body is crucial for understanding their political integration, as this workshop emphasizes, it is equally important to investigate the ethnic majorities' reaction to the ethnically diverse candidates. Do voters change their vote choice by candidates' ethnic backgrounds? If so, why, and under what conditions and contexts do they take such cues into consideration when voting? While theories on choice homophily, ethnic prejudice and shortcut predict that voters prefer a candidate of the same ethnic background as theirs, empirical evidence is mixed at least, and the systematic investigation of this effect with the observational data is difficult due to the natural selection bias, where ethnic minority candidates tend to run in ridings with ethnic diversity. This paper challenges this question and problem using the case of 2008 Canadian federal election. Following Black and Lakhani (1997), we coded all the viable candidates' ethnic backgrounds by their family name and the expressed ethnic background, which are merged with the 2008 Canadian Election Study. Our conditional logistic regression analysis after controlling for the match of partisanship and ideological positions between individual voters and parties suggests a weak and insignificant effect of candidates' ethnic background on their vote choice. This confirms some previous experimental studies, which claim that other politically relevant information such as partisanship and policy positions blow out the effect of ethnic backgrounds on vote choice. The theoretical and methodological implications will be discussed.

Murphy, Gaelan (murphyc23@macewan.ca)

Right Without Goodness: The Low Liberalism of Hobbes and Locke

This paper examines the political arguments of Hobbes and Locke in the context of the infinite universe of modern natural science. Hobbes and Locke grounded the freedom of the individual against traditional cosmology by replacing that cosmology with a non-teleological doctrine of nature. This is the basis of the argument that rights can be grounded without a reference to the Good because freedom can produce a spontaneous order without acknowledging any power outside of itself. We cannot be Good, but we can be happy provided we are safe, secure, and prosperous. This severing of the right from the good is based upon the account of nature provided by modern science. The rationality of politics is dependent upon our practice of politics as a science which is done by living according to the standpoint of the universe. However what allows Locke to turn this into a livable doctrine is the transformation of the general standpoint of the universe into a specific account of nature. However, in an infinite universe without a center this move is impossible to sustain because without a center the universe can no longer provide the outside by which the inside of politics is measured. In which case politics as a science can no longer be sustained as a rational enterprise and the rational foundation of liberalism in Hobbes and Locke is undermined. We can be liberal and we can be rational, but we cannot be liberal and rational.

Narine, Shaun (narine@stu.ca)

Stephen Harper and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Examining Canada's Changing Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East

Since coming to power in 2006, Stephen Harper's Conservative government has radically shifted Canada's foreign policy in respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict. To many observers, Canada has gone from assuming a relatively balanced approach to the conflict to becoming, perhaps, the most pro-Israel country in the world. Canada has offered Israel almost unqualified support for its actions on the world stage. The Conservative government has cut financial support for, or interfered in the operations of, many Canadian organizations that have received funding from the government and been critical of Israeli policies or supportive of the Palestinians. Canada has reduced its support for Palestinian refugee programs and positions at the United Nations. This shift in policy has affected Canada's international standing. It was a major reason for Canada's inability to win a seat on the UN Security Council in 2010. Why has this foreign policy shift occurred? The paper examines, compares and contrasts three possible explanations: Conservative Party electoral strategy, i.e., an attempt to corner the Jewish Canadian vote;

Stephen Harper's personal religious beliefs; and, finally, the proposition that Prime Minister Harper implicitly believes in the idea of the clash of civilizations and defines Canadian foreign policy accordingly. The paper argues that all three of these factors, to varying degrees, explain the shift in policy. The paper also considers the implications of this approach for Canada's international and domestic politics.

Narine, Shaun (narine@stu.ca)

The Rise of China and the Fall of ASEAN? How China's Regional Rise Affects ASEAN's Institutional Development

This paper evaluates how China's regional rise is affecting the institutional development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Since 1997, China has worked diligently to improve its position in the regional political architecture of the Asia Pacific by using its economic resources and diplomatic skills to alleviate the concerns of local states which were wary of China's growing regional power. In 2010, however, various Chinese actions seriously damaged its image as a responsible power. China's aggressive behaviour towards the Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam regarding territorial disputes in the South China Sea, along with its confrontation with Japan over the Senkaku Islands and its inability to restrain North Korea combined to undermine China's regional appeal. This paper explores how these developments have affected China's influence on the institutional development of ASEAN. China has promoted and supported ASEAN's preeminent position in regional institutions. At the same time, much of ASEAN's international influence has been based on its ability to draw China into regional arrangements. How have recent developments affected this almost symbiotic relationship? How is ASEAN managing the evident tension between its political and economic links to China and the security/territorial interests of some of its member states? What are the long-term implications of this emerging relationship for ASEAN? The paper argues that ASEAN is learning to manage China's rise, but at the expense of its own institutional coherence.

Narozhna, Tanya (t.narozhna@uwinnipeg.ca)

The 'other' in the globalized discourses of female suicide bombings: gender, power, and reproduction of inequality

A female suicide bomber entered the stage of modern political violence nearly three decades ago. The seeming novelty of her violent act signalled the readiness of some women to move to the forefront of political violence. Yet, most explanations of female suicide bombings offered by Western experts displayed striking continuity with entrenched gendered stereotypes about women and femininity. She was reductively portrayed as a victim of cultural circumstances or a 'romantic dupe'; alternatively, she was presented as a feminist warrior embracing violence to achieve gender equality. This paper critically analyzes globalized Western academic discourses of female suicide bombings and exposes the ways in which knowledge produced by this scholarship serves to sustain existing global relations of inequality. It illuminates how a particular West-centric articulation of sexual, racial and cultural difference reduces female suicide bombings to a single dimension of orientalised patriarchy and is complicit in (re)producing post-colonialism. My objective is to reveal the deforming effects of mainstream discursive constructions of female suicide bombings and to expose the ways in which they produce strong images of these women's social and cultural contexts as the irrational, putatively oppressive and violent Other of the rational, morally, culturally and racially superior Western Self.

Nater, John (jnater@uwo.ca), **Anderson, Cameron** (cander54@uwo.ca), **Stephenson, Laura** (lstephe8@uwo.ca)

Paths to Partisanship

The number of Canadians who identify with a specific political party is in decline. This trend has implications for the health of democracy, as non-partisans are less likely to be active, interested, and informed participants in the democratic process. Despite the evident import, the sources of this decline are little understood. To shed some light on this trend, in this paper we seek to explore the modern roots of partisan attitudes among young people (under the age of 25). The proposed paper will present the results of a new survey of undergraduate students from The University of Western Ontario. The analysis will evaluate the impact of key agents of socialization such as family, peers and the university environment on the acquisition of partisanship and the development of political attitudes in young people today. It is anticipated that to the extent that one's social ties present a homogenous partisan preference, party identification will be influenced in that direction. In the presence of conflicting messages, it will be less clear which party is best to identify with, and so citizens may be tempted to avoid party identification altogether. This paper will serve as a foundation to inform future research on the subject of party identification in Canada among the general population.

Nelles, Jen (jennelles@gmail.com)

Myths and Legends: Exploring Differences in Regional Governance and Collective Action in the North American City

Goldberg and Mercer find institutional and structural differences between Canadian and American cities attributable to the different ways that political culture has affected the evolution of urban regions. The American preference for individualism and competition, for limited government intervention and for local autonomy have all contributed to a political climate that encourages local government fragmentation and renders formal metropolitan restructuring difficult. This phenomenon is institutionalized in the principle of home rule. These

features of the American system are widely cited to explain the relative rarity of metropolitan forms of government. But what of metropolitan governance? New regionalism emerged in response to the challenges of formal government reorganization and is based on the principle that metropolitan coalitions are easier to establish and more flexible than metropolitan reform. This form of regional coordination is more compatible with local autonomy. However, in theory metropolitan collective action may also be more difficult to establish in the American context that privileges individualism and competition. This paper is structured around a series of questions. First, is metropolitan governance more difficult to establish in the American context? Second, are certain forms of metropolitan governance more common in each country, reflective of their political cultural and institutional differences? Finally, what do these findings suggest for theory building? Is one theory about the sources and determinants of metropolitan collective action sufficient? This paper hypothesizes that despite important differences it is possible to explain the emergence and form of metropolitan governance with a single theoretical framework.

Nelson, Marcel (5mn16@queensu.ca)

Shifting Power Dynamics in Global Governance Structures and Neo-Gramscian Theory

There are indications that the 2007 economic crisis has shifted power dynamics within the world's global governance structures. For example, although Christine Lagarde from France was recently elected head of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the BRIC (Brazil-Russia-India-China) countries put forth the proposal that a non-European candidate should be considered for that position for the first time in the organization's history. The BRIC countries jointly argued that the recent financial crisis demonstrated the need to reform international financial institutions so that they better reflect the growing importance of developing countries. What was significant was that it was considered to be more credible by core states and the media than previous calls for the reform of those organizations. The paper that I propose to present will examine the degree to which neo-Gramscian theory in International Political Economy (IPE) can account for subtle shifts in power relations within global governance structures. What will be investigated is whether concepts that were developed to understand a world order based on institutions such as the IMF that served to legitimate and perpetuate the interests of the United States and other core states are still relevant in view of growing assertiveness by non-core states. Additionally, it will explore whether there are theoretical concepts that can be incorporated within neo-Gramscian theory that could help it account for the changes outlined above.

Newman, Dwight (dwight.newman@usask.ca)

Consultation and the International Legal Status of Indigenous Communities

Title of Panel: Consultation and the Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the Decision-Making Process with Mai Nguyen (presenter) and Francis Garon (presenter). This paper will seek to examine how developing state practice on consultation with Indigenous peoples since the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples does or does not reflect a changing international legal status for Indigenous peoples. The paper will approach state practice as part of the traditional criteria for formation of customary international law and integrate an examination of selected instances of such state practice in legislative and policy forms with discussion of developing theory of international law. Theoretical writing on international law has seen an upsurge in recent years but has as yet engaged with expansion of the subjects of international law beyond state actors in only limited ways, so this paper will contribute to emerging theoretical debates on international law, while also contributing to an analysis of how consultation norms do or do not contribute effectively to Indigenous participation in legal decision-making. The author will be drawing on his past work on consultation in Canadian domestic law, which has been cited extensively by Canadian courts, while also furthering his ongoing work on norms of consultation in international law.

Newman, Jacquetta (Jacquie) (jnewman@uwo.ca)

Learning to be Post-Feminist? The development of neoliberal feminism in the Ontario high schools 1975 to the present

This paper aims to examine and illustrate the changes in discourses presented to young women in Ontario high schools during the period of 1970 to the present. It comprises a content analysis of a) Ontario high school social studies, history and current events curricula from 1970 to the present, b) Ministry of Education reports recommending the reform and restructuring of education in the 1990s, and c) a social studies and current events magazine, *Canada and the World*, published bi-monthly during the school year for distribution in high schools across Canada. The purpose is to establish if Ontario high school curriculum change has reflected wider international processes of restructuring education, with tendencies toward centralization and marketization of schooling and a shift in discourses that devolves the entitlements and responsibilities for economic well-being and livelihood (marketization, competition and individualization) onto equal and/or genderless individuals. This is part of a larger project exploring how young women are situated in the current political climate, how they are positioned relative to technology use and cultural reproduction, and the effects this has on them as Third Wave feminist and/or post feminist political actors.

Newton, Janice (jnewton@yorku.ca)

100 Years of Managing Diversity

This paper focuses on the question: Over the past century, how has the CPSA wrestled with issues of diversity within its own organization and within the discipline? Drawing on records from the CPSA archives and university archives across Canada, this paper will provide an overview of some of the historical tensions that have arisen within the CPSA and Canadian political science over a range of diversity issues, such as class, gender, nationalism, and race. I will explore the historical practices and policies that emerged within the CPSA to address a range of diversity issues, paying particular attention to the decades of the 1950s to 1970s when some of these issues became particularly contentious. By asking us to learn from our own history, this paper provides a context for thinking about how the CPSA can face the challenges of managing diversity in the next 100 years.

Newton, Janice (jnewton@yorku.ca)

Teaching Diversity: From Theory to Practice

This workshop addresses two questions: What are some of the salient findings in education research on diversity and student learning? How can we apply these insights to our teaching practices in political science? The first question will explore the issue of diversity from the perspective of different learning styles, stages of intellectual development, as well as findings from the cognitive sciences on how people learn. The workshop also explores how you might apply this theory to classroom practices and design of assignments in a political science context. Using examples provided of class activities and assignments that demonstrate the practical application of these theories, participants will adapt these strategies to their own teaching political science courses. This workshop will be useful for those who hope to develop teaching practices that enhance student learning in a diverse student body. (This session will combine a short formal presentation with an interactive format.)

Nguyen, Mai (mnguyen6@yorku.ca)

The Importance of Consultation and Aboriginal Engagement in Policy Making - Lessons to Learn From the Winnipeg Urban Aboriginal Strategy

Title of Panel: Consultation and the Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the Decision-Making Process with Dwight Newman (presenter) and Francis Garon (presenter). This paper seeks to answer the following question: Are public consultations an effective tool for increasing Aboriginal participation in the decision-making process? This paper argues that public consultations are an effective tool for increasing Aboriginal input in the decision-making process when the consultation is Aboriginal controlled. Specifically, this paper looks at the current Federal Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS) in Winnipeg. This Strategy is to provide long-term investments to support Aboriginal communities in urban settings by focusing on three priority areas: improving life skills; promoting job training, skills and entrepreneurship; and supporting Aboriginal women, children and families. Though the direction and tone of the Strategy is set by the federal government, it is the steering committee members, composed of 12 Aboriginal members and 3 government officials, who decide which policies and programs will receive funding. This is done through on-going consultations and consensus of all members. In other words, the process follows a participatory democracy model. The literature on participatory democracy, particularly on public consultation and public participation, argues that the benefits accruing for both government and participants include information-sharing, creating dialogue, consensus building and more importantly, improving the quality of decisions regarding the content and delivery of policies and programs. However, the literature is silent in regards to the Aboriginal case. Examination of government documents and interviews with Aboriginal committee members reveals that this too is the case for Aboriginals when involved in genuine public consultation.

Nicholls, Esteban (enicholl@connect.carleton.ca)

The Discursive Sources of National Identity in Educational Policy Making: The Case of Ecuador, 2008-2011

My paper analyzes how different national identity formation strategies are contested, defined and redefined in contexts of public education policy-making in Ecuador since 2008. My paper overviews the content in educational public policies since 2008 to evaluate how various discourses about identity formation coexist within public education strategies. In particular, I analyze how mestizaje, that is, Ecuador's monocultural national identity formation paradigm, competes with multicultural conceptions of identity, like indigenous peoples' Sumak Kawsay, for spaces in educational curricula. I argue that the monocultural identity formation strategy based on mestizaje (racial and cultural mixing) continues to dominate strategies at identity formation through education in Ecuador. I argue that the continued dominance of monoculturalism can be explained by the continued adoption of developmentalist governmentalities embraced by the Ecuadorian state. In this sense, my paper argues that different forms of governmental strategies respond to and require from certain identity formation strategies to ensure their own applicability. In this sense, my paper is theoretically and empirically concerned with the relationship between identity and public policy as well as the the relationship between power, discourse and public policy making. In this paper I employ Andean decolonial theory to interpret and explain the power implications of monocultural processes of identity formation, like mestizaje. To develop an understanding of the

relationship between techniques of government, discourse and identity, I draw from Foucauldian governmentality studies. Finally, I employ Stuart Hall's ideational policy-making theory to establish links between changes in ideas and changes in policy-making.

Nichols, Robert (rnichols@ualberta.ca)

The Terrain of the Problematic: Marx and Wakefield on Systematic Colonization

This paper examines the shifting and contentious distinction between 'imperial dependencies' and 'setter colonies' in the mid-nineteenth century through a critical reading of *A View of the Art of Colonization*, by E.G. Wakefield and Marx's discussion of this text in the concluding chapters of *Capital*, Vol. 1. The article examines the extent to which this distinction was a function of political struggles of Anglo colonists to retrospectively envision their polities as founded in quasi-contractualist founding moments, rather than acts of conquest. The success of this distinctive Anglo settler colonial political agency is evidenced by the degree to which such revisionism circulated even in prominent anti-imperial critique of the time, including in Marx's own formulation. The paper concludes by drawing out some implications of this historical investigation for debates around the 'turn to empire' in contemporary political theory.

Noakes, Stephen (stephen.noakes@utoronto.ca)

The Death Penalty and Institutional Reform in China

This paper considers the implications of recent changes in China's death penalty legislation for understanding the nature and trajectory of political reform in that country. Extant scholarship, informed largely by the modernization paradigm, depicts changes in the administration of criminal justice as both a cause and a consequence of China's liberalization in the post-Mao era. For those of this view, the policy of the Hu-Wen government to kill fewer, kill carefully represents the latest in a gradual move toward the eventual abolition of the death penalty, the further improvement of human rights, and a precursor to broader institutional change. This paper, by contrast, argues that the policy amounts to the deeper institutionalization of capital punishment in Chinese jurisprudence, and that its retention, connected to key aspects of state performance and legitimacy, is in fact a greater portent of the regime's longevity than its demise.

Olive, Andrea (olivea@umd.umich.edu)

Species at Risk Policy: A Saskatchewan Case Study

How does society manage a public resource on private property? Canada's Species at Risk Act (2002) is a federal law that applies mandatory protection of species and critical habitat to federal lands only. This means the regulation of private property, where numerous endangered species are found, is left to the provinces. Unfortunately, only 6 of the 10 provinces have stand-alone species at risk legislation. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island have no mandatory protection of endangered species within provincial boundaries. This paper examines Saskatchewan as a case study. The results of 1000 surveys with registered voters in the provinces 4 largest urban centers are presented. Saskatchewan needs to create stand-alone species at risk legislation that makes sense for urban landowners as well as agricultural landowners and businesses. This will be no easy feat, but residents and landowners may be more open to regulatory legislation that expected.

Orsini, Michael (michael.orsini@uottawa.ca)

Keynote Presentation and 'Author Meets Critics' Panel with Maarten Hajer

This double session begins with a keynote presentation by Professor Maarten Hajer, a leading interpretive, post-positivist public policy scholar, on the contribution of critical approaches to the study of public policy and public administration. Well known internationally for his theoretical innovations in the study of public policy, Hajer is specifically notable for his ground-breaking work in the field of environmental policy and governance. Hajer has been professor of Public Policy at the University of Amsterdam since 1998, and was appointed in 2008 by the Dutch Cabinet as Director of the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency. He is the author of more than ten books and many articles and book chapters. Best known are *The Politics of Environmental Discourse* (Oxford, 1995), *Living with Nature* (Oxford, 1999, editor with Frank Fischer), and *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society* (Cambridge University Press, 2003, editor with Hendrik Wagenaar). Hajer's address will focus on the contribution of critical approaches to policy, drawing on some of his own empirical research. His recent book, *Authoritative Governance: Policy Making in the Age of Mediatization* (Oxford University Press, 2009), shows how authoritative governance remains possible in crisis-driven circumstances and a highly 'mediatised' world. Hajer argues that a communicative understanding of authority can create a new basis for authoritative governance in a world marked by political and institutional fragmentation. Following his presentation, leading Canadian policy scholars Eric Monpetit, Jeremy Rayner and Susan Phillips (to be confirmed) will speak to Hajer's influence on the study of public policy.

Ortiz, Diego (dortiz@alumni.uwo.ca)

The Representation of Rural Ontario in the Provincial Legislature

Title of Panel: Representation in the Ontario Legislature with Humera Jabir (presenter), Belinda Ellsworth (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and David Docherty (discussant) Over the past 100 years and especially since the Second World War, the Province of Ontario has become an urban/suburban province. Although the decline of representation in the legislature for rural Ontario has been steady, this trend has lagged in magnitude the population change. Nonetheless, the rural population has felt alienated from the new urban Ontario and has increasingly become disconnected from provincial politics. This disconnectedness can be seen in at least two ways. First of all, although political participation, especially voting in elections continues to drop in Ontario, participation and voting are lower still in rural areas. Second, the rural population is alienated from the governing provincial Liberals who now are an overwhelmingly urban political party. This is quite a change from 50 years ago when it was the Liberals who were the voice of rural Ontario. This paper will gather information from rural MPPs in order to assess what might be done to connect rural Ontario to the new political life in Ontario. Because these MPPs are primarily Progressive Conservative, information and ideas will have to be gathered as well from the leadership of the Liberal and New Democratic Parties. This will include interviews with both the Minister of Agriculture and Food and the NDP critic of this ministry. Among the issues to be explored include how to get nonrural MPPs interested in rural issues, how to increase access of MPPs to rural communities and an acceptance of smaller population sizes for rural ridings compared to rural/suburban ridings.

Owen, Andrew (andrew.owen@ubc.ca), **Nuesser, Andrea** (andrea.nuesser@me.com)

Beyond economic voting: Government performance in noneconomic policy domains and elections in the UK
Theories of retrospective voting assert that citizens who base their electoral choices on the performance of incumbent politicians can hold elected officials accountable for their actions and can signal policy preferences. While a considerable body of empirical evidence suggests that economic conditions affect incumbents' re-election prospects, there is remarkably little evidence that voters hold politicians accountable for noneconomic policy outcomes and few studies have tested for such a relationship. This paper explores the relationship between noneconomic performance and election results in UK national elections. We collected data on both constituency election returns and government performance across a range of policy domains including: crime rates, hospital performance, and an index of local services. Since these performance measures tap important government outcomes that affect citizens' daily lives theories of retrospective voting predict a strong relationship between performance and election returns. In addition to providing a test of retrospective voting theory beyond the economy, our analysis speaks to questions about whether citizens hold national office holders accountable for local conditions and whether citizens attribute these outcomes to their local MP or to the governing party. This paper is part of our broader project on noneconomic retrospective voting and citizens' responsiveness to policy outcomes.

Pal, Michael (mike.pal@utoronto.ca)

Time for a Second Electoral Boundary Revolution? Institutional Design and the Fair Representation Act
I analyze the legal and institutional implications of recent debates surrounding the distribution of seats in the House of Commons to the provinces. Bill C-20, the Fair Representation Act, would alter the formula for redistributing seats. The bill adds seats to the fastest-growing provinces in time for the 2014 redistribution triggered by the 2011 Census, while holding the entitlement of the less populous provinces constant in accordance with constitutional guarantees. The bill would replace the previous 279 formula for determining seat allocations with a new formula. Using population projections, I show that the proposed formula would hinder representation by population after the 2014 redistribution. C-20 is the government's third attempt to amend the formula. Analysis of these three bills, in combination with the history of redistribution, suggest that a) partisan considerations and b) pressure to erode the principle of representation by population are recurring dilemmas. I examine the case law on redistribution, notably the Campbell decision, and conclude that it does little to regulate these two trends. I suggest that there are institutional causes and potential solutions to these problems. On redistricting, the move from political control by Parliament to boundary drawing by independent, non-partisan commissions in 1964 constituted an electoral boundary revolution because it eliminated partisan gerrymandering and augmented representation by population. When Parliament lost power over redistricting, it retained control over redistribution. I consider whether redistribution should be devolved in a second electoral boundary revolution to an independent, non-partisan institution such as Elections Canada.

Panagos, Dimitrios (dpanagos@mun.ca)

Reconstructing Self-Determination in Political Theory: The Role of Institutional Legitimacy
Are dominant conceptions of self-determination in normative political theory useful tools in the decolonization project? Self-determination is, of course, a highly contested concept in political theory. One view of self-determination implies that peoples should be left alone. From this view, self-determination is equated with 'non-interference'. An alternative perspective holds, however, that self-determination is not principally a matter of being unencumbered by others; rather, it is a matter of not experiencing relations of domination. Critically, these competing approaches to self-determination-respectively, the 'non-interference approach' and the 'non-

domination approach'-have radically different implications for the types of political arrangements that would be required in order to facilitate decolonization. More importantly, this paper will suggest that both conceptions may be inadequate to accommodate and advance the claims of many Indigenous peoples, both in Canada and elsewhere. In this regard, the failure of mainstream theories of self-determination to take proper account of histories of colonialism and, particularly, the implications of colonialism for the legitimacy of political institutions renders the invocation of the self-determination concept in the project of justice for Indigenous peoples highly problematic.

Pandy, Milena (milena.pandy@utoronto.ca)

Pluralism in Everything but Communication? The Place of Linguistic Diversity Within Deliberative Democracy

Theories of deliberative democracy, as formulated by Jürgen Habermas and others, give a central importance to mechanisms of communication and opinion-formation that bring citizens with a multiplicity of viewpoints together in a public sphere. It is often argued that such a model of democracy can be particularly beneficial to minority groups, or the marginalized, in plural societies. Surprisingly, however, most theorists of deliberative democracy have done very little to address the question of what happens when the marginalized are linguistic minorities. In many conceptions of deliberative democracy, a common language is argued or assumed to be integral to democratic participation in a common public sphere. And yet multilingualism, whether official or unofficial, is a fact of life in many democracies around the world - old as well as new. The assumption of linguistic homogeneity is thus a significant gap in theories of deliberative democracy. This paper will delve into the ways that contemporary political theory can be engaged to provide insight into my wider area of interest: political struggles over language policy in linguistically diverse states. Through an analysis of the work of Jürgen Habermas, I intend to demonstrate that the assumption of linguistic homogeneity is central to his theory. I will then examine some of the reasons - both normative and practical - why embracing linguistic diversity is crucial for a truly inclusive democracy. Finally, I will investigate and evaluate potential ways in which multilingualism could be incorporated into deliberative models of democracy.

Papillon, Martin (martin.papillon@uottawa.ca)

Thinking Beyond Section 91(24): Comparing Provincial Approaches to Aboriginal Policy

In Canada, the federal government has primary constitutional responsibility for relationships with Aboriginal peoples. In recent years however, provincial governments have increasingly played an active role in engaging with Aboriginal peoples, especially First Nations, notably through the negotiation of land claims settlements and joined governance arrangements in various policy areas, from health care to education, natural resources management and regional economic development. A number of provincial governments have also adopted broad policy frameworks in order to reflect this growing role and set principles guiding their relationship with Aboriginal peoples. While many have noted (and criticized) this growing engagement of provinces, there are to this day few systematic studies of provincial approaches to relationship with Aboriginal peoples. Why, and under what conditions, are provinces adopting policy frameworks to guide their relationships with Aboriginal peoples? What is the role of Aboriginal organisations and governments in defining such frameworks? Are there significant cross-provincial variations in approaches to Aboriginal policy? This paper is an exploratory attempt at answering some of these questions through 1) a systematic content analysis of the Aboriginal policy framework of 4 provinces: British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec; and 2) an analysis of the process that has led to the development of such policy frameworks, including processes of policy diffusion across provinces. It finally offers some reflections on the potential consequences of this growing role of provinces in an area traditionally associated with federal jurisdiction for Aboriginal peoples and for Canadian federalism.

Paquet, Mireille (mireille.paquet@umontreal.ca)

The federalisation of immigration and integration in Canada, 1990-2010

Since the 1990s, provinces have become more active in immigration and integration as a result of changes in federal law, bilateral agreements and the development of provincial initiatives. While recent scholarship focused on contemporary immigration agreements (e.g. Seidle 2010) and specific provincial initiatives (e.g. Lewis 2010, Leo and Enns 2009), less attention has been given to provincial dynamics as they impact the development of responses to immigration. Building on a typology of provincial modes of intervention in immigration and integration (Paquet 2011), this paper examines the development trajectories of provincial policies in these interrelated fields since the 1990s. Inspired by Gerard Boychuk's (1998) work on the development of provincial social assistance regimes, it demonstrates that provincial modes of intervention rest on development trajectories affected by the interaction of five families of factors: 1) the timing of the engagement in the development trajectory, 2) the history of provincial responses to immigration (in particular, previous experiences in immigrant selection), 3) the provinces' partisan configuration (in particular, partisan shifts and party discourses), 4) the characteristics of provincial economies (particularly provinces' varieties of capitalism and the role of immigration in the labour market) and 5) the structuring effect of federal immigration policies (especially, their influence on the configuration of provincial service providing organisations). A comparison of the ten provincial development trajectories highlights relevant

conclusions for the study of immigration policy in Canada and contribute to the literature on policy development (e.g. Pierson and Hacker 2002 ; Hacker 1998).

Parker, Scott (s.d.parker@att.net)

All Geopolitics are Local: The Consequences of the People's Republic of China's Military Doctrine of Local War on the East Asia Region

The People's Republic of China has undergone a rapid process of military reform over the past decade. Most Western analyses of these changes focus upon China's role as an emergent superpower and its embrace of the ongoing Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). Less frequently discussed is the PRC's military doctrine of local war. Virtually all of China's interstate disputes in contemporary era have involved its neighbors-Russia, India, Vietnam, Taiwan-which demonstrates a renewed assertiveness to enforce political interests throughout Asia. Discussions of Chinese military doctrine in the region cannot be divorced from global geopolitical concerns. Regional war involving China will inevitably have worldwide economic consequences, as well as permanently affecting Chinese relations with the West. In the event of a regional conflict, Western states will be forced to either acquiesce in China's goals to maintain stable relations or oppose them at the expense of a major trading partner. Even seemingly mixed responses will mask a fundamentally binary decision. A superficially strong collective response (e.g., economic sanctions) will nevertheless give individual players incentive to defect in a classic Prisoner's Dilemma scenario. All players will ultimately arrive at a Nash equilibrium in which acquiescence is the strategy with the best possible payoff. In summary, the local war doctrine is emblematic of a long-term shift in global power favoring China.

Pasolli, Kelly (kepasoll@ucalgary.ca), **Young, Lisa** (youngl@ucalgary.ca)

Comparing Child Care Policy in the Canadian Provinces

Accounts of child care policy in Canada and in other advanced welfare states frequently posit the existence of various child care regimes, using categories such as neo-liberal or inclusive liberal to describe patterns in child care policy. These comparative accounts tend to be abstract depictions of small numbers of cases that lack a nuanced description of the extent and nature of variation in child care policy in different jurisdictions. This paper argues that explanations for variation in child care policy must be grounded in a comprehensive, multi-dimensional empirical understanding of child care policy in several jurisdictions. Using the Canadian provinces as a comparative case study, we systematically measure several key characteristics of child care policy: government spending, quality of care, regulation, level of non-profit delivery, availability of spaces, child care fees, and subsidy structures. This analysis reveals that the policies governing child care in the Canadian provinces display many idiosyncrasies that challenge the identification of clear patterns in child care policy. The complexity of this analysis demonstrates that further comparative research in child care policy needs to make explicit the intricacies of child care policy and take seriously the possibility that child care policies are not easily categorized into different regimes.

Patton, Paul (prp@unsw.edu.au)

Aboriginal rights as political and historical

Aboriginal rights have long been a problem for liberal political philosophy. Following Kymlicka's efforts to justify special rights for minority cultural groups, the problem has been to find a form of justification that can account for the differential legal rights in existence, while also addressing the specific situations, needs and aspirations of the Aboriginal peoples concerned. The predominant tendency among liberal political theorists has been to conceive of Aboriginal rights as moral rights. In this paper, I argue for an alternative approach to the nature of rights that draws upon so-called 'externalist' approaches to the nature of rights and upon Rawls's political liberalism. I argue that his later formulations of political liberalism offer unexplored resources for the historical justification of rights. Further, when combined with externalist ways of understanding rights as established or protected ways of being or being treated by others, political liberalism helps to account for the normative dimension of such rights. Together, these disparate sources enable an immanent and historical conception of Aboriginal rights.

Paul, TV (t.paul@mcgill.ca)

Rising Powers and Balance of Power in the 21st Century

The Post-Cold War international system, dominated by the United States, has been shaken by the quick downturn of the US economy and the simultaneous rise of China and countries such as India and Brazil as economic power houses. What is noticeable is the absence of intense balance of power politics among these states, unlike their policies in yesteryears. Are they however, sitting idle in the face of changes taking place in the international system? What are the strategies rising powers and the United States, the reigning hegemonic power, have adopted in contemporary world politics? I argue that the rising powers and the US have calibrated their security strategies in the new era in an effort to adapt to the changing circumstances. They are pursuing limited balancing, i.e., 'soft balancing,' and diplomatic engagement as part of a broader 'hedging' strategy toward each other. They are resorting to 'hedging' as a way to deal with the power transition problem without actually resorting to 'hard balancing' involving military buildup and alliance formation. These changes in the grand strategies of rising powers

are somewhat unique although much of it is associated with the uncertainty generated by the unique nature of power transitions in the contemporary international system. These transitions are in progress and it is hard to predict, not only for scholars but also for policymakers, the contours of the emerging international system and how easily new powers will be accommodated by the existing powers.

Pena, Sylvia (sylvia.m.pena@gmail.com)

From Government Department to Independent Officer of the Legislature: The Provincial Advocate for Children and Youth

Title of Panel: Policy and Political Change in the Ontario Legislature with Lauren Hanna (presenter), Monika Wyrzykowska (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Michael Atkinson (discussant) In this paper, the process by which the Office of the Provincial Advocate for Children and Youth disentangled itself from a government ministry and became an independent officer of the Ontario Legislature will be explained. The Office was established in 2007 by the passage of Bill 165. The following year, Irwin Elman was appointed as Provincial Advocate. The Advocate reports to the Ontario legislature. A number of challenges has affected the transition. One of the most important was the Minister of Children and Youth Services accepting the independent status of the Advocate. A changed attitude on the part of the minister was necessary for the Office in establishing and maintaining the Advocate's independence. There is little that has been written on independent advocates for children and youth. More importantly, describing the process by which a unit of a ministry becomes an independent officer of parliament is needed. As more and more independent officers are established, understanding how this process of transition works and explaining how transitional challenges can be overcome would be important additions to scholarly institutional knowledge. The research for this paper relies heavily on government documents and legislative debate on Bill 165. Complementing this documentary analysis will be interviews with government officials, MPPs involved in the legislation, and probably most importantly, the Minister involved and the Provincial Advocate himself. The Independent Officers of Parliament play an important role in our democracy. Understanding the challenges they will face will be beneficial to all citizens.

Penner, Devin (dpenner@yorku.ca)

Beyond Triple-E and Abolition: A Democratic Third Option for Senate Reform

After appointing 40 senators over the past five years, Prime Minister Stephen Harper's newly-minted majority government is finally ready for action on Senate reform. While Harper's Senate Reform Act will forever remain a poor cousin of the Triple-E proposal, it has nonetheless set the stage for a dramatic showdown between two alternatives on Senate reform: election or abolition. Looking to open up this debate, I will propose a third option, one that I argue is actually the most democratic proposal to reform the Senate: turning the Senate into a Citizens' Assembly akin to the ones temporarily set up in British Columbia in 2004 and Ontario in 2006-2007 to study electoral reform. Because Citizens' Assemblies are chosen by lottery rather than election, it may seem counter-intuitive today to associate them with democracy. However, I will make this argument both theoretically, using the writings of Hannah Arendt and Jacques Rancière, and practically, drawing on the experience of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. The overall conclusion is that a Citizens' Senate would insert the voice of the common person into politics, reinvigorating political debate and providing an effective counterweight to the extreme party discipline and hollow rhetoric that leaves so many people disenchanted with the professional politicians in the House of Commons.

Penner, Erin (erin_m_penner@yahoo.ca)

Local Context and Individual Attitudes toward Ethnic Diversity in Canada

This paper provides an empirical account of how Canadians' experienced contexts influence their attitudes toward ethnic diversity, immigration, and multiculturalism. Social and economic contextual factors are examined to determine the role of local environments in shaping these attitudes. For example, how does the number of immigrants in an individual's local context influence her attitudes about multiculturalism? Does that influence change if the immigrants are visible minorities? Does it change if the immigrants are relatively new? What about economic contexts? Do the local unemployment rate or average household income drive attitudes about federal immigration policy? If yes, how do they compare to the social contextual factors considered previously? These contexts implicate the ethnic diversity and political behaviour literatures. Social contextual factors that focus on ethnic and/or immigrant groups are central to the contact vs. conflict debate, which examines whether social contact with individuals perceived as different contributes to or threatens social stability. Economic contextual factors implicate the role of material self-interest - a predominant explanation of a host of political attitudes. This paper considers, then, if and how an individual's social and economic environment can be linked to her attitudes about ethnic diversity. Using recent survey and census data, I will compare the effects of social and economic contexts on individual attitudes toward ethnic diversity, immigration, and multiculturalism. The results will be discussed in terms of encouraging interethnic harmony in Canadian society. As part of my dissertation, this paper builds on work presented at the 2008, 2009, and 2010 CPSA conferences.

Perrella, Andrea (aperrella@wlu.ca), **Bélanger, Éric** (eric.belanger3@mcgill.ca), **Nadeau, Richard** (richard.nadeau@umontreal.ca)

Income Gap and the Effect on Institutional Confidence

Few have asked about political implications of the bifurcation of incomes in Canada. Over several generations, those in higher echelons have enjoyed considerable growth, while those in lower tiers have seen no growth, or worse, declines. This trend coincides with a period of significant political upheaval, with more Canadians holding increasingly negative opinions about their political institutions. This leads us to ask whether there also exists a bifurcation of political attitudes, with those in the lower income tiers showing more negative orientations compared to those who fare much better. More precisely, we will examine whether growing income inequality - mainly the growing income gap - has any measurable effect on political confidence towards the political system. We will approach this study by incorporating almost 20 years of econometric data from Statistics Canada and survey data from the Canadian Election Study, spanning from the early 1990s to 2011.

Petry, Francois (francois.petry@pol.ulaval.ca), **Maioni, Antonia** (antonia.maioni@mcgill.ca), **Nadeau, Richard** (richard.nadeau@umontreal.ca)

Cross-border perceptions of US and Canadian Health Care Systems

Using data from a large survey conducted in the spring of 2011, we compare how Americans and Canadians perceive their own and each other's health care system. We examine cross-border perceptions of the quality of health care, access to care, the sustainability of the health care system, and programs/proposals to improve it in the future. Trends over time are produced by comparing our results with data from previous surveys. The paper has two main objectives. One is to assess whether the attitudes and perceptions of Americans and Canadians toward health care are diverging or converging, The second is to explore the ways in which public perceptions may constrain the responses of US and Canadian policy makers to the new health issues with which they are confronted.

Petry, Francois (francois.petry@pol.ulaval.ca), **Klingemann, Hans-Dieter** (hans-dieter.klingemann@fbu.de), **Collette, Benoît** (benoit.collette.1@ulaval.ca)

Estimating Left-Right Party Positions in Canada: Comparing Party Manifesto Content and Expert Survey Data

The paper compares the left-right positions of Canadian political parties derived from content analysis of party manifestos with those derived from a recent expert surveys. We use regression analysis to explore the components of the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) left-right scale that are most applicable to the Canadian context. Next we analyze the policy content of left and right in Canadian expert survey estimates by regressing party placement on left-right scales with party placement on various substantive policy cleavages. Using tests of statistical significance, we directly compare the validity of expert survey results with that of the CMP results. The comparison reveals some agreement but also some inconsistencies in party positions by the two methods. We conclude with several recommendations for researchers who wish to use the CMP data to estimate party positions in Canada.

Phillips, Janet M. (jmp3@ualberta.ca)

Gender, the Private/Public Divide, and Care: Not What, but How

A great deal of feminist thought and activism has been dedicated to questioning the relegation of women to the private sphere, as well as to bringing them out of that sphere in the move for their right to participate in the political. This work has involved re-examining gender categories, not as given, but as produced. In doing so, much work within the Gender and Politics field has been concerned with the question, 'what is gender?' Focused on this question for so long, work within the field is only now starting to take up the question, 'how does gender interact with other marginalized identity categories?' This paper will examine the role of the private/public divide in producing gender as a marginalized identity category at the same time that it is responsible for the production of other marginalized identity categories, such as race and class. To do so, the paper will be structured around three themes within the field: contract and marriage, the family, and the ethics of care. It will argue that it is not enough to bring women out of the private and into the political, for this move will make room for the production and subsequent oppression of other identity categories within the private. Rather, the structure of this divide must be challenged. It will conclude by putting forth care as one such challenge to this divide.

Pilon, Dennis (dpilon@yorku.ca)

The electoral subaltern: utilizing 'class' as identity

Political scientists continue to struggle to explain why citizen engagement generally, and turnout at elections specifically, keeps declining, despite focusing a considerable amount of research on the problem. This paper will explore how attention to class understood as a lived experience might help refocus the research on this question in more productive ways. Plainly stated, political scientists are having difficulty accessing the group they need to talk to - nonvoters - because they make too many assumptions about who this group is and how that group understands politics and the world. By contrast, this paper will draw from recent work in British sociology (e.g.

Beverly Skeggs, Mike Savage) that uses Bourdieu's concepts of doxa, habitus and field to demonstrate that 'just asking' people about elections and voting is more complicated than it may appear. Specifically, the paper will adumbrate the many ways in which classed assumptions on the part of researchers interferes with designing the research instruments, gaining access to the population under study, and interpreting what they groups are saying with their responses.

Piven, Frances Fox (ffox-piven@gc.cuny.edu)

Women and the New Poor Law

The United States is pioneering a set of policies targeted at poor women that, while vaguely reminiscent of the old poor law and subsequent relief policies, also reflect the tectonic changes that have occurred since the mid-twentieth century in family structure and wage work. So far, this is not good news. The historic incorporation of women in the labor force of neoliberal capitalism has been accompanied by policies that enforce lower wages for women, long working hours, and the systematic political castigation of the women caught in the vortex of these changes.

Planinc, Emma (emma.planinc@utoronto.ca)

Community Narcissism in Urban Life: Examining Ethnic, Urban Communities and Political Participation in Toronto

Jeffrey Reitz has recently argued that fostering robust ethnic communities in Canada may help to develop an attachment to the broader, national community; however, he also claims that the formation of ethnic attachments seems to defer the emergence of a Canadian identity, and is often accompanied by marginalization. In my paper, I argue that this tension is best addressed from an urban perspective, using Toronto as an example. The neighbourhoods that are furthest from the city's core are the most heterogeneously populated and also had the lowest eligible-voter turnout in the most recent municipal election. The geographic marginalization of heterogeneous populations thus has some relation to an apparent indifference to political participation. This indifference also has much to do with the conditions of modern, urban life. Richard Sennett argues in *The Fall of Public Man* that urban living has created a new form of modern man; one who narcissistically forms communities only with those in whom one sees a reflection of oneself. Sennett claims that we turn away from the public sphere into personal attachments, whereas the city ought to be a forum in which it becomes meaningful to join with other persons without the compulsion to know them (340). The valorization of robust ethnic communities, I suggest, could be reinforcing community narcissism which precludes public political participation and Canadian identification. Far from being its solution, the city is reifying community narcissism through geographic marginalization, and we are seeing the effects in the political sphere.

Preece, Daniel (dvpreece@connect.carleton.ca)

The Inclusion of Economic Impact as an Essential Service: The Shifting Governmentality of Labour Relations in Canada

Building off of the theoretical framework of cultural political economy developed by Bob Jessop, this paper will combine critical semiotic analysis with an evolutionary and institutional approach to political economy to examine how the governance of the labour market in Canada has shifted following the global recession of 2008-2009. In particular, this paper will investigate if the increasing propensity of the Harper Government to use back-to-work legislation to intervene in the collective bargaining negotiations, such as in case of the 2011 negotiations between Air Canada and CUPE and the 2011 negotiations between Canada Post and CUPW, reflects a new mentality of governance towards labour relations. Following the 2007 decision by the Supreme Court of Canada that the freedom of association guaranteed by s. 2(d) of the Charter includes a procedural right to collective bargaining, the justification for the use of back-to-work legislation was broadened to explicitly include economic impact. Toward this end, Labour Minister Lisa Raitt noted in October 2011 that the Federal Government's decision to intervene in collective bargaining is increasing driven by economic concerns and that she is considering changing labour code to include the impact of work stoppages on the national economy in the category of essential services. Through examining the shifting governance of labour relations in Canada, my paper will both further develop the emerging theoretical framework of cultural political economy and determine how the broadening of essential services to include economic impact affects the governmentality of collective bargaining.

Rabe, Barry (brabe@umich.edu), **Borick, Christopher** (cborick@muhlenberg.edu)

Fracking for Dollars: The Regulation and Taxation of Shale Gas in American States and Canadian Provinces

Title of Panel: Climate Federalism and Carbon Pricing with Erick Lachapelle (presenter), Erik Lachapelle/Jean-Philippe Gauvin (presenter), Kathryn Harrison (presenter) and Debora Van Nijnatten (chair/discussant). This paper will examine the evolving issue of state and provincial policies toward the extraction of large natural gas deposits through hydraulic fracking. This process promises to secure major new energy sources and could serve to reduce dramatically greenhouse gas emissions through expanded use of natural gas over other fossil fuels such as coal and oil. It raises, however, a wide range of policy concerns, most of which are likely to be devolved to the sub-federal levels in the United States and Canada. This analysis will consider early stages of policy development in the areas of

information disclosure to the public, regulation to protect groundwater and air quality, and use of various taxation tools to extract revenue from this energy generation process. This will build on recent work on sub-federal carbon and energy tax development, including use of stealth strategies to secure public support and emphasis on severance taxes given their potential transfer of costs to other jurisdictions. It will present an overview of developments in both federal cases but will devote particular attention to a case study of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This state has been at the heart of the shale gas controversy; the case analysis will review early policy development and present findings from a statewide public opinion survey conducted in 2011.

Radmilovic, Vuk (vuk.radmilovic@utoronto.ca)

Supreme Court of Canada and 9/11: A Strategic Response to External Constraints

Recent years have seen increased interest among comparative law and courts scholars in the question of whether courts exhibit sensitivities to what are for all intents and purposes external or political factors. The so-called attitudinal model of judicial decision making has been joined by the strategic approach which shows that judicial behaviour is significantly constrained by the relative power and anticipated reactions of a variety of actors including governments, organized groups, the public, and even other judges on the bench. The recent prominence of the strategic approach has led some to conclude that there has been nothing short of a strategic revolution in the study of judicial politics (Epstein and Knight, 2000). In Canada, however, the strategic approach has been largely neglected (but see Flanagan 2002; Knopff et al. 2009; Manfredi 2002; Radmilovic 2010a, 2010b). This paper further extends the application of the strategic approach to the decision making of the Supreme Court of Canada by analyzing the extent to which the Supreme Court's handling of some of the most prominent, terrorism-related policy dilemmas since 9/11 is suggestive of strategic responsiveness to external pressures. The paper starts with a brief discussion of the strategic approach, followed by an analysis of the Court's record in three policy areas: deportation to torture, security certificates, and repatriation from Guantanamo Bay. The analysis sheds a new light on the Court's record, and suggests that judicial decisions at the Supreme Court of Canada are importantly imbued by strategic considerations.

Raney, Tracey (traney@politics.ryerson.ca)

A 'Major Minority' Win for Women? The Political Representation of Women and the 2011 Ontario Provincial Election

On October 6th, 2011 Ontarians went to the polls and elected the highest percentage of women in the province's history, with 28 percent of the seats in the provincial legislature now held by women. At the same time, women's political representation in the province remains below that of gender parity. In the paper I will account for women's successes in 2011, focusing on the role of political parties in their recruitment and nomination practices in this campaign compared to previous campaigns. I will also consider why women remain underrepresented relative to their population, with particular attention paid to party ideology, party competition, and to the types of seats women contest. In the end, the paper marshals evidence that emphasizes the vital role provincial parties play in either boosting-or suppressing-the election of women into public office in Ontario.

Rankin, L. Pauline (Pauline_Rankin@carleton.ca)

Unlikely Champions: Gender Mainstreaming within Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

Paper for Panel: The Politics and Practice of Gender Mainstreaming
Presenters: Christina Gabriel, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Olena Hankivsky, Associate Professor, Simon Fraser University
Pauline Rankin, Associate Professor, Carleton University
Chair: Linda Trimble, University of Alberta
Discussant: Joan Grace, University of Winnipeg
This paper analyzes the expansion and contraction of Canada's commitment to Gender-Based Analysis across the federal state. Specifically, I analyze the patchwork of gender mainstreaming initiatives in place within the Canadian federal government by moving beyond familiar institutional analyses to examine the discursive practices associated with the gender mainstreaming. Most scholars of gender mainstreaming concentrate their analytic energy on identifying and comparing the impact of particular structural factors on gender mainstreaming agendas across contexts. In contrast, this paper queries why gender mainstreaming exhibits its particular pattern of institutionalization and de-institutionalization within the federal state. Theoretically, I draw from Bacchi and Eveline (2010) and Lombardo, Meier and Verloo (2009) and their insight that gender equality is a travelling concept which is understood very differently across contexts. I use this observation to illustrate how gender equality as a concept 'travels' even within states, and assumes different meanings with different actors as it is contested across and within departments and agencies and with civil society actors outside the state. Using the example of gender equality work within Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, I argue that analyzing the discursive practices associated with gender mainstreaming reveals new insights about what sustains a gender mainstreaming agenda and why governments may choose to maintain pockets of gender mainstreaming commitments, even through periods of financial uncertainty and ideological dissonance with the goals of gender mainstreaming itself.

Raphael, Daisy (dmraphae@ualberta.ca)

May the Best Man Win: Masculinity in Political Humour about the 2008 Canadian Federal Election

Title of Panel: The Sex Factor: Media, Politicians, Gender and Sexual Orientation in Canada with Daisy Raphael (presenter), Linda Trimble/Shannon Sampert/Angelia Wagner/Daisy Raphael/Bailey Gerrits (presenters) and Angelia Wagner (presenter) This study explores the relationship between masculinity and political leadership as it was constructed in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. Using discourse analysis, I have examined gendered depictions of the two frontrunners in that election - Stéphane Dion and Stephen Harper - on the popular television programmes the Rick Mercer Report, 22 Minutes and the Royal Canadian Air Farce. Guiding this analysis is Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities. Ultimately, I argue that political satirists constructed a hierarchy of masculinities in their portrayals of Dion and Harper by depicting Dion as submissive, weak, effeminate and devoid of masculinity, while portraying Harper as dominant, aggressive and violent, in other words as too masculine. In doing so, I argue, Canadian political humourists contributed to the normalization of the purported connections between masculinity, power, and politics and to the social construction of politics as a 'man's world'. This research corresponds with that of other feminist researchers studying gender, politics and the media, who have found that masculine narratives tend to depict women as Others in the political realm (for example, Gidengil and Everitt, 1999; 2000; Sampert and Trimble, 2003).

Ratelle, Jean-François (jrate066@uottawa.ca)

Micro-dynamics of Political Violence in the North Caucasus: An Ethnographic Analysis of Islamic Radicalisation and Violent Engagement

This paper aims to address an inherent problem in the understanding of the upsurge of violence in the North Caucasus. Building on a 6 month ethnographical research, interviews with young people, religious figures, and governmental elites, this paper proposes a comparative analysis of political violence and violent engagement between North Caucasus republics. At first, this paper will compare how micro-level factors contribute to Islamic radicalisation and violent engagement with an emphasis on ethno-religious profiling, the ideological vacuum and institutional problems. Although the micro aspect of violent engagement is central to the understanding of political violence, this paper claims that micro-level analysis should be understood in conjunction with a quantitative comparative analysis of acts of political violence in order to understand insurgent strategies and actions. Using the empirical case of Dagestan, this paper aims to map out political violence practices at the district and village level in order to conceptualize a dynamic model of violent engagement by integrating organisational and individual causal factors. This paper concludes by proposing policy initiatives that would favour de-radicalisation and violent disengagement, such as establishing an opposition political channel for radical Islam supporters to voice their grievances within the political system. By differentiating Islamic radicalisation from violent engagement this paper also aims to reflect on the dangers of associating radical Islam with political violence in the North Caucasus. Finally, this research will also explain how changes could be put forward to strengthen actual ex-fighter rehabilitation programs establish independent judicial programs to support violent disengagement.

Rayside, David (david.rayside@utoronto.ca)

LGBT Advocacy in Ontario: Distinctive or Typical?

Title of the panel: The LGBT Movement and the State: Pan-Canadian Perspectives with Alexa DeGagne ('Severely Queer': LGBTIQ Activism in Alberta), Joanna Everitt (Mobilization on the Periphery: LGBT Activism and Success in Atlantic Canada), Manon Tremblay and Patrice Corriveau (La diversité sexuelle et l'État du Québec: de la répression à la pleine citoyenneté?). Canada's largest province has witnessed advocacy on sexual diversity issues that is, by Canadian standards, sustained and substantial. Though important coalitional groups have existed at the provincial level, the strength of such activism has been its local bases. The largest and most influential has been in Toronto, but important groups and networks emerged early and forcibly in Ottawa and other cities. The priorities of Ontario activists have not differed markedly from those in other parts of Canada, though over time there has been unusually substantial mobilization over policing (in the early 1980s), AIDS (in the late '80s), equality rights (mid-80s), family rights (in the '90s), and schooling (in the '90s and 2000s). In a few cases, though certainly not all, this has produced comparatively early shifts in public policy, in part a product of political opportunities, though overall the history of gains in policy, law, and institutional practice has strong parallels to other provinces and territories. Despite substantial governmental decentralization, and fragmenting regionalist sentiments, there is a strong cross-country narrative in both the character and impact of LGBT activism.

Rayside, David (david.rayside@utoronto.ca)

Sexual Diversity and Employment: Moving Beyond Prohibiting Discrimination

It is only in the last couple of decades that sexual orientation and gender identity have surfaced on the employment equity agenda in Canada. Much has been achieved by lesbians and gay men in countering legal discrimination and public prejudice, but few institutions have seriously taken up sexual orientation in proactive policies aimed at creating more inclusive workforces - the sorts of policies that officially include Aboriginals, people with disabilities, visible minorities, and women. Even less has been accomplished with respect to trans people, who experience extraordinarily high levels of unemployment, and who experience levels of prejudice substantially in

excess of lesbians and gay men. This paper briefly reviews the extent of shift in social, political and legal treatment of sexual minorities in Canada; and the evidence for continuing employment inequities. It will also cite instances of sexual minorities being included in proactive employment policy, and the impediments facing thoroughgoing implementation of such policies.

Reddekop, Jarrad (jreddeko@uwo.ca)

Decolonizing Green Theory?

Many authors have noted that a tension persists between environmental and decolonizing impulses within contemporary political discourse. This is due in part to complex interrelations of Western philosophical, political, and colonial logics that enable nature to be envisioned, identified, and mobilized as something we (i.e., the public) might save. Nature is imagined in terms of its ontological distinctness from culture; one of the central rebuttals directed at environmental thought from an anti-colonial position concerns the way imagining and securing wilderness presupposes and yet forgets the prior removal of indigenous peoples from the land in colonial contexts. At the same time, however, we also often proceed as though the problems of colonialism were fully intelligible through an understanding of reality structured by that same ontological opposition, upon which the familiar terms of modern politics rest. This tendency is often preserved even where decolonizing aims have been invoked to critique environmental discourses. I argue that neither the project of developing better relations with the land we inhabit, nor that of decolonizing indigenous-settler relations, should permit our dominant enframing of reality to remain untroubled. Rather, much of what is at stake on both fronts concerns the exclusive and universalizing predominance of one particular metaphysical trajectory - and this within a context where indigenous traditions of understanding and relating to the world exist, predicated on discrete ontological grounds. Accordingly, I will explore possible consonances between these projects, for a theorizing situated within (and sensitive to) such a context of ontological disagreement.

Reeve, Iain (iain.reeve@queensu.ca)

Coherence vs. Responsiveness? The Impacts of Decentralizing Immigration Selection and Settlement Authority in Canada

This paper investigates the policy impact of the asymmetric decentralization of immigrant selection and settlement authority from the federal to provincial governments in Canada. The paper looks at three provincial case studies - British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario - to see what policies and approaches arise from provinces with varying immigrant profiles and levels of decentralization. Drawing on existing literature, government reports and statistics, and qualitative interviews with politicians, civil servants, and workers in the non-government immigrant service sector, I will provide reflections on a variety of research questions. How do immigrants selected by provinces fare economically compared to those chosen by the federal government? Are provincially designed integration policies more effective, responsive, and accountable? Does local integration planning make for better relationships with the independent service organizations that administer services in Canada? Should there be concern that dozens of provincial nominee categories, and localizing approaches to integration are making a national approach impossible? And, of course, fundamentally, does decentralization have a significant impact? This paper makes several important contributions to the literature. Very little research that systematically examines its impact of decentralization in Canada has taken place. Knowing more about the impact of this process for immigrant selection and settlement policy is not just important for Canada, but for all immigrant receiving countries, as the level of decentralization in Canada is somewhat atypical. Knowing what changes occur as a result of decentralization also opens the door for improved study of the effectiveness of immigrant integration.

Reid, Scott (scottreid@yahoo.com)

Party and election finance: A comparison of provincial rules in Canada

One factor important to stable democracies is the belief in the legitimacy of a government based on fair and open elections. In many jurisdictions election finance rules have evolved to help facilitate access to resources needed to operate political parties and run elections campaigns. In Canada at the national level there have been many reforms to party and election finance rules and many debates about the fairness of these rules. This paper draws on Schumpeterian theory relate to democracy and expands this approach using the concept of a level playing field as developed by Levitsky and Way (2010). This paper examines and compares party and election finance rules at the provincial level in Canada. It makes observations about the implications of these rules on democracy.

Reid, Scott (scottreid@yahoo.com), **Collins, Jeffrey** (jeff.francis.collins@gmail.com)

Oil, Politics and Public Policy: A case study of Newfoundland and Labrador

Oil has been seen as both a blessing and a curse. This paper explores the impact which the oil industry has had on politics and public policy in Newfoundland and Labrador. It applies the concept of the Paradox of Plenty (Karl, 1997) to the situation in Newfoundland and Labrador. The Paradox of Plenty is that sudden riches from natural resource development often alter not only the economy of the state, but also government institutions, in ways which are often detrimental to the long term development of the producing jurisdiction. Policy documents, media

reports, statements by politicians, exchanges in the House of Assembly and various other sources are used to construct an overall understanding of the impact on politics and public policy in the province. Comparisons are made to other oil producing jurisdictions including; Alberta, Norway and Scotland. The paper identifies alternative development strategies available to the province based on an analysis of oil development in these other jurisdictions.

Rheault, Ludovic (ludovic.rheault@umontreal.ca)

Special Interest Groups and Multi-Party Elections

This paper introduces a generalized model of special interest politics in multi-party, plurality elections. Individual vote choice is modeled as a probabilistic function of both campaign spending and policy platforms. Parties are thus facing a trade-off between catering to special interest groups, who offer to trade campaign contributions for policy concessions, and the policy platform preferred by the average voter. In contrast with earlier models, I rely on general equilibrium theory in order to solve for the cost of policy influence, i.e. the price paid by special interest groups to influence the platform of a party. The proposed model leads to new theoretical findings, stating the conditions under which political parties are expected to cater more or less heavily to special interest groups. I show that, even if a popular party garners more contributions from interest groups in equilibrium, landslide victories need not entail a greater shift from the preferences of voters compared to close races. Yet, elections with a large number of competitive parties tend to reduce the influence of special interests on policies, since privileged groups then have incentives to strategically spread their contributions.

Richez, Emmanuelle (emmanuelle.richez@mail.mcgill.ca)

The Impact of Constitutional Multiculturalism after Three Decades of Existence

Canada's 1971 multiculturalism policy simultaneously promoted cultural retention and sociocultural integration. According to the literature, it has tended to promote superficial cultural differences, rather than deep ones, to the benefit of a single social structure. When the multiculturalism ideal was enshrined under section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982, there was no consensus on whether the normative meaning of multiculturalism would mirror that of the federal policy or take on a new one. While most scholars agreed that this provision was an interpretative clause that did not guarantee a positive or absolute right in the domain of multiculturalism per se, they debated whether it would conflict with other provisions of the Charter or would supplement them. After three decades of Charter rule, what has been the weight and content given to section 27 of the Charter and multiculturalism in general? In order to answer this question, this paper proposes a doctrinal analysis of the Supreme Court's Charter jurisprudence and an assessment of its political consequences in the area of multiculturalism in Canada. It will be argued that constitutional multiculturalism, just like the official multiculturalism policy, has tended to favour liberal pluralism. More specifically, it will be demonstrated that the cultural rights that have been granted to groups were individualistic in focus and have accelerated the shift towards an undifferentiated cultural citizenship in Canada. This will lead the paper, as part of a larger project, to question how the Charter is affecting cultural citizenship in Canada.

Richmond, Sean (sean.richmond@politics.ox.ac.uk)

At the Vanishing Point of Law? International Law and the Use of Force by Canada in the Afghanistan Conflict.

Existing International Relations (IR) research on the role of international law in the use of force by states has focused primarily on US practice (Chayes 1974, Carvin 2010). To help address this gap in the literature, this paper analyzes Canada's participation in the Afghanistan Conflict of 2001-present. Drawing on constructivist IR theory and interactional legal theory, I argue that international law has helped define and shape Canada's possible course of action in the war, and the justifications made for its behaviour. In advancing this argument, I seek to understand how law has influenced, and failed to influence, key decisions regarding whether and how to be involved in the Afghanistan Conflict, and the status and treatment of captured enemy fighters. Centering my analysis on the discourse and practice of Canada's major political and military leaders in the war, I examine public statements and data gathered from interviews to reconstruct a) the policy options that were considered by leaders about the key decisions noted above, b) whether these options reflected a felt sense of legal obligation among leaders, and c) the degree to which leaders were influenced by this perception of obligation in their decision-making. This paper is part of a doctoral project which analyzes Canadian and British participation in the Korean War and Afghanistan Conflict. The project ultimately explores how we can better regulate the use of force by states and protect the vulnerable in war, and whether the role of international law has now changed when states use force.

Richmond, Sean (sean.richmond@politics.ox.ac.uk)

IR Theory, Law, and Obligation: Positing Four Roles for International Law in the Use of Force by States.

International Relations (IR) scholars of different theoretical approaches have all struggled to articulate what difference international law makes in world politics, particularly regarding the use of force by states (Morgenthau 1949, Goldstein 2000, Finnemore 2000). By summarizing and critically analyzing how three major IR perspectives (realism, neo-liberal institutionalism, and constructivism) theorize international law, I argue that this is a result of

the following observations. First, due to their materialist and state-centric focus, realists and neo-liberals tend to give law weak or functional roles in international affairs. By contrast, constructivists tend to emphasize normative structures and grant law with productive power. However, constructivists have inadequately explored the concept of legal obligation and, as a result, have not yet adequately explained the potentially distinct nature and effects of international law. Finally, while IR theorists often focus on its constraining influence, international law plays four broad roles in the use of force: 1) it helps constitute the identities of the actors at issue; 2) it helps regulate the political practice of the actors at issue; 3) it permits and legitimates political practices that otherwise might not be permitted; and 4) it helps structure the development of new legal rules and legitimate practice. This paper is part of a doctoral project which analyzes the influence of international law on Canadian and British participation in the Korean War and Afghanistan Conflict. A theoretical aim of the project is to help advance IR thinking on international law, and political science research on norms more generally.

Roberts, Chris (cwrobert@ualberta.ca)

The English School Meets the Complexity Sciences at the fin de siècle of International Relations Theory

Contemporary critics of a resurgent English School (ES) see it caught between two untenable positions. On one hand, critical scholars see the ES tied to an ethnocentric intellectual tradition as well as to realist precepts of anarchy, balance of power, rationality, and international system. On the other hand, scientific- or positivist-oriented scholars search despairingly for causal mechanisms within ES work and find the lack of rigorous attention to methods a significant obstacle to wider ES relevance. But the ES has always offered alternative understandings about the role of science, systems, society, and methodological pluralism in international relations theory. In some ways this placed it ahead of its time despite its traditional moniker and lack of apparent scientific sophistication. At this point in its renaissance, however, the ES can benefit from overcoming deep seated antipathies to certain preconceptions about science rooted in the 1960s. A greater appreciation for the possibilities of integrating insights from the post-positivist, post-Humean complexity sciences with its three pillar conceptual framework can result in enhanced analytical range. The integration of complexity into the conceptual and methodological pluralism offered by the ES can productively shift attention away from an elusive focus on world order and towards understanding dynamic, non-linear global organization processes. This move retains considerable room for values and normative investigation and prevents the ES from committing too much to structuralist, linear paths which can limit interest in the contingent, micro-macro interactions that generate change processes below, above, and at the state level.

Robinson, Andrew (arobinson@wlu.ca)

Patterns of Careers in Human Rights and Social Justice NGOs

This paper presents a snapshot of some key features of the pattern of careers in NGOs that advance human rights. It is written with two audiences in mind: i) students and those already in the sector who are considering their career prospects as well as those typically asked to advise them (professors, NGO staff, guidance counselors); and ii) those involved in hiring and managing for nonprofits (executive directors, board members). While the snapshot presented here likely reflects some realities better than others, it is likely to help those in both audiences make better, more objective decisions by providing likely some comparative benchmarks against which to test their personal perspectives. Topics addressed will likely include: Career Preparation; The General Career Pattern: The Spiral Career; Specific Careers: A Typology of Positions; and Other Issues. The paper draws primarily upon a database of over 200 responses to a 2010 survey directed at staff of NGOs located in Ontario that advance human rights. [I have chosen to direct it to the Teaching and Learning Politics section because I think this will be of interest to Political Scientists who are concerned with how what they teach relates to their students' potential future careers. If it is thought that there is a section in which this fits better, I'm fine with that.]

Robinson, Fiona (Fiona_Robinson@carleton.ca)

Decolonizing International Political Theory: 'Emotional Imperialism' and the Paradox of Value in Globalized Care

Feminist moral and political theorists have long argued that care is 'gendered, raced and classed' (Tronto 1993: 112). The contemporary transnationalization of care, centering on the rise of 'care migration' - raises new questions about the way in which gender, race and class intersect not only in the distribution of care labour, but in the way in which the values and activities of care are valued in societies in the income-rich North. In particular, care migration forces us to consider the role of 'geopolitical segregation' as a means to 'solidify the conditions of power that regulate, control and exploit bodies as central to imperial reformulations of political practice and knowledge formations (Agathangelou and Turcotte 2010: 48). While these insights are crucial to the formation of domestic and 'global' social policy, and particularly of 'mainstreaming' intersectionality in that context, they are also central to the formulation of an 'international political theory of care' (see Robinson, 2010). This paper asks how these contemporary realities of geopolitical and economic segregation can be integrated fully into a feminist political theory of care? How can a feminist political theory of care address the challenges of contemporary global justice in ways that rights-based theories cannot? I argue that, despite the challenges raised by the

transnationalization of care, care ethics as a critical moral and political theory is equipped to reveal relationships of power in ways that many dominant normative political theories are not.

Rollo, Tobold (toboldrollo@hotmail.com)

Decolonizing Democratic Theory

Many Aboriginal communities contend that when representing their traditional practices within Canadian democratic institutions their accounts are either dismissed or admitted in ways that distort both the intended meaning of the representation and the subjectivities of those offering the account. Contemporary democratic theory generally interprets this problem of distortion as a failure to acknowledge the diversity of modes of representation. Subaltern account-giving is taken to be marginalized by privileging western modes of reasoning and communicating. Consequently, theorists routinely promote the ideal of diverse and inclusive communication within state institutions as a political antidote to colonial subversion. In this paper, I argue that the standard preoccupation with enriching and refining dialogue within state institutions overlooks how state institutions embody a specific set of practical meanings (a 'form of life') which underwrite the intelligibility and meaningfulness of dominant discourses at the same time as they transform the meaning of Aboriginal accounts, sometimes to their antithesis. This approach follows developments in language philosophy, critical discourse studies, and communication studies, which increasingly locate the meaning of language in the practical contexts of languaging. Given its long tradition of privileging of words over deeds, democratic theory has yet to acknowledge the extent to which the institutional and practical context of speaking shapes the very meaning of claims. I conclude that theorists of democracy must seek to divest their work of an uncritical priority granted to linguistic representation to the exclusion of what is meaningfully present in a 'form of life'.

Rothmayr Allison, Christine (christine.rothmayr.allison@umontreal.ca)

Comparative Policy Agendas: The Supreme Court of Canada

The proposed paper analyses the data from coding all Supreme Court decisions and applications for leave to appeal from 1960 to 2010 based on the code book at the heart of the Comparative Policy Agendas Project, an international research project that focuses on national policy priorities and aims at improving our theoretical understanding of national policy-making processes (Baumgartner et al. 2009, Jones et al. 2009). The new data makes it possible (1) to compare the pool of cases before the Court (input) to the cases chosen (output), and to evaluate to what extent the Court sets its own policy priorities; and (2) to investigate to what extent the Court succeeds in influencing its own agenda through politically salient decisions. Politically salient decisions can be understood as signals to potential litigants to bring about more cases involving the same or connected policy issues. By doing so, the Court's policy making capacity in the area increases (Baird 2004). Finally, the data allows for analysing the Court's agenda as part of the broader Canadian policy context. If the Court has become a major policy-maker, we can expect that policy issues with simultaneously high attention on the governmental, legislative and public agenda will also show an increase in attention on the Court's agenda.

Rounce, Andrea (rounce@cc.umanitoba.ca)

Voting Behaviour of Provincial Public Servants: The Fall 2011 Elections

Panel: The 2011 Provincial Elections: A Comparative Analysis There is a debate in public administration that focuses on the extent to which the institutions, processes, and ideas differ between the public and private sectors. Differences can also be seen when considering employees of the two sectors. Rational voter theory argues that public sector employees would have more to gain by voting, so would be more likely to do so (Bennett & Orzechowski 1983; Blais, Blake, & Dion 1991; Kim & Fording 1998, 2003). But little is known about differences between employees of the public and private sectors at the provincial level in Canada. Using data from the Canadian Provincial Election Project Survey, I will examine whether or not public sector employment is related to reported voting, ideology, and candidate support in the provinces holding elections in Fall 2011: Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

Roy, Jason (jroy@wlu.ca), **Perrella, Andrea** (aperrella@wlu.ca)

Red Islands, Blue Seas, and Orange Mountains: Dissecting Voter Cleavages in the 2011 Provincial Elections

Panel: The 2011 Provincial Elections: A Comparative Analysis In the fall of 2011, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan held provincial elections. As part of a larger cross-national study of the level of democratic deficit within provinces, we administered an election-day survey in each of the five provinces. Drawing from this data, we explore provincial level voter cleavages. More specifically, we test the extent in which federal level cleavages exist at the sub-national level. Specifically, we examine rural-urban divisions, religious divisions, and socio-demographic factors that divide electorates. We then consider cross-provincial differences in the division of the provincial electorates and the implications for democratic malaise in each of the provinces.

Roy, Jason (jroy@wlu.ca), **Power, Nicole** (powe0463@mylaurier.ca)

Cyber-Citizens in the 2011 Canadian Federal Election: An Examination of Individual-Level Social Media Use

This paper explores individual-level use of social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, during election campaigns. Using data collected by Ipsos-Reid following the 2011 Canadian Federal Election, we consider both who engages in online media for political purposes and what types of online media they engage in. We also examine how individuals' use online tools during election campaigns, focusing primarily on information-gathering, information-sharing, and mobilization efforts. Based on this analysis, we consider the broader long-term and normative implications for political engagement. Finally, we consider the potential for increased misinformation and the implications for democracy as more and more individuals take to the Web as cyber-citizens.

Rubenson, Daniel (rubenson@politics.ryerson.ca), **Bowers, Jake** (jwbowers@illinois.edu), **Wong, Cara** (carawong@illinois.edu)

Maps and 'Pictures in Our Heads': The Political Effects of Perceptions of Communities

There exists a large literature focused on improving our understanding of the impact of diversity on political behavior and policy preferences. However, virtually all existing research on the relationship between the diversity of a place and the behavior and attitudes of people living in those places relies on Census-defined geographic units. The drawback with these data is that it is unlikely that residents "see" their contexts as reported by the Census, in either shape or content. When we use such data and find a relationship between the diversity of a place and the attitudes of residents of those places, it is difficult, at best, to interpret the meaning of the findings. In order to avoid this obstacle we employ an innovative mapping technique in a large scale online survey fielded in Canada in Fall 2011. We ask ordinary citizens to draw and describe their "communities," using electronic maps embedded in a survey measuring political participation, ethnic attitudes and policy preferences. In this way, our research improves our ability to understand the mechanisms by which "place" gets into the heads of ordinary people. The new measure also enables us to better test the impact of context on politics and political behavior.

Rubenson, Daniel (rubenson@politics.ryerson.ca), **Loewen, Peter John** (peter.loewen@utoronto.ca), **Sawyer, Richard** (rsawyer@poverty-action.org)

Property Rights, Beliefs and Values: Evidence From a Field Experiment in Mongolia

There is growing interest in the relationship between institutions and development outcomes. At the same time, there is also a recognition of the importance of understanding how culture - broadly defined here as including customary beliefs and social norms - might affect development outcomes and how these beliefs and norms might themselves be affected by institutional variation. The proposed paper deals head on with both lines of inquiry. The paper reports the findings from a series of behavioural games (dictator, trust and ultimatum games), embedded in a large scale field experiment randomly assigning property rights to herder groups in three provinces of Mongolia. Recent research argues that norms and behaviour, as displayed in these games, is reflective of deep cultural differences that can be explained by variation in market place institutions. However, that work suffers in part from the problem of confounding - it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the causal effect of institutions because of endogeneity. In the present study we can rely on exogenous institutional variation because of the fact that property rights are randomly assigned. That is, ceteris paribus, all of the herder households are identical on average, aside from the presence of property rights amongst some of them. This allows us to isolate differences in norms and behaviour that are due to differences in institutions. We discuss these findings in light of the larger questions of the relationships between institutions, culture and economic development.

Rubio Vega, Veronica (vrubiovega@balsillieschool.ca)

The landscape of financial arrangements and cooperation in South America: towards a new financial architecture?

Academic attention to the financing mechanisms available in South America (SA) has mainly focused on the roles played by three international financial institutions (IFIs): the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Meanwhile, countries in South America are increasingly turning to a variety of sub-regional financial arrangements for crisis management support as well as longer-term development financing. Also notable is the Brazilian National Bank for Social and Economic Development (BNDES). This paper analyzes ongoing economic and political processes and projects that serve to understand the evolution, current opportunities and limits of short-term and long-term sub-regional financial cooperation. I argue that the determination of SA governments to decrease their exposure to the IFIs, combined with fragmented efforts to materialize comprehensive lending strategies through the Bank of the South, has prompted national development banks and existent sub-regional institutions to increasingly fill the niche vacated by institutions. This trend redefines not only power-relations within SA nations and the IFIs, but it also reveals how these countries are part and parcel of a changing, yet contested, international financial architecture that depends on the convergence of material interests and ideological positions. As such, there is an emerging need to examine the links and points of contestation between national development banks and sub-regional, regional and international financial institutions in order to understand how we are heading towards an international financial order that is more

fragmented, where actors such as national development banks may play a more prominent role beyond their borders.

Ruttan, Craig (craig.ruttan@gmail.com)

Whip/Caucus Relations in Minority Governments

Title of Panel: Politics Inside the Legislature with with Evan Akriotis (presenter), Sylvia Kim (presenter), Patrick DeRochie (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Graham White (discussant) Legislatures across Canada have seen a shift over time toward increasing concentration of power in the party leadership. This power and control over the caucus takes on increasing importance when no party commands a majority of seats in the legislature. In that case, the role of party whip takes on increased importance for all parties, since leaders must be able to count on all their members to turn up for key votes. On the other hand, members may oppose a specific piece of legislation or simply hold other priorities, such as their constituency's interests. In these cases, relations can become particularly tense. While the leadership will pressure caucus members to fall in line, members in turn may be able to influence policy direction and leadership decisions. This research paper will explore the sentiment of MPPs toward being "whipped", and the different strategies whips can and have employed to keep their caucus together. Information will be collected on past and present minority government situations, especially any descriptions of whip/caucus interactions. Interviews will be conducted with past and present whips and deputy whips, MPPs, political staff and informed observers such as academics and parliamentary journalists.

Sabin, Jerald (jerald.sabin@utoronto.ca)

Divergent Paths: Revisiting the Political Economy of the Western Arctic

This paper revisits historical accounts of the political and economic development of the Northwest Territories (NWT) and Yukon (Abele 1987, 2009; Rea 1968; and Zaslow 1988). It advances a set of variables that differentiate the developmental trajectories of both territories and explains the variation in their contemporary political economies. Variables include demographics, geography, settlement patterns, colonial administration, and foreign investment. The paper argues that this variation has led to contrasting patterns of political development, encouraged different strategies for achieving Indigenous self-determination, and resulted in divergent civil societies in both size and scope.

Saffari, Siavash (ssaffari@ualberta.ca)

A Post-Islamist Turn?: New Prospects for Arriving at Indigenous Models of Secularism in Muslim Societies

Today, most contributions to the study of the negotiation between religion and politics in Muslim societies reject the meta-narrative of secularization thesis as the linear trajectory of progress. Nevertheless, many see the separation of institutions of religion and state as necessary to democratization and social/political development. Differences remain, however, over the role of religion in modern public and political life, as well as the paths to a secular order in societies where religion constitutes one of the major sources of identity. Some, including Hashemi, argue that a contextually grounded narrative of secularism and democracy needs to be constructed through engagement with and transformation of religious ideas towards politics. As a dominant modern religious-political discourse in Muslim societies, Islamism - particularly in its essentialist articulations - is often seen as a challenge against constructing a democratic theory of state and governance. However, the arrival of what some describe as a post-Islamist turn, opens new horizons for thinking about the interplay of Islam(s) and politics. Is post-Islamism, as an emerging religious-political trend, a challenge to secularism, or does it contribute to constructing indigenous theories of secularism and democracy? Building on the contributions of Bayat, Kepel, Gole and others to the study of post-Islamist trends in Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia, and Iran, and utilizing my recent work on post-Islamist accounts of secularism in the neo-Shariati discourse, I will compare and contrast some of the emerging post-Islamist trends with particular attention to the prospects for arriving at indigenous models of democracy and secularism.

Saffari, Siavash (ssaffari@ualberta.ca)

Post-Colonial Challenges to Boundaries of Exclusion in Anglo-American Normative Political Thought

In recent decades, normative theory has been challenged from various quarters to expand its boundaries of inclusion. As a result, the tradition now engages with questions like new social movements, cosmopolitan ethics, and diversity and multiculturalism. Similarly, environmental concerns are pushing the boundaries of normative theory by challenging the assumption of the nation-state, and applying the question of justice to other species and future generations. Another serious, yet often neglected, challenge comes from post-colonial thought. Fanon's writings on morality and action called into question the prevailing hegemonic and top-down universalism of normative thought and its assumption of a colonial and Western-centric modernity. Building on Fanon's incomplete conceptualization of a new humanity and a new universalism, Ali Shariati, a prominent 20th century Islamic thinker, advanced a distinct post-colonial challenge to colonial exclusion. Emphasizing the rejection of (social-cultural) difference and the negation of diverse sources of knowledge in the modern colonial project, Shariati sought to identify an alternative ontological basis for reclaiming a denied humanity. Utilizing my current work on Shariati and the neo-Shariati school's post-colonial reclaiming of modernity, I will present an account of

their critiques of normative thought's boundaries of exclusion, and the prospects for an ontological revisiting from a post-colonial and post-Islamist perspective. Just as feminist critiques of normative thought have drawn attention to the exclusion of gendered identities, giving particular attention to previously excluded and marginalized voices from the colonial edge may help to highlight the continuation of colonial exclusions and omissions in the prevailing theoretical debates.

Saikia, Pahi (psaikia@uvic.ca)

Institutions of Local Governance and Social Citizenship: Assessing Regional Variations in India

Abstract The paper seeks to contribute to existing literature aimed at understanding whether participatory endeavors can contribute to deepening local democracy in the developing world. Power devolution from national to federal and local level governments, for public goods provision has been the centerpiece of democratic discourse in developing countries. While informed with social democratic thinking about welfare and citizenship, policy makers in India promoted restructuring of its federal arrangements in the 1990s through Seventy Third constitutional amendment entrusted with the task to enhance policy-making and implementation, economic development and extend local services necessary for the expansion of social citizenship. Despite initial enthusiasm, decentralization has produced mixed outcomes. Some states in India have been relatively successful in securing high levels of social development, for instance parts of Kerala, while others like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Assam have immensely failed to produce positive outcomes. What amounts to intra and inter-state variations in the extension of social citizenship by decentralized local institutions in India? Based on interviews and direct observation, the paper argues that participatory efforts matter. However, people's active participation hinges on two things a) institutional legitimacy in the delivery of civic goods from citizen's perspectives b) distribution of material incentives to individuals and households through different channels of participation.

Salari, Soheyla (sgsalari@gmail.com), **Kanji, Mebs** (mkanji@alcor.concordia.ca), **Bolton, Catherine** (cbolton@alcor.concordia.ca)

Cheating in Political Science: A Systematic Look at the Academic Misconduct Evidence From Concordia University

Cheating in Political Science is not something that we frequently discuss during annual conferences. And even if we did, there would be virtually nothing substantive to talk about, because as far as we know, there is very little systematic evidence on this subject. At Concordia University, we have recently begun to code and dig through data from academic misconduct files that travel back several years. In this paper, we begin to look systematically at some of this evidence, focusing at this stage on three exploratory questions. First, how does the frequency of cheating in Political Science compare to cheating in other Social Science departments? Second, what do these data tell us about the nature of this problem in Political Science and how we generally deal with it? And third, how does this evidence compare to the evidence from other departments?

Salter, Mark (mark.salter@uottawa.ca), **Mutlu, Can** (cmutl074@uottawa.ca)

Securitization and Diego Garcia

Title of Panel Critical Security Studies: Domestic/International with Miguel deLarrinaga/Marc Doucet (presenters), Christopher Leite (presenter) and Benjamin Muller (presenter). To advance the on-going debate on Securitization Theory (ST), we argue that the important question of audience and attention can be addressed through careful historical study. In an analysis of the securitizing moves concerning the American military base on Diego Garcia, a remote island in the Indian Ocean leased from Britain since 1966, we are able to demonstrate that the media plays a signal role in the political process of securitization, and make a preliminary case that audience attention for security issues varies. In tracking the historical and current attempts to render the island a security priority, we argue that a modified ST can provide a fuller account of the role of the media as a distinct discursive actor.

Samuel, Chris (c.samuel@queensu.ca)

What's the Problem? Conceptualizing suffering and justice through the lenses of normalization, oppression, and symbolic violence

Stephen Lukes has argued that how political theorists conceive of power always entails normative judgments because such concepts always depend upon normative assumptions about whether one agent affects - exerts power over - another agent in significant ways. Similarly, political theorists incorporate claims about what counts as significant suffering - who suffers and in what ways - into their accounts of justice. This paper compares and evaluates three models of suffering: Michel Foucault's conception of normalization, Iris Marion Young's conception of oppression, and Pierre Bourdieu's conception of symbolic violence. The considerable overlap among these three accounts makes identifying their differences and distinguishing their premises about power, subjectivity and collective action a theoretically useful and important task. Further, the waning of the identity-based politics Foucauldian and anti-oppression theories of power inspired and the apparent return of politics centered on economic and democratizing aspirations as manifested in the alter-globalization and 'Occupy Wall Street' movements makes this task particularly relevant. The central argument of this paper is that Bourdieu's notion of

symbolic violence provides a more coherent account of domination than normalization or oppression. Further, using symbolic violence as the conceptual lens through which we understand suffering and justice permits critical insight into the social movement politics that seek to remedy suffering and provides tools for normatively evaluating movement goals and strategies and identifying distortions of justice therein.

Sarkany, Laszlo (lsarkany@uwo.ca)

Teaching International Relations Concepts to Kinaesthetic Learners: Widening Teaching Methodology in the IR Classroom via Recreational Activities and Games

Students encounter the subject of international relations, for the most part, by reading about, understanding and memorizing certain key concepts, data and case studies. The conventional teaching methods used are lectures, seminars, or simulated negotiations. These concepts and data are then tested mostly via written assignments and exams. Seemingly then, the teaching methodologies utilized cater to those learners who are primarily auditory or visual learners. But what of those students who learn primarily by 'doing' or 'getting involved', or are primarily kinaesthetic learners? Participation in simulated negotiations does seem to have utility for these students. Yet, in order to understand certain dynamics even during the negotiations, students still need to understand key concepts such as balance of power, two-level games, and hegemony, for example. A field far removed from international relations seem to have utility here: the field of recreation and leisure studies, but more specifically games played and utilized in a recreational setting. Recreational games can in fact 'bring to life' certain basic behavioural and motive dynamics that abstract IR concepts describe and allude to. Therefore, the aim of this paper then is to explore ways in which recreational games and activities - in general, but also drawing on the utility of particular recreational games in the IR classroom - may be used to teach abstract concepts to IR students who may primarily be kinaesthetic learners.

Sarrouh, Beesan (beesan.sarrouh@queensu.ca)

Cultivating Legitimacy: Analysing the public relations strategies of the Auditor General and Ombudsman

As Officers of the Ontario Legislative Assembly, both the Auditor General and Ombudsman are responsible for holding the Ontario government accountable for its actions. While these Officers do have similar roles, one striking difference between the two is their images in the public sphere. The Auditor General's approach to public relations is modest, while the Ombudsman markets himself to the public as the ultimate watchdog. In this paper, I argue that the mandates of these offices are substantively different, and this in turn significantly shapes their public relations strategies. I proceed in three parts. I will first detail the history of the offices of the Auditor General and Ombudsman. This will provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical background of each office, with a particular emphasis on the changing mandates of the Auditor-General and Ombudsman over the years. I will then turn to the leadership styles of the Auditor-General and Ombudsman. To understand why these Officers' public relations strategies differ, I will look at how the leadership styles of both Officers shape the operation and work of their offices. This in turn influences public perception of their work environment as whole; last, I will analyse the public relations strategies of both Officers, including reactions and comments from members of the Queen's Park Press Gallery and MPPs who have either reported on or dealt with the Auditor-General and Ombudsman in different capacities over the years.

Scala, Francesca (fscala@alcor.concordia)

Women and the Bureaucracy: Linking Active and Passive Representation

Research on gender and representative bureaucracy has focused on two models of representation: active and passive. Passive representation occurs when women occupy positions in the public sector that is reflective of their numbers in the general population. Active representation occurs when women use their position to produce specific policy benefits for women. The active model of representation is best exemplified by the research on the 'femocrat' strategy, which describes the presence and activities of senior women bureaucrats who use their position in the bureaucracy to produce women-friendly policies. Canadian scholarship on women and representative bureaucracy has generally focused on the active model of representation, highlighting the normative and institutional factors that contributed to the failure of the 'femocrat' strategy in Canada. Little research, however, has been done on the link between active and passive representation and the role of street-level bureaucrats in the provision of policy benefits for women. Research on policy implementation has long indicated that front-line service providers exercise discretionary authority in the provision of services and overtime, can reshape existing policies to suit the needs of their clients. Does this happen in 'gendered' policy domains? Using the policy subsystem as the unit of analysis, the paper explores the linkage between active and passive representation in policy fields such as maternal health policy and uncovers the factors that facilitate or hinder the development and provision of policy benefits for women.

Schmitz, Gerald (gjschmitz@sympatico.ca)

The Curious Case of Canada's Ambiguous Approach to International Democracy Assistance

In 1988 the Canadian government established the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Rights & Democracy) following on parliamentary committee recommendations for Canada to become involved in this area of international assistance. Despite successes, the small Montreal-based institution has recently been rocked by internal board dissension and allegations of undue government interference. Prior to that, democracy promotion seemed to be an ascendant priority of Canada's international policy. The Department of Foreign Affairs and CIDA created specific units for this purpose. A major 2007 House of Commons committee report championed a higher-profile Canadian role in international democracy support, making a number of ambitious recommendations including for the funding of a new arms-length agency. A 2008 Throne Speech promised to create such a body and a government-appointed advisory panel strongly favoured the idea and put forward a detailed plan in a 2009 report. Since then, however, the momentum seems to have been lost if not reversed. The aforementioned bureaucratic units and government-NGO forums like the Democracy Council have disappeared. While the controversial policies of the Bush administration provoked a strong backlash against democracy promotion in the U.S., something more is required to explain the Canadian government's curious retreat from strong advocacy to apparent lost interest. The paper will analyze these developments and offer a critical perspective on the future role of democracy promotion in Canadian foreign policy.

Scholtz, Christa (christa.scholtz@mcgill.ca)

Selling the Yes: Communications infrastructure and Indigenous political consensus building for the Charlottetown Accord

The Charlottetown Accord of 1992 was remarkable in that Aboriginal peoples were included as negotiators at the constitutional negotiating table, a first in Canadian history. As a result, the Accord included provisions to recognize the inherent right to self-government, among others. However, the ability of Aboriginal negotiators to develop and maintain an internal consensus for the Accord, and to win the support of their communities during the Charlottetown referendum campaign, varied significantly. While the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was able to develop an remarkably strong and consistent internal consensus for the Accord, the Assembly of First Nations leadership was in the final analysis able to gain pockets of support, but faced important internal defections. While possible explanations for these different outcomes include variation in political leadership structures and different philosophical points of departure, I offer another explanation which has remained underappreciated. I argue that, opposed to First Nations, the Inuit were more successful in building community support for Charlottetown partially as a result of a far more developed and centralized communications infrastructure (both broadcast and radio) and remarkable depth of media and political communications expertise among the Inuit leadership. Through participant interviews and a media analysis, I explore intra-Aboriginal consensus building in a campaign and media context.

Schwartz, Elizabeth (beth.l.schwartz@gmail.com)

Act Locally? A Study of Climate Change Policymaking in Canadian Cities

What explains the proliferation of climate change policies in some Canadian municipalities? I suggest that despite clear differences among municipalities, the adoption of local climate change mitigation and adaptation policies can be explained using a common theoretical framework drawn from the comparative politics of public policy literature. This literature suggests that politicians have two primary motivations - electoral considerations (Mayhew 1974; Weaver 1986) and their own principled beliefs (Goldstein and Keohane 1993) - and that final policy outcomes are the result of the interaction between officials' intentions and the institutional context within which they operate (Immergut 1992). This project compares the cities of Vancouver and Toronto, both of which have enacted a broad range of climate policy initiatives in the past decade. Although both are large cities, they differ from one another in a variety of ways, including institutional context (province, electoral system, presence/absence of regional government, etc). Through detailed analysis of a wide range of primary government sources and interviews with local politicians, staff and NGO representatives, this work uses process tracing to explore how the above theoretical framework applies to these two cases. Understanding how Vancouver and Toronto create climate change mitigation and adaptation policy may allow us to shed light on the experiences of other Canadian municipalities, and help us to design strategies to help cities in their efforts to reduce emissions, find alternative ways to achieve equivalent or greater emissions reductions, and to adapt to climate change impacts that are already occurring.

Sealey, Anthony (anthony.sealey@utoronto.ca)

The Impact of Increasing Income Inequality on Public Support for Redistribution

While political economists provide clear theoretical foundations that connect public support for redistribution to differences in income inequality, existing empirical evidence provides only modest support for established theory. This paper incorporates a broad range of factors that have been theoretically and empirically linked to public attitudes towards redistribution in order to determine the extent to which shifts in inequality have affected citizens' redistributive public policy preferences. Using both cross-national data from advanced industrial democratic states and cross-provincial data from the Canadian case, a model is presented that simultaneously

tests the effects of both cross-sectional and longitudinal variations in income inequality. The findings indicate that the relationship between cross-sectional inequality and support for redistribution is negative, but the relationship between longitudinal inequality and support for redistribution is positive. These results provide support for a model that unifies both institutionalist and rational choice theoretical perspectives. States and provinces with lower levels of income inequality are more likely to be populated by citizens who prefer higher levels of redistribution, whereas increases in income inequality are likely to lead to increases in support for redistribution.

Seshia, Maya (seshia@ualberta.ca)

Canadian Citizens as Terrorist Others: The Trials of Air India

Title of Panel: Racialization and Citizenship Others: Before and After 9/11 with Nisha Nath (presenter) and Lois Harder (discussant). Utilizing a Foucauldian discourse analysis, this paper examines how suspects in the 1985 Air India bombing have been constructed from 1985 to 2011. The research questions are: How does the articulation of race, citizenship and the Canadian nation shift over the development of the trials of suspects? How does the Air India case embody the theoretical relationship among citizenship, nation, race, class, and gender in Canada? Particular attention is paid to the framing of suspects before and after 9/11. The 1985 bombings were a Canadian catastrophe: the majority of victims were Canadians; the bombs originated from Canada; and a number of the suspects were Canadian. In the immediate aftermath, Canada's then Prime Minister responded by sending condolences to the Government of India, and victims' families reported that they were not perceived as Canadians. In the post-9/11 period, state officials have emphasized the terrorist element of Air India and victims and surviving families have been embraced as Canadian; however, suspected motivations behind the attacks continue to be attributed to Indian politics, suspects continue to be framed as non-Canadians, and the denial racism played a role in responses prevails. This research is part of a larger project that utilizes critical race and critical feminist race theorizations to examine the Air India story. With the exception of Razack's 2007 submission to the Air India Inquiry and Failler's 2009 article on memorials/counter-memorials, no studies interrogate what this case reveals about Canadian identity, citizenship, and nation. This project aims to partially address this gap.

Seymour, Lee (seymourljm@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Let's Bullshit: Arguing, Bargaining and Dissembling over Darfur

This article explores the logic of bullshitting as a social practice distinct from other forms of deception such as lying and hypocrisy, and with a different logic than bargaining or arguing. I focus on a particular type of bullshitting characterized by the speaker's indifference to realities and emphasis on conveying a misleading impression. World politics is replete with this sort of dissembling, but we have little theoretical understanding of it, and consequently, tend to downplay its normative consequences. Whereas bullshitting is generally treated as relatively harmless, the article emphasizes its potential dangers. The case of US foreign policy around Darfur provides empirical support. The conflict in Darfur that began in 2003 led to the most powerful grassroots advocacy campaign in recent US history and elicited unprecedented language from US leaders, who for the first time accused a state of perpetrating an on-going genocide. Yet despite Darfur's extraordinarily high profile in domestic politics and foreign policy, US diplomacy proved remarkably ineffective at improving the situation. In examining discourse around Darfur, I argue that US leaders bullshit their way through the crisis. US diplomacy was often characterized by indifference to the truth and a misrepresentation of aims, values, and commitments. Far from being a harmless form of moral posturing, this dissembling undercut the actual business of diplomacy and diminished the prospects for a political solution.

Seymour, Lee (seymourljm@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Paramilitaries and Violence against Civilians

Paramilitary forces feature prominently in civil wars, with important effects on conflict processes and outcomes. Their record of violence against civilians has attracted increasing scholarly attention. Many accounts emphasize how central government's enlist paramilitaries to do the dirty work in counterinsurgency campaigns. Yet these accounts often fail to examine the motives behind paramilitary collaboration with the state and the terms of the state-paramilitary relationship. Indeed, existing accounts tend to underestimate the autonomy of pro-state paramilitaries and exaggerate control from the center. Examining variation in the behavior of paramilitary groups in Darfur and Southern Sudan suggests that government policy has less effect on paramilitary behavior than local circumstances. Relations between the government and paramilitaries are often fragile alliances of convenience, rather than the sort of hierarchical, top-down relationship portrayed in existing accounts. The analysis suggests that government policy at the center may matter less than politics in the periphery in determining whether paramilitaries engage in abuses against civilians.

Sharaput, Markus (sharaput@gmail.com)

Coordination, Concentration, and Institutional Innovation: Horizontal Frameworks and Executive Power in Canada

A recurring observation about the federal system in Canada has been the slow concentration of power in the hands of the executive, particularly in the hands of the Prime Minister and Premiers (Savoie: 1999 etc.). Directing

that concentrated power, however, requires the development of considerable coordination capacity. To some extent, the demand for such capacity is met by the classic central agencies. Additional capacity, however, has been provided by the use of horizontal framework policies, such as the various innovation and industrial strategies promulgated by successive federal, and some provincial governments. While strategic interventions of this type serve a primary purpose of shaping, influencing, and directing economic activity, they also allow executive actors to form a body of coordinating capacity independent of more institutionally embedded agencies. Horizontal policy frameworks, and the institutions formed to support them, are essentially extensions of executive will. On the one hand, this can allow them to act with considerable impact; on the other, this can lend them a degree of fragility, insofar as their ability to last depends on the continuing support of their executive champion. While economic, innovation, and industrial strategies have received considerable attention as policy instruments, they are relatively under-studied as manifestations of executive power. This paper will establish terms for a larger inquiry into the subject.

Sharpe, Cody (cody.sharpe@gmail.com), **Heinmiller, Tim** (theinmiller@brocku.ca)

To Get to a Price on Carbon, You Must Cross Many Streams: Policy Outcomes in British Columbia & New Zealand

While much work has been produced in the field of environmental economics on carbon pricing instrument design and implementation, there is a dearth of comparative public policy scholarship examining why some jurisdictions have chosen to price carbon in the first place. Among the most significant of these carbon pricing leaders are British Columbia and New Zealand. Applying Kingdon's multiple streams theory to these two cases generates some interesting points of comparison which may travel beyond the cases that produced them. The centre of government was dominant across all three streams (bringing to mind Savoie's work on court government) in each case. Actors at the highest levels of the executive branch saw an emerging problem (climate change), an ideologically acceptable policy solution (carbon pricing) and a political benefit for acting (net gain in vote share). Without this confluence of necessary conditions, a price on carbon would not have been set in either jurisdiction. The strength of this conclusion, which is rooted in a robust range of case-specific sources, suggests that multiple streams may be useful not only in understanding the carbon and climate policy situations in other parliamentary democracies, but also in detailing the conditions which must be met for policy laggards to become leaders.

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Examining internet use and civic voluntarism in Canada and Australia

Preliminary studies (eg Norris 2001; Bimber 2003; Bimber and Davis 2003) suggest that the internet has changed how citizens participate in politics. Put simply, the internet has the potential to lower the transaction costs of political participation. In Australia, for example, more than 500,000 citizens have signed onto membership of an online progressive activist group. Systematic study of these changes in participatory behaviour is only in its formative stages, typified by the Comparing Online Democracy and Elections project at the University of Manchester and the Democracy, Elections and Citizenship group at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. These recent studies, however, tend to view internet effects on participation as new phenomena, not through the traditional participation models of Milbrath (1965), Verba and Nie (1972), Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) or Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995). This paper seeks to bridge that gap using Verba et al.'s (1995) civic voluntarism model, which posits six main determinants of political participation: time, money, civic skills, engagement and recruitment. Using multivariate analysis of data from the Canadian and Australian Election Studies, this paper argues that each of these determinants are impacted in various ways by a citizen's internet use. It further argues the merits of retaining traditional, mainstream models of participation even in the face of the social and technological changes wrought by the internet.

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The View from the Mezzanine: Linking Micro-level Violence to Macro-level Conflict

Conventional studies of conflict have to date failed to provide an adequate understanding of the range of observed conflict behaviours and their connection to the broader concept of political violence. Explanations of conflict, furthermore, have focused on macro or micro levels and have as a result been incomplete, failing to link these two interrelated levels. In this article we address this lacuna through a direct and explicitly theorized treatment of what we refer to as the meso-level of political violence: that complex of individuals, relationships, mechanisms, and processes that serve to connect the dynamics of political violence at the individual and communal level with the larger narratives of conflict that tend to dominate politics at the regional and/or national level. Specifically, we outline two general theoretical approaches to the study of meso-level dynamics, one grounded in an individualist conception of politics and the other within a relational worldview. We then demonstrate the utility of these different yet complementary approaches through the use of two illustrative cases, namely recent political violence undertaken by the Forest Brothers in post-conflict Abkhazia, and an abortive attempt at insurgency by the EGTK in Bolivia in the 1980s-90s. We argue that understanding of conflict in these cases requires focusing on the meso level. We conclude with a summation and some suggestions for further research.

Siaroff, Alan (alan.siaroff@uleth.ca)

The Comparative Situation of Presidents Around the World: Powers and Tenure

The past couple of decades have seen significant changes to the nature of various presidencies around the world, in particular concerning term length and/or limits - sometimes more restrictive (Finland, France) and sometimes more permissive (various Latin American countries, Russia). In this analyses such features are cross-referenced with the nature of presidential power to provide a typology of presidential systems since around 1980. First a distinction will be made amongst figurehead presidents, presidents with a corrective role, and dominant presidents based on the context and level of powers (following earlier work: Siaroff 2003). Then to this reality will be added the presidential term length and the maximum number of terms. Combining these two temporal factors, it will be argued that there appears to be a key breakpoint at ten years (that is, whether a president can serve continuously for longer than this). The maximum continuous years combined with context and powers will yield a six-fold typology of presidencies. Within this, we shall see that the combination of strong powers and very long tenure is now essentially the phenomenon just of authoritarian regimes.

Sigurdson, Richard (sigurds2@cc.umanitoba.ca)

The Rise of the Pirate Party in Berlin: Lessons and Possibilities

On September 18, 2011 the Piratenpartei (Pirate party) Berlin surprised everyone - including themselves - by winning almost nine percent of the vote in the elections for the state parliament (equivalent to a provincial legislature). Given the German electoral system, this result entitled the new party to 15 seats in the 141-seat assembly. What accounts for the popularity of a party of young, Internet activists who get animated by such topics as file-sharing, open source access, online censorship, and intellectual property laws? Is this just a quirky Berlin phenomenon, or could the Pirates catch on in Germany outside of Berlin, elsewhere in Europe, or even beyond? Are there any lessons here about the role for political parties/movements that are transnational in both perspective and activism? And how has the advent of the Internet and open source content changed the political landscape and the nature of political participation in digitally-advanced societies? The methodology for this investigation involves interviews with Pirate Party legislators and others involved in political and policy decision-making processes within the party, as well as with experts on political parties and the open source movement in Berlin. The research will also include documentary evidence from party material, journalistic coverage, and commentary, in addition to the academic literature on the rise of political parties/movements with a transnational scope and appeal. Particularly relevant here is a comparison between the Pirates and the Green Party of 30 years ago.

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Instruments d'action publique participatifs, effets et évolutions : le cas de la Régie de l'énergie

Un regain d'intérêts pour les instruments d'action publique est observé depuis plusieurs années dans l'espace francophone. Les travaux de Lascoumes et Le Galès ont contribué à celui-ci en proposant une approche néo-institutionnaliste pour l'étude des instruments d'action publique en insistant sur la définition du rapport gouvernants /gouvernés et le type de légitimité qu'ils impliquent. Par ailleurs, depuis plus d'une quinzaine d'année se multiplient les instruments d'information, de consultation, de médiation et participation institutionnalisés qui ont comme caractéristique d'intégrer à des degrés divers des représentants de la société civile aux différents processus de décisions et de politiques publiques. La présentation portera sur les effets des instruments d'action publique de type informatif et communicationnel et l'expérience de la Régie de l'énergie servira d'étude de cas. Créée en 1996, la Régie de l'énergie est un organisme de régulation économique quasi-judiciaire. Il a connu au cours de son existence des transformations importantes en lien avec les différents dispositifs reliés à la participation du public et des audiences publiques. Les premiers effets du cadrage juridique des procédures d'audiences publiques et économique de l'expertise reconnue, jumelés aux effets du dispositif de compensation conditionnel pour les intervenants ont transformé le système-acteurs de l'électricité au Québec. La présentation est basée sur l'analyse d'une quinzaine d'entretiens semi-directifs menés auprès des intervenants réguliers de la Régie de l'énergie du Québec.

Singh, Anita (anita.singh@utoronto.ca)

Foreign Policy Proxies: The Transnational Dimensions of Ethnic Foreign Policy Lobbying in Canada and the United States

Conventionally, studies of ethnic interest organizations have focused on how diaspora communities have integrated into North America's economic and political fabric. Among the most economically successful, urbanized and professional ethnic communities in Canada and the United States, Indian immigrants have shown high-levels of political engagement and interest group activity. For example, Indo-Canadians have formed interest groups that focus on key policy areas of the Canadian government, such as economic engagement, trade, education and environment. Despite this important focus, there is an important transnational element missing from these earlier studies. Few studies have unpacked the transnational dimensions of these foreign policy influences. In other words, how do foreign states use their overseas diaspora as foreign policy proxies? Specifically, this paper

examines how India engages with its North American diaspora to indirectly influence its relationship with both the US and Canada. Examples include the creation of Person of Indian Origin visas, the annual Pravasi Bharitya Divas conference, their track-two negotiations with interest groups and economic investment-promotion in India. This paper shows that sub-state actors are involved in a two-step interaction: first, Indian government initiatives have engaged its North American diaspora to draw interest in areas of bilateral relations and second, these initiatives have then been used to lobby the US and Canadian governments. This study finds that the improvement of bilateral relations relies in a three-way effort by the foreign state, federal government and ethnic interest organizations.

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Radical Democracy Goes Global: A Postcolonial Critique of Mouffe

Faced with a neoliberal form of imperialism that cloaks itself in the legitimizing language of democracy, but which usually has deeply de-democratizing aims and effects, many writers and social movements are championing traditions of 'radical democracy' as alternatives to the low-intensity, capitalist-friendly versions of liberal democracy that facilitate imperial power. In this context, Wendy Brown (2010) asks: What possibilities are there, in theory and practice, for resurrecting or rehabilitating the radical promise and potential of democracy? In the spirit of this question, I attempt in this paper to provide a critique of six aspects of Chantal Mouffe's theory of radical democracy that, I argue, render its radicality highly circumscribed and tend to make this theory more complicit with imperialism than a challenge to it. I begin with a brief account of her theoretical framework, as it has been articulated from her early work with Ernesto Laclau to her most recent sole-authored writings in which she recasts radical democracy on a global scale. I then offer a critique of six aspects of Mouffe's radical democracy, now in its globalized form: (1) the priority of philosophy; (2) the hegemony of hegemony; (3) the singularity of legitimacy; (4) the monism of liberal-democracy; (5) the longing for social democracy; and (6) the coloniality of modernity.

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Fractured Politics: Comparing the Shale Gas Development Debate in Canada and the United States

In recent years the politics of fracking has heated up as states like New York and provinces like Quebec have banned it from their jurisdictions. Yet Pennsylvania and British Columbia continue to defend the practice and its potential. This paper explores the politics of fracking and the differences in policies between provinces and states in and between Canada and the United States. This paper asks questions like: Why do some jurisdictions support fracking while others do not? What accounts for the disjuncture? How are citizens engaged and what are their responses? Building on the path-breaking work of Simona Perry's *Playing for Keeps along the Susquehanna: A Community-Integrated GIS of Land and Water Uses and Rights in Rural Pennsylvania's Marcellus Shale Natural Gas Play*, this paper represents a preliminary effort to map out the terrain of fracking politics. In so doing, the author reflects on the political economy of federalism and begins the academic enterprise of exploring the implications of this controversial form of resource extraction.

Small, Tamara (t.small@uoguelph.ca)

How Social is Social Media? The Use of Twitter by Canada's Party Leader

The 2011 federal election was dubbed the Twitter Election by the mainstream media. Though Twitter was used in the 2008 election, it became the technology du jour by 2011. The five main party leaders tweeted more than 700 times during the 36 day campaign and were followed by more than 400,000 people. Established in 2006, Twitter allows subscribers to write a 140-character status update called a tweet to the question: What's happening? Social media, such as Twitter, are conversational media that allow for social interaction. However, previous research demonstrates that politicians use Twitter for broadcasting rather than conversing [TS1]. This chapter examines the 2011 Twitter Election through a case study of the tweets of Canada's party leaders. Is Twitter used for social purposes? Do party leaders use Twitter to engage and mobilize voters both on- and offline? This research uses a coding scheme developed in Small, 2009. The chapter concludes by considering the implications of social media for electoral democracy in Canada. [TS1](see Small, 2009 and Grant et al., 2010)

Smith, Charles (csmith@stmcollege.ca)

From the Picket Line to the Courtroom: The Supreme Court of Canada's evolving interpretation of Freedom of Association rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In 2007 labour unions across Canada applauded a Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) decision that recognized the procedural right of labour unions to bargain collectively. The decision (*BC Health Services*, 2007) arose from a 2001 dispute in British Columbia, when the Liberal government of Gordon Campbell sought to restructure the public health care system by eliminating many contractual protections for health service unions. While the SCC has since tempered its interpretation of freedom of association rights for workers (Fraser, 2011), *BC Health Services* unleashed a virtual tsunami of labour union leaders and scholars eager to pursue new Charter protection for labour unions. Interestingly, however, this new interest in court challenges represents an historical reversal for many labour unionists that have traditionally seen courts and judges as hostile to the collective action of workers.

What is more, these new legal strategies are gaining ground at the same time that union density and union militancy are in serious decline. To that end, this paper will ask why labour's understanding of the courts and Charter protection for workers' rights has changed. In examining Canadian labour's new optimism with judicial intervention, the paper will argue that courts are incapable, and indeed hostile to, fundamental social transformation within liberal capitalist societies. Once these limitations are understood, it will be up to labour activists to determine what tangible victories can be squeezed from Charter interpretation and what struggles are better left to traditional labour union activism.

Smith, Heather (smith@unbc.ca), **Robinson, Rheanna** (robinso@unbc.ca)

The Highway of Tears, Security and Everyday Practice

Drawing off of post-colonial, and feminist theorizing this paper focuses on the case study of the Highway of Tears with the intent of identifying and analyzing the construction of security by activists involved in this issue. Our aim is to understand how security is constructed from 'the ground up' and to draw on narrative methodology as a means by which to foreground the voices of those working on this issue in the Prince George B.C. region. This focus is in part a reflection of the observation that too often scholars argue for a focus on 'everyday practice' in theory without the inclusion any individuals who are actually on the ground. To counter this tendency we will identify activists working with various local organizations, conduct interviews and engage in an analysis of their assumptions of what constitutes security.

Smith, Peter (Jay) (jays@athabascau.ca)

Alberta's Petro-Politics " the Transnational Dimension

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - The Context of Democracy in Alberta: Petro Politics with Paul Kellog (presenter), Lorna Stefanick (presenter), Meenal Shrivastava (chair) and Margaret Little (discussant) This paper argues that a new political era has arrived in Alberta, one in which the province is being forced to respond to actions and decisions abroad that affect its oil industry. Of particular significance is the transnationalisation of Alberta petrol politics. In Detroit, for example, black women are protesting the processing of tar sands crude in their neighbourhood, Native Americans and Canadian First Nations are working with activists in the United States, the United Kingdom and the EU to protest further development of the tar sands, and a decision by the EU to label fuel from the oil sands as highly polluting causes an uproar in Alberta. In sum, the political debate on petroleum development in Alberta is becoming transnationalised. In particular, in terms of the literature, the paper argues that political opportunity structures are being transformed from the local and national levels to the international level resulting in attempts to re-frame the language of development of the industry from oil sands (as re-framed by the Alberta government) back to tar sands again (the original framing). The social construction of the industry in terms of framing thus becomes a means of shaping mass opinion and political outcomes. Methodologically, the paper uses participant observation, analysis of activist web sites, public documents, and media accounts of events. The paper is part of a long term research agenda of the author analyzing the globalization of social movements.

Smith, Timothy (timarchy@gmail.com)

Canada and the Empire of Modern Rule: Frames of Colonial and Imperial Governance in a Liberal Democracy

This paper examines the theory and practice of settler colonialism in general and, in particular, the Canadian case. The focus is on how Canada's liberal democracy frames approaches to governance over Indigenous peoples in colonial and imperial ways. To this end, two predominate approaches are juxtaposed: (1) 'assimilation' and (2) 'limited accommodation.' By juxtaposing predominate approaches, two related problems are brought to the foreground for analysis. Firstly, liberal democracy in Canada is deeply connected to practices of colonialism and imperial governance. For example, assimilationist programs developed by liberal democratic institutions to assimilate Indigenous peoples have at times also operated as a program to promote a uniform civil citizenship and a liberal vision of equality. In this way, the work of building and extending Canada's representative democracy is also tied to the development of Canada's apparatus of colonial governance. Secondly, despite the differences between various colonial approaches to Canada's governance over Indigenous peoples, there is a profound continuity underlying the different approaches. This continuity is described in this work as the empire of modern rule. By this is meant the presupposition that Euro-Canadian normative orders are superior (more advanced, more legitimate, more authoritative, more proper, more modern, more universal etc.) in relation to Indigenous social, legal and political ways of being. This paper aims to illustrate that this logic, the logic of the empire of modern rule, cuts across different frames of colonialism and imperial governance in the Canada. The direction this offers thinking on Euro-Canadian decolonization is considered.

Smythe, Elizabeth (elizabeth.smythe@concordia.ab.ca)

Global Food and the Political Economy of Labelling Regulations: Case Studies

Globalized food systems with increasing levels of food imports, food scares, concerns about climate change and sustainable production and the trend to ethical consuming have increased media attention and public concern

about food and its regulation. This paper argues that movements ranging from the local to the global have challenged the global food system and asserted the right to national and local policies that privilege local and community values in food production. It examines the reasons why despite being major food exporters and champions of liberalization in agricultural trade countries like the United States and Australia have faced pressure to adopt regulations on food labeling that identify country of origin (COOL). In the US case this led to a trade dispute with Canada which rejected mandatory country of origin labelling. In the case of Australia and New Zealand despite a joint food standard-setting body New Zealand in 2005 exempted itself from the mandatory COOL labeling standard, an issue that has remained politically sensitive in the current election campaign. Using comparative cases of food labeling struggles involving a wide array of actors and interests this paper argues that one reaction to the globalized food system has been increased demands for national regulation based on the right to know. .

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Harper's New Rules? The Coalition Controversies of 2008 and 2011

When confronted by the prospect that the Governor General might appoint a coalition to replace his government in 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper asserted that the coalition could not legitimately take power without an election. Although a few academics (e.g., Flanagan 2008; Potter 2009) supported this position, most took umbrage at what Russell (2009) called Harper's New Rules. Reading these new rules as requiring new elections whenever a government was defeated on a confidence matter (Russell and Sossin 2009; Aucoin et al. 2011), the critics saw them as infringing the established principles of responsible government, which allow the Governor General to appoint a new government following an early vote of non-confidence. From this perspective, Harper's later claim that the 2011 election was a choice between a Conservative or coalition majority - a claim that clearly implied a rejection of his elections-only New Rules, and acceptance of the Governor General's traditional discretion - can only be explained as a politically expedient self-contradiction. No doubt political expediency played a substantial role, but Harper's 2008 and 2011 positions can also be read consistently. For a principled justification one must turn to the academics who supported Harper in 2008, and who did not hold the simplistic, elections-only view of government change attributed to them by the critics of Harper's New Rules.

Soedirgo, Jessica (jessica.soedirgo@gmail.com)

Interrogating the Revival of Traditional and Indigenous Conflict Management Mechanisms: Tradition, Indigeneity and Violence in West Kalimantan, Indonesia

Indonesia's democratic transition was marked by the eruption of identity-driven conflict across the state (e.g. nationalism in Aceh and sectarian riots in Central Sulawesi). Since these outbreaks of violence, much hope has been pinned on the use of traditional and indigenous practices (adat) for the management and resolution of conflict. In line with other post-conflict zones (e.g. Afghanistan, Timor-Leste, Rwanda), traditional and indigenous sources of governance and identity have been actively reinvented and revived across Indonesia (Henley and Davidson 2007). Are the hopes pinned on adat justified? Will adat effectively manage conflict and prevent violence in Indonesia? Drawing from the case of West Kalimantan, this paper argues that while adat has yielded positive results in some cases, the process of reviving tradition and customs also has some dangers. In the West Kalimantan case, where ethnic violence took place between the indigenous Dayak and the migrant Madurese, adat was used by to justify and mobilize inter-group violence. This case demonstrates that adat revivalism may exacerbate identity-based conflict instead of preventing it, as the practice of traditional conflict management in Indonesia is tied to the performance and reinforcement of communal identity. Ultimately, the revival of traditional and indigenous conflict management mechanisms is not a strategy that should be uncritically promoted. While it has shown to be a positive force in some contexts, the character of specific traditional practices and the character of the conflict that it is meant to resolve needs to be considered prior to strategy implementation.

Soennecken, Dagmar (dsoennec@yorku.ca)

Neo-corporatism and legal mobilization

Do certain advanced industrialized societies provide a more hospitable environment for the legal mobilization of societal actors than others? This paper will investigate the argument that legal challenges by societal groups tend to be less frequent in European neo-corporatist countries (like Germany, France and Sweden) than in pluralist countries (like the U.S.) (Morag-Levine, 2003). Neo-corporatist systems recognize and licenses groups, constructing a "social partnership" between the state and these societal actors (Katzenstein, 1985) not found in pluralist societies. This makes litigation by groups more scarce. By contrast, other scholars have argued recently that an American-style adversarial legalism is sweeping even those countries in Europe traditionally less hospitable to legal mobilization (Kelemen, 2011). The paper will present the first results of preliminary research on Germany. Major historical markers here are German reunification and EU integration. I will examine changing barriers to legal mobilization in the following policy areas: employment, religion and immigration. Trade unions and business associations are at the heart of Germany's neo-corporatist model of governance, also termed "semi-sovereignty"

(Katzenstein, 1987). Church organizations have been just as important in linking state and society under this governance model, while immigration is a cross-cutting issue faced by all European societies.

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The Politics of Central Banking in Thailand in the post-Thaksin Era

This paper seeks to understand the making of monetary and financial policy of Thailand and the politics of central banking since 2006. It will examine the impact of two contexts, namely the domestic political crisis and the global financial crisis, on the role of the Bank of Thailand (BOT) in pursuing monetary and financial policy. The political struggle within the political class that culminated in the military coup of 2006 and the continuation of this struggle since then played an important role in the politicization of macroeconomic policy that saw the BOT being drawn into the fray. The paper will explore the amendment of the Bank of Thailand Act in 2007 and the controversial around the People Power's Party (PPP)-led government's populist policy in 2008 as examples for this politicization. If the Democrat Party's take over of the government in 2009 might have promised the support for conservative monetarism and central bank independence, the concurrent global financial crisis required this government to play more interventionist role in macroeconomic policy, as seen in the stimulus packages to prevent economic recession. The return to power of the PPP (in a new name-Peua Thai) in August 2011 may further the extent of expansionary macroeconomic policy due to their rural electoral base. The paper's main arguments will highlight the challenges posed to the Thai central bank in maintaining its autonomy in the midst of domestic political struggle, the global trend of interventionism, and the possible return of populism in Thai politics.

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

National Identity and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes: Canada in Comparative Perspective

This paper is motivated by conflicting stories about the relationship between national pride and attitudes about immigrants. On the one hand, a good deal of work suggests that national pride is positively related to anti-immigrant sentiment. That said, there is also a growing body of work that points in the opposite direction, including our own recent work on the Canadian case, which suggests that national identity in Canada is positively related to support for immigrants, and that identity mediates (lessens) the connection between economic concerns and support for immigration. Is there something unique about Canadian national identity? Or have we misunderstood, or at least only partly understood, the nature of national identity elsewhere? We explore both possibilities here, through an analysis of survey data from the ISSP. The analysis is motivated in part by recent papers suggest that measures of national pride may be driven by two quite different components - patriotism and nationalism. Taking these different components into account, we (a) find that our Canadian results are not quite as unique as we thought, and (b) add to the literature suggesting that national pride can mean quite different things from one country to the next.

Stefanick, Lorna (lornas@athabascau.ca)

Ethical Oil: the Politics of Ecological and Social Health

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - The Context of Democracy in Alberta: Petro Politics with Peter (Jay) Smith (presenter), Paul Kellogg (presenter), Meenal Shrivastava (chair) and Margaret Little (discussant) Because of its vast tar sand oil reserves, Alberta Canada is variously referred to as the 'Texas of the North' and 'Saudi Alberta': it is the largest supplier of oil and refined products to the United States, ahead of Saudi Arabia and Mexico. The development of the estimated 175 billion barrels of recoverable oil in an area covering nearly 140,000 sq. km. (54,000 sq mi) is the world's largest construction, capital, and energy project. This largest mining operation in history, however, is also one of the most damaging. The enormous environmental impacts of water usage, land damage, deforestation, and pollution has led to the labeling of Alberta petroleum as dirty oil. A groundswell of opposition to importing Canadian oil has developed, particularly in the US. Proponents of Alberta's tar sands are fighting back by casting Canadian oil sands as ethical oil. This conceptualization of the Alberta as being more democratic and ethical than the misogynist, abusive Saudi monarchy (Ethical Oil 2011) suggests that human rights trump ecological rights; more specifically the rights of other species to habitat and the rights of future generations to a clean environment. The clash of the resource harvest and conservation viewpoints has a long history in Canada, most recently reflected in the international arena a decade ago in BC's war in the woods (Stefanick 2001). This paper will sketch out the contours of this debate, and suggest that a meaningful environmentalism needs to include both social and ecological health.

Stephenson, Laura (lstephe8@uwo.ca), **Cross, William** (bill_cross@carleton.ca), **Malloy, Jonathan** (jonathan_malloy@carleton.ca), **Small, Tamara** (t.small@uoguelph.ca)

The 2011 Ontario Election

The proposal is for a PANEL of 4 papers each single-authored by the professors named above. Cross paper: "Candidates and Constituency Campaigning" This paper uses data from a post-election survey of candidates in the 2011 Ontario provincial election to consider several questions, including the degree and correlates of campaign individualization, the types of candidates nominated (socio-demographic characteristics, community and party involvement, ideological disposition) and the relationship between these characteristics and riding variables (such as party competitiveness). The paper speaks to the literature on party candidate recruitment and constituency-

based campaigning. Malloy paper: Bland Still Works: The Continuing Pragmatism of Ontario Politics This paper examines leadership and political culture in Ontario before and after the 2011 election. While long seen as concerned with managing prosperity and favouring pragmatic governing parties and leaders, Ontario politics went through significant shakeups in the 1980s and 1990s, suggesting changes in the underlying political culture and general patterns of Ontario politics. However, the Dalton McGuinty era appears closer to the previous historic pattern, and this was reinforced in the 2011 election, both in the campaigns and platforms of each party and in the election results. While current economic patterns suggest that leaders must do more than manage prosperity and Ontario indeed faces unprecedented economic and fiscal challenges, Ontario politics and political culture continue to favour pragmatism over ideology or charismatic leadership. Small paper: "Media Coverage of the 2011 Ontario Election." The media organization and journalists are important intermediaries in the political process given that much of what Canadians know about party politics comes from the mass media. While there is considerable understanding of how the media covers federal elections (see Soroka and Andrew, 2009 and Waddell, 2009), less is known about the coverage of provincial elections. This paper presents data from a content analysis of the Toronto Star's coverage of the 2011 Ontario election campaign. The Toronto Star has the highest circulation in Toronto and it outreaches many major television channels. The paper will answer the question: What role does the mass media play in setting the information environment of the election? Stephenson paper: Ontario 2011: Voter Choice This paper analyzes a traditional vote choice model to understand which factors contributed to the decisions of Ontario voters in 2011. Some of the questions to be addressed in this paper include: - Is voting behaviour related to sociodemographic characteristics in Ontario? - To what extent does partisanship matter for Ontario voters? - What proportion of the vote outcome can be explained by attitudes related to issues? - Are Ontario voters swayed by federal considerations? Data from an online survey of the Ontario electorate will be analyzed.

Stewart, David (dstewart@ucalgary.ca), **Sayers, Anthony** (asayers@ucalgary.ca)

Responding to Challenge: An Analysis of the 2011 Alberta Progressive Conservative Leadership Election

Title of Panel: Sixty years beyond C.B. MacPherson's Democracy in Alberta: Politics and the Petroleum Province - Citizenship: Rights Claims, the Franchise, and Governance in the Petroleum Province with Joy Fraser/Manijeh Mannani (presenters), Bob Barnetson/Jason Foster (presenters), The 2011 Alberta Progressive Conservative Party leadership contest was the third to use an open primary system, a method that seems well suited to a province marked by lengthy one-party dominance. The primary offers the dominant party the opportunity to display its support while simultaneously offering Albertans who may support other parties an opportunity to participate in the selection of the province's political leader. The status of the Conservative party's dominance As in 1992 and 2006 the leadership contest was won by a candidate who trailed on the first ballot, but was also notable for the dramatic drop in participation from 2006. The paper will examine the leadership election looking at the regional dimensions of candidate support and the impact of candidate endorsements. The paper is based on the constituency level vote counts in both 2006 and 2011 and places these results in a context of constituency demographics, partisan support in 2008, and party funding. It also permits an analysis of the impact of the second preferences of the voters who supported the candidate who finished third on the second ballot. The paper will enhance our understanding of Alberta politics and its changing environment. It will also offer insight into the impact of the specific rules used to elect a premier.

St-Louis, Jean-Charles (stlouis.jc@gmail.com)

État(-nation), citoyenneté et contingence. Éléments pour une problématisation critique de la territorialité et de la hiérarchisation des appartenances au monde

Ma communication jette les bases d'une problématisation de la territorialité telle qu'elle est généralement conçue sous le paradigme de l'État moderne comme principe normal d'organisation politique. Elle s'inscrit dans les réflexions sur l'autodétermination et l'autonomie politique devant la diversité profonde des sociétés. Je proposerai une critique exigeante de la territorialité nationale-étatique et de la hiérarchisation des habilitations au territoire qu'elle reconduit à partir d'une affirmation de la contingence de la naissance. Il s'agira d'abord de mesurer les contributions du libéralisme culturaliste aux discussions sur l'aménagement territorial de l'autonomie politique. Je soutiendrai que les approches libérales sensibles à la valeur démocratique et à la multiplicité des identités nationales tendent à reproduire certaines limites de l'État-nation homogène qu'elles tentent de dépasser; notamment, elles avalisent une hiérarchisation de facto de la capacité de déterminer les conditions d'appartenance citoyenne en fonction de l'inscription somme toute contingente dans un groupe donné. Je préciserai ensuite, à partir des travaux d'Arendt sur la citoyenneté et la condition des apatrides, ce qu'une réflexion sur la contingence des inégalités liées à la naissance permet de relever quant aux manières habituelles de penser la territorialité. Il s'agit non pas d'esquisser une fiction institutionnelle déterritorialisée, mais plutôt de proposer une critique des pratiques de la territorialité inscrites dans les expériences quotidiennes de la citoyenneté. Cette critique s'ouvre sur la formulation d'une éthique épistémologique autonome et autocritique qui prend en compte les rapports de force et la violence au fondement de la souveraineté et le caractère agonique des luttes politiques contemporaines.

Stolle, Dietlind (dietlind.stolle@mcgill.ca)

Religious Symbols, Multi-Culturalism and Policy Attitudes

Understanding the political consequences of increasing ethnocultural diversity in Canada and other Western democracies is a key objective in comparative political behaviour research. In this paper, we focus specifically on how religious symbols such as the headscarf might shape and influence people's attitudes towards public policies related to multiculturalism and reasonable accommodation. Through the use of unique experimental vignettes in the CES web survey, we will assess how Canadians feel about and act upon concrete policy orientations. Unlike conventional surveys, we are able to experimentally manipulate the religious symbols while effectively controlling prior intergroup attitudes from the first waves of the survey. In our analysis we will try to understand how prior attitudes on multiculturalism, intergroup religious and ethnic social ties, as well as other intergroup attitudes moderate the effect of religious symbols on policy decisions.

Stren, Richard (restren@gmail.com)

Is Toronto a Business?

The City of Toronto is one of the largest governments in Canada, with over 50,000 employees, and a total budget of close to \$12 billion. Like other large public agencies, it has a wide variety of sections and sub-sections in its organizational chart. What is not often realized, however, is that the City is very intimately connected to civil society, on which it relies for many of its key functions. For example, the City has 74 boards and agencies reporting to it, in addition to its own system of committees and sub-committees; in virtually all of these boards and agencies, citizens play (and have played) an important role. It is this reliance on active public participation that has made it difficult for the current City administration to carry out a current objective of reducing the overall cost of service delivery in the City, and, by implication, running the City more like a business. This "stickiness" in the face of financial tightening underlines two of the essential characteristics of local government in comparison to other levels of government: accessibility and transparency. The more the city attempts to manage itself according to "businesslike" precepts, the more it will lose these essential elements. Could this be the end of local government as we know it?

Tabachnik, David (davidt@nipissingu.ca)

Reasonable Accommodation Blowback or How to Get to Hérouxville

Panel: Social and Political Imaginaries through a Canadian Lens John Grant, University of Toronto Chris Holman, Stoney Brook University David Tabachnik, Nipissing University In response to a number of high-profile cases of cultural conflict in the province, the Quebec government commissioned Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor to chair a provincial government inquiry on reasonable accommodation. One of the framing ideas of the ensuing 2008 report, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*, was that there was in fact no accommodation crisis in the province but rather a crisis of perception that wrongly suggested Quebec society was somehow inherently unable to both accommodate ethnocultural diversity and maintain its traditional heritage. For the authors of the report, the real threat to Quebec society is to be found in ignorant reactions to harmonization practices rather than in efforts to accommodate difference. Through a consideration of Charles Taylor's philosophical work on social imaginaries, this paper is an attempt to explain these reactions as a relatively new outgrowth of a tension that exists within many contemporary liberal democracies. On the one hand, and in light of the failures of assimilation, reasonable accommodation is an attempt to reoffer full membership in a democratic society of mutual benefit. Yet, on the other hand, it also begets a reactionary atavism from a self-perceived majority that seeks to protect or resurrect an imagined originary people. While this blowback is found in a number of multicultural societies and across Canada, it takes on an added dimension in Quebec due to the historic struggle to construct and maintain Québécois identity.

Tchir, Trevor (tchir@ualberta.ca)

Pluralism and the Secular Canadian State

The Conservative Government announced in its 2011 Throne Speech that it will create an Office of Religious Freedom to help defend religious minorities abroad. In the speech, the Government identifies the promotion of pluralism as essential to free and democratic societies. This paper aims at an immanent critique of recent Canadian policy regarding the protection and promotion of religious and cultural pluralism. It also assesses the current status of religious articulations of the good in Canadian public discourse and asks whether there remains a residue of particularly Christian language and outlook in the acts and institutions of the Canadian state, one that identifies itself officially as universalist, secular, and liberal. The paper's theoretical approach will draw on the work of Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor. Canada's stated commitment to the principle of religious and cultural pluralism has been put into practice within its own borders through applications of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), its official multiculturalism policy (1971), and its immigration policies. Given the continually changing religious and cultural composition of the Canadian citizenry, it remains important to question both the normative underpinnings and specific practical manifestations of the state's declared commitment to respecting pluralism, especially from a standpoint of secular universalism.

Tellier, Geneviève (gtellier@uottawa.ca)

Improving the relevance of parliamentary institutions through the use of legislative committees: an examination of the legislative prebudgetary consultations in British Columbia

Each year the Select Committee on Finance and Government Services of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia conducts public hearings across the province to listen to and seek the opinion of citizens and group representatives about the content of the next provincial budget. This process is unique in Canada. It is the only jurisdiction where a formal collaboration exists between the executive and the legislative branches: the Ministry of Finance prepares all prebudgetary documents (including a survey sent to every household of the province), while the Select Committee receives and compiles all submissions (and answers to the survey), and makes formal recommendations to the government. This process was first used in 2000, and its intended goal at the time was to increase the role of legislators in the policymaking process. Has this goal been met? Our objective is to examine this question by looking if legislators have gained some influence over the formulation of budgetary initiatives. Our analysis is based on the examination of public documents (budget documents, hansard, etc.), in addition to interviews with members of the Select committee, and a survey sent to participants to the public hearings. Overall, our findings indicate that there is now an expectation that legislators must participate in the initial stages of the budgetary process in the province. However, the influence of legislators, although it has increased, remains fragile. In fact, further reforms are needed if the consultation process is to increase the relevance of parliamentary institutions.

Thomas, Brian (b.thom1971@yahoo.com)

Identifying Tensions in Attempts to Address Social Injustice: Connections Between Immigration and Indigeneity

Much of the recent literature in liberal political theory that seeks to describe and ameliorate the injustices inflicting particular groups occurs in the context of understanding the experiences of a single group. But Nancy Fraser's work and the recent literature on intersectionality have shown such thinking to be mistaken if it occur along a single axis and divorced of a discussion of potential tensions between distribution, representation, and recognition. The is that conceptualizations to address social injustice need greater conceptual sensitivity to the contexts in which injustice occurs and a more nuanced social ontology to describe the conditions in which they obtain. My presentation seeks to add to ongoing conceptualizations that seek to expand the contextual features that matter if our attempts to address unjust social arrangements are to be successful. I approach this area by considering the experiences of recent immigrants such as Black Canadians and Indigenous groups as a way to uncover additional challenges to describing injustice and to ameliorating it. I consider the ways in which different groups of these kinds might have potentially complex and conflicting modes of injustice that might elicit conflicting and complex prescriptions. This line of thought could be fruitful not only for those interested in addressing injustice by identifying processes that might usher in conditions that undermine justice, but this line of thought could be fruitful for those endorsing multiculturalism as an appropriate normative response to the self-conscious ongoing ethn racial and ethnocultural diversity in liberal states such as Canada.

Thomas, Melanee (melanee_lynn@yahoo.co.uk)

Clarifying the Shrinking Liberal Core: Visible Minorities, Immigrants, and Vote Choice in Canada

Throughout the 20th Century, the Liberal Party of Canada was arguably the most effective political machine in the post-industrial world. However, the 2008 federal election marked the end of this period of dominance, in part because visible minorities no longer supported the party as they had in the past (Gidengil et al. 2009). This paper uses national exit poll data from the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy (LISPOP) to examine the vote choice of visible minorities in 2008 in greater detail than is possible with the Canadian Election Study. Preliminary analysis shows that visible minority and immigrant status both mattered for vote choice in 2008. The votes of Canadian-born visible minorities were very similar to that of the majority population. By contrast, visible minorities born in another country remained considerably more likely to vote Liberal, while white immigrants were considerably more likely to vote Conservative.

Thomas, Paul (paul.thomas@utoronto.ca)

Courts of last resort: The judicialization of Asian Canadian politics prior to 1948

The last 60 years have seen a world-wide increase in both the use of judicial systems for the resolution of political disputes as well as the importation of judicial methods and language into the realm of politics. In many countries, including Canada, this judicialization of politics extends to the most fundamental matters of the state, such as the nature of the state's collective identity. Current scholarship suggests that the rise of judicialized politics in Canada began with the emergence of a dedicated human rights community in the 1960s or with the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. There are, however, several prior instances in which the courts were used to resolve political disputes pertaining to the rights of citizens from ethnic minority groups. This paper utilizes one such instance, the efforts to fight legal discrimination against Asian Canadians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to demonstrate that the judicialization of politics in Canada actually began much earlier than is typically

accepted. Moreover, the paper will show that this judicialization, which dealt with the mega-political issues of whether Asians (including naturalized citizens) had the right to reside, work, and vote in Canada, occurred because the courts were the only remaining channel through which persons from these communities were able to make claims on the state. In so doing, the paper suggests a new set of conditions that can lead to judicialization.

Thomas, Paul (paul.thomas@utoronto.ca), **Rayside, David** (david.rayside@utoronto.ca), **Sabin, Jerald** (jerald.sabin@utoronto.ca)

Faith and Party Politics in Alberta

Alberta is traditionally viewed as Canada's most conservative province, and as the region with the most politically-influential bible belt. But is this portrayal still accurate? Opinion surveys indicate that Albertans are only modestly more conservative than other Canadians, only on some morality issues. Moreover, candidates representing distinctively traditional moral stances have fared poorly in the recent leadership races for both the established Progressive Conservative and upstart Wildrose parties. In this paper we contend that Alberta has become less distinct from the rest of Canada, with moral traditionalists playing a more peripheral role than ever in provincial politics. Right wing provincial parties now largely avoid discussions of reproduction and sexuality - the two most hot button issues that are usually on the core political agenda of religious conservatives. Faith based political organizing continues, however, and both the Progressive Conservatives and the Wildrose Alliance are prepared to make policy statements and (when in government) adopt measures that symbolize their sympathy with religious conservatives and moral traditionalists. Where possible, these parties also deliberately pursue policy initiatives, such as greater choice in schooling, that will appeal not only to religious constituencies but also to fiscally-conservative neo-liberals and libertarians. Issues with such bifurcated appeal are comparatively easy to locate in this region, as they are in most of the U.S., because so many religious traditionalists in Alberta are also individualistic in their politics.

Thorn, Adam (adthorn@gmail.com)

Policy Implementation, Risk, and Trust: An Institutional Analysis of Land Use Conflicts in Ontario

Land use conflicts surrounding the siting of waste and energy facilities are a policy challenge in communities across Canada and other countries around the world. Commitments to international climate change agreements and other environmental challenges have often pitted the interests of local stakeholders against global or domestic interests in the reduction of greenhouse gasses, power generation or the management of waste. Conflict over land use decisions can take a variety of forms, but some of the most difficult to reconcile have been over land uses that the public perceives as a risk to community health. Risk discourses have become increasingly prominent in discussions of technology's capacity to mitigate environmental challenges and decisions surrounding the placement of energy and waste facilities. Risk, and the closely related concept of trust have become important concepts in much social science research and both are central to understanding how these conflicts are resolved. This paper proposes a framework through which the role of perceptions of risk and institutional trust can begin to explain why some facility proposals are completed and others are successfully resisted. In particular, the role of the institutions that structure these conflicts is proposed as central to understanding the role of risk and institutional trust. The Institutional Analysis and Development framework developed by Elinor Ostrom is the ideal framework to test this relationship and results from three case studies applying these concepts and framework are presented.

Tolley, Erin (emtolley@gmail.com)

Black and White or Shades of Grey? Racial Mediation in Politics

Most citizens are not directly involved in politics, and it is through the media that they obtain the bulk of their information about elections, candidates, and policy issues. For this reason, the quality, accuracy and tenor of media coverage have important implications. The literature on gendered mediation suggests that the media cover female politicians differently than male politicians, highlighting their femininity, familial roles, and interest in "soft" policy issues. It is not clear, however, if candidates from other marginalized groups experience similar patterns of coverage. This is an oversight given Canada's increasing diversity. As such, this paper proposes a theory of racial mediation and compares the media's coverage of visible minority and non-minority candidates. It is based on a content analysis of more than 900 election stories from the 2008 Canadian federal election and a series of qualitative interviews with electoral candidates. The paper suggests that the coverage of visible minority candidates disproportionately emphasizes their socio-demographic characteristics, their perceived status as political outsiders, and their interest in so-called minority issues. This coverage persists even when candidates bring considerable qualifications to the table, have experienced some electoral success, or have diverse policy interests. The paper argues that such portrayals diminish the quality of electoral information available to voters and are thus detrimental to democracy.

Tossutti, Livianna (ltossutti@brocku.ca)

Canadian Cities and the Social, Economic and Spatial Integration of Newcomers

Municipal governments in centres with large immigrant populations have a de facto role in the settlement, integration and diversity policy field, and latitude to develop their own responses to demographic change. This paper examines how six Canadian cities have adapted their social and community services in response to global migration. This policy domain, which can involve income and employment support, poverty reduction strategies, housing, child care, community development and neighbourhood building, covers some of the most pressing needs of newcomers and their families. Drawing on official documents and interviews with municipal officials and representatives of immigrant and multicultural associations in Vancouver, Abbotsford, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Brampton, the paper will address three lines of inquiry. Do the needs of immigrants and cultural minorities occupy a high profile on the agendas of social and community services departments? Have social and community service departments introduced or adapted their programs, services, communications and consultation practises in response to newcomer and cultural minority populations? Have they developed differentiated programs and services for immigrants and cultural minorities, or universal services for the broader population? The inventory of responses will provide the database for a two-dimensional typology classifying philosophical approaches to the social, economic and spatial integration of newcomers and members of cultural minorities. The first dimension distinguishes between the normative premises underlying the recognition or non-recognition of cultural differences in the public sphere. The second distinguishes between universal and particularist approaches to service delivery. The analysis will conclude with an account of inter-city variations.

Kelly, Patrick (pk09cf@badger.ac.brocku.ca), **Tossutti, Livianna** (ltossutti@brocku.ca)

The Harder They Fall: How the Liberal Party of Canada Lost Its Electoral Dominance in Canada's Immigrant Communities

The success of the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) throughout much of Canada's history is matched by few other political parties in the western world. During the 20th century, the LPC won a majority-19 out of 28-of general elections. However, electoral trends in the first decade of the twenty-first century show that the LPC's rivals have made inroads into many of its traditional pillars of support. One such demographic is the country's immigrant population. This paper will track and account for the recent fluctuations in immigrant support for the LPC from the late Chrétien years to the leadership of Stéphane Dion. These years are substantive because the former period marks the last time the LPC was able to form a majority government, in part with the help of strong immigrant support, while the latter period saw gains by the Conservative Party within the immigrant community. A previous analysis of the 2000 and 2008 Canadian Election Studies shows that immigrant support for the LPC declined over this period in British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario and Quebec (Kelly, 2010). In order to explain the erosion of the LPC's immigrant voter base across the country, the paper will draw on the 2008 IPSOS Reid survey (n=38,000), which features a large sample of immigrants, to test whether sociological, social-psychological and/or rational choice explanations of voting behaviour can explain why the Liberals have lost ground with foreign-born voters.

Tremblay, Arjun (arjun.tremblay@gmail.com)

Rule-Making and Rule-Breaking: Breaking Down the Backlash Against Multiculturalism

A new trend in the study of minority rights and multiculturalism points to the death, fall and retreat of multiculturalism. This paper contends that the attempt to synthesize an evolving malaise between national majorities and ethnic minorities under these broad ambits obviates a glaring difference between the mechanisms states have adopted to deal with so-called integration crises. Whereas many western democracies have adopted civic integration policies as a remedy for the failure of cultural accommodation, only a handful of states have, in fact, attempted to dismantle the minority rights policies that they adopted during the latter half of the 20th century. Although these two developments are synchronically convergent and signal a backlash against the politicization and institutionalization of cultural difference, they nonetheless demonstrate that states have taken at least two approaches to dealing with integration crises: rule-making and rule-breaking. The purpose of this paper is to address the following question: why have some states adopted new rules whereas others have broken existing rules in order to deal with the apparent failures of multiculturalism and minority rights policies? This paper introduces institutional design as an intervening variable into a discussion that has thus far been dominated by the examination of societal and environmental variables. This paper suggests that formal commitments to minority rights may facilitate rule-breaking whereas, counter-intuitively, more diffuse minority rights frameworks can steer states in the direction of rule-making. This argument is developed by exploring patterns of multicultural backlash in three states: the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Canada.

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La diversité sexuelle et l'État du Québec : de la répression À la pleine citoyenneté?

Title of the panel: The LGBT Movement and the State: Pan-Canadian Perspectives with Alexa DeGagne ('Severely Queer': LGBTIQ Activism in Alberta), Joanna Everitt (Mobilization on the Periphery: LGBT Activism and Success in Atlantic Canada), David Rayside (LGBT Advocacy in Ontario: Distinctive or Typical?), Manon Tremblay and Patrice Corriveau (La diversité sexuelle et l'État du Québec: de la répression à la pleine citoyenneté?) Le 20e siècle a été témoin d'une transformation radicale du Québec, qui est passé d'un régime sociopolitique qualifié de « grande

noirceur » à une société politique avant-gardiste. Cette transformation ressort de façon manifeste au regard de la diversité sexuelle, et notamment de la communauté des lesbiennes et des gais (LGs) : hier condamnée par l'Église, normalisée par la psychiatrie ou matraquée par la police, la communauté des LGs semble aujourd'hui jouir d'une citoyenneté pleine et entière au Québec. Mais est-ce le cas? L'objectif de cette communication est d'examiner quelques-uns des rapports entre le mouvement des LGs et l'État du Québec, principalement depuis les années 1970 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Nous croyons qu'une lecture en deux temps, qui va de la répression à la pleine citoyenneté, est trop simpliste : d'une part, la répression a été tempérée par l'ignorance voire la tolérance et, d'autre part, il reste beaucoup à faire aux plans politique, législatif et surtout sociétal avant de considérer les LGs comme des citoyen/ne/s à part entière au Québec. Cette lecture guidera l'examen d'un nombre limité d'événements structurant du mouvement des LGs au Québec (comme l'ouverture de l'union civile aux couples de même sexe), et ce, afin de nuancer l'idée largement véhiculée selon laquelle la vie des LGs se conjuguerait hier à la répression et aujourd'hui à la pleine acceptation. La conclusion évaluera les défis qui se posent aujourd'hui à la diversité sexuelle afin qu'elle soit pleinement partie prenante de la citoyenneté québécoise.

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On the Backs of Immigrants? Conservative Politics and New Canadian Voters

Polls and surveys suggest that recent immigrants to Canada are more conservative in some of their political attitudes than native-born Canadians. Recognizing this, conservative parties and politicians have aggressively wooed immigrant voters. Our paper explores the degree to which they succeeded in winning the support of new Canadians. To approach this question we will undertake an ecological analysis of poll-level election results to examine whether areas with higher first-generation immigrant populations tended to support Conservative Party and Progressive Conservative Party candidates in the 2011 federal and provincial elections in greater Toronto, and, within the City of Toronto, mayoral candidate Rob Ford in the 2010 municipal election. We focus on greater Toronto because approximately 40% of Canada's total immigrant population resides there. As immigrants make up about 40% of the greater Toronto electorate, their support is consequential. Analysis of three temporally proximate elections will determine whether the spatial distribution of conservative support was similar at all levels. Assuming it is, we may cautiously infer that right-of-centre campaigns successfully targeted the same communities by sharing organizational resources and community connections. Alternatively, it may indicate that immigrant voters were consistent in their patterns of partisan allegiance at all three levels. We may also infer that Liberal candidates and campaigns either did not make an appeal to immigrants, or failed in their attempt to do so, speaking to weaknesses in their messaging and electoral ground game.

Trimble, Linda (ltrimble@ualberta.ca), **Sampert, Shannon** (s.sampert@uwinnipeg.ca), **Wagner, Angelia** (angelia@ualberta.ca), **Raphael, Daisy** (dmraphae@ualberta.ca)

Women in the Race: Newspaper Coverage of New Democratic Party of Canada Leadership Contests

Title of Panel: The Sex Factor: Media, Politicians, Gender and Sexual Orientation in Canada with Joanna Everitt (presenter), Daisy Raphael (presenter) and Angelia Wagner (presenter) Is press coverage of national political party leadership selection processes mediated by gender-based norms and assumptions? Are competitive male and female candidates treated similarly or differently? Our paper answers these questions by performing content and discourse analysis of Globe and Mail reportage of the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP) leadership selection processes held in 1975, 1989, 1995, and 2003. Competitive female candidates contested three of the four NDP leadership elections in our sample, and won two of them. In 1975, the party elected Ed Broadbent to serve as leader, though a strong second place showing by Rosemary Brown surprised many observers. In the two subsequent contests, the NDP chose women to lead the party: Audrey McLaughlin in 1989 and Alexa McDonough in 1995. The 2003 campaign was essentially an all-male race, and Jack Layton won that contest. Our paper uses these four case studies to compare visibility and framing by sex and success of the candidates.

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Migrant Workers and International Organizations: Mainstream versus Grass-Roots Approaches

The UN Human Rights Treaty Body System and the ILO are notable in that they have created universal standards for the treatment of migrant workers. Of course, such efforts are not without weaknesses. The ILO and UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies are encumbered by states pursuing their own interests, thereby weakening protections for migrant workers. IOs' weaknesses in directly addressing the root problems of migration have led numerous civil society organizations and migrant workers to seek alternate grass-roots forums to articulate their concerns and to demand greater state accountability in protecting migrant workers. The International Migrants Alliance (IMA) has as its members hundreds of migrant activists globally seeking the viability of alternate economic and political world-orders in order to protect migrants' interests. This arguably fosters a fuller understanding of the issues faced by migrant workers. However, unlike the ILO and the UN Human Rights Treaty Bodies, the non-involvement of state parties poses a different set of limitations. This paper provides a critical comparison of the UN Committee on Migrant Workers and their Families (CMW), the ILO, and IMA. Comparing all three bodies allows for an

assessment of the differences in the dynamics in all settings. In order to be responsive to migrants' multi-faceted needs, it becomes clear that both mainstream and grass-roots IOs need to undergo a normative shift in order to protect migrants' rights. Specifically, IOs should look at migration through a human rights lens, and not only from the perspective of management and security.

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Can Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) Be Overhauled?: Evaluating the Experiences of Migrant Women and their Children under the LCP

This paper discusses the experiences of live-in caregivers and their families before, during, and after the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). Although much scholarly and policy attention has been given to the LCP, the economic and social integration of live-in caregivers and their families have hardly merited attention. The difficulties former live-in caregivers face in transitioning to skilled professions that are in line with their educational and professional credentials, coupled with the struggles they face with their families in adapting to Canada, highlight that live-in caregivers' experiences are distinct from other immigrant women and immigrant families. By using the framework of intersectionality, this article assesses the narratives provided by current and former live-in caregivers and by children of former live-in caregivers. This paper also discusses live-in caregivers' and migrant activists' responses to the 2010 policy changes that have been applied onto the LCP; it provides suggestions for additional policy reforms that would more specifically take into account live-in caregivers' living and working conditions and their struggles with family separation and reunification.

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Friends or Foes? The Representation of Linguistic and Ethnic Groups in the Canadian and Belgian Civil Service

Since the 1960s, Canada has largely redefined itself as a bilingual and multicultural country. In 1973, it started tackling the challenge of increasing the representation of francophones in the bureaucracy, largely by making bilingualism an element of the merit criteria. It was only a decade later, in the wake of the Royal Commission on Employment Equality, that measures were more explicitly and gradually adopted to also favour the hiring of visible minorities in the federal public administration. While a body of literature exists on the representation of linguistic groups (Kernaghan, 1978; Gagnon and Turgeon, 2006;) and on the representation of visible minorities (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002), few have looked at the interaction of both types of measures, specifically whether or not measures to ensure a greater representation of French-speaking Canadians have hindered attempts to improve the representation of visible minorities. In this paper, we compare the Canadian case to Belgium, demonstrating that in Canada, measures in place to ensure the representation of Francophones facilitated, at a later time, the adoption of measures to ensure the representation of visible minorities, while the opposite was the case in Belgium. The paper provides an explanation for such differences, drawing on archival research as well as interviews with policy-makers in both countries.

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Understanding Québec's Relation to Ethnic Diversity: Cultural and Linguistic Insecurity, Nationalism, or what?

Since what has come to be called in Québec as the reasonable accommodation crisis, numerous analysts have proposed different hypotheses as to why such a debate emerged in the province, ranging from being linked to the cultural and linguistic insecurity of the Francophone population to being a product of the more republican approach to the integration of immigrants. In our paper, we take a more thorough look at the factors that influence public opinion towards immigration and racial minorities in the province. While a body of literature, drawing on social identity theory, has provided evidence that French-speaking Quebecers were less favourable to immigration and less enthusiastic toward racial diversity than English-speaking Canadians (Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1976; Lambert and Curtis 1983; Gidengil et al., 2002; Berry and Kalin, 1995), no studies have explored the factors that account for the negative attitudes of some French-speaking Quebecers. In this paper, drawing on data from the Canadian Election Studies (1988-2008), we test the validity of two theoretical frameworks, group conflict theory (and variables such as education, feeling of economic security, employment status, income) as well as social identity theory (looking at variables such as the position on Quebec sovereignty, party identification, religion), to account for attitudes toward immigration and toward racial minorities. This paper makes a contribution both to the literature on public attitudes toward immigration, and also to the emerging literature on the impact of nationalism on attitudes toward diversity (see Escandell and Ceobanu, 2010).

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How we vote: ideology, policy and framing

How can we connect policy and ideology? I analyze a Downsian model in which individuals vote for parties based on ideology, then parties implement policies. If a group of policies are matched to a single ideology, they are called ideologically equivalent. Parties frame policies to match certain ideologies, and then compete for votes. Electoral dynamics are defined by two things: voters vote with their hearts, but will not accept unreasonable policies, and parties want certain policies, but have to placate voters. Utility theory based on policy cannot account for the

former, and utility theory based on ideology cannot account for the latter, but ideological equivalence connects both voter and party behaviour. The model predicts the party that frames the policy options first receives a favourable policy in equilibrium.

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The Inception, Creation and Implementation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act

Prominent philosophers and social scientists use the Canadian federal government's policy of multiculturalism as an example of what multiculturalism is, as a beacon of best practice in regulating multicultural societies, as a policy that has not suffered the backlash that European policies of multiculturalism have, and much else. But what do we know about this policy? Whilst it was introduced in 1971 and recognised in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, its current nature is defined and subject to the parameters set for it under the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Little scholarship has been devoted to this Act and in this paper I use a wealth of new archival evidence and elite interviews with the policy makers who designed the Act to show why and how it was introduced and initially used. In doing so, I provide evidence to support a largely unsubstantiated claim that is frequently made by prominent scholars, namely that policies of multiculturalism need not undermine national identities as critics claim, instead such policies can be used to shape them.

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Inclusive Britishness-A Multiculturalist Advance

Scholars argue that policies of multiculturalism in different countries are in retreat or in question. Britain is often used as an example of this and leading British politicians and commentators often criticise such a policy. Yet a long-held multiculturalist goal has been to make Britishness more inclusive and this is something leading politicians were until recently uncommitted to. We use interviews with politicians who have served in this government and the last, the measures they have introduced, their media contributions, speeches and policy documents to show they are now committed to this goal. At a time when a British policy of multiculturalism is either in retreat or in question we identify a multiculturalist advance.

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The Impact of Media Campaign Events on Leader Evaluations and Vote Intention: Examining Campaign Effects with Big Data

Within the study of political communication, election campaigns are generally understood as information-rich events with the potential to persuade, elicit learning and set the public's political agenda. In this view, media events are seen as primary generators of information about parties' policy positions and ideological bearings, as well as candidates' personal traits and chances of winning. There remains controversy, however, over which kinds of media events are thought to matter more to voters' assessment of the political environment. Using Vote Compass data collected during the 2011 Canadian Federal Election (N=500,000), this paper tests the differential effects of three types of discrete media events on leader evaluations and vote intention: 1) debates and popular talk shows, 2) the publication of polls, and 3) newspaper endorsements. Contrary to conventional wisdom, we find the effects of the debate and newspaper endorsements to be slim. The respective influence of talk shows and the publication of polls, by contrast, are substantial for both leader evaluations and vote choice. Specifically, the NDP "surge" follows these media events. These findings shed light on ongoing debates concerning the dynamics and resonance of political communication during election campaigns, and point to the need for more nuanced understandings of momentum/bandwagon effects.

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Democratic Subjectivity in a Digital Age

In political theory there is a list of perennial concerns: justice, order, authority and so on. A once-prominent feature of this list—and one that has seen a revival of late—is friendship. Friendship and subjectivity (especially in terms of the subject as a “self”) have historically been mutually constitutive in a number of ways. Recent work on friendship and democratic theory harkens back to the Greek roots of friendship (*philia*), but relatively little work in political theory has been done regarding theories of democratic subjectivity fostered by participation in emerging forms of community (especially forms of community made possible by the internet and social media). In this paper, I borrow the notion of cognitive extension from Chalmers and Clark to help rethink the possibilities of democratic subjectivity, in part by positing an “extended subject” that is constituted by novel forms of *philia*. In sketching a theory of the extended subject, and by examining the conceptual assumptions of virtual “selfhood”, I develop an outline of a democratic theory that entails a new form of subjectivity.

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The United States, Transgovernmental Practice and North American Regionalisation

The organizers of Workshop#3 posit that, in order to properly understand North American regional politics, we need to develop a much better understanding of the way that regional issues have played out within the American political system, as well as how they have fit into U.S. foreign policy more broadly. This paper argues, in turn, that greater understanding of the American role in North American regional integration requires closer attention to the tensions that have emerged over the past decade between the practice of 'transgovernmentalism' and an official diplomacy dominated by security concerns. Transgovernmentalism - cooperative arrangements consisting of informally constituted networks or working groups of government officials - has provided much of the framework undergirding North American policy relations, but its specialized, fragmented and agency-led mode of operation does not necessarily fit well with a centralizing security paradigm. The paper will apply insights from both the IR literature on transgovernmentalism as well as recent work on 'socio-ecological systems' (SES) to the case of environment/energy. It aims to highlight the ways in which transgovernmental practice, so critical to North American relations in the environment, energy and also other policy fields, has adapted to and been altered by the U.S.-led security policy paradigm. The SES literature encourages us to treat North American governance as a system, in which subsystems are relatively separable but interact to produce outcomes at the SES level (Ostrom 2009); this allows us to investigate interactions among the different institutions and practices that have emerged to facilitate transborder policy relations, and link these to domestic political dynamics. A series of interrelated supporting arguments will be made: First, it will be established that North American states have tended to reject supranational institutions in favour of transgovernmental networks. These networks are multi-level (national, subnational, diagonal) and overlapping, dynamic and well-established (VanNijnatten and Craik 2011); transgovernmental networks in the area of environment/energy have been in evidence for several decades, other policy areas even longer. Second, transgovernmental practice in North America, particularly as an approach to cross-border capacity-building, has been dominated by American agencies and officials (VanNijnatten 2009). Third, as a response (at least partially) to a more centralizing security paradigm emanating from the U.S., there has been a move towards what we call 'bundled' governance structures, which deliberately link various environmental issue areas or cross-cutting issues such as trade and the environment, and environment and security within a single cooperative framework. We argue that 'bundled transgovernmentalism' provides a way of harnessing the advantages of networks but also controlling them in a more centralized way. Fourth, we will provide some initial thoughts on the question of whether bundled transgovernmentalism is unique to North America.

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Dawn of a new era? Developmental Politics in India

Against explanations that ascribe the workings of Indian democracy to dynastic charisma and caste-religion permutations, this paper identifies the emergence of a semblance of class-based electoral-coalition building and governance-oriented policy platforms in national elections. Analyzing the Indian Parliament elections of 2009, it argues the victory of the Congress party was underwritten by a dichotomous social coalition that included the most rich and the most poor-the proverbial *aam aadmi* (common man) and the India Inc. (corporate India). This was facilitated by simultaneously espousing centre-right and centre-left policy positions by the Congress Party during its rule between 2004 and 2009. During this period, the Congress-led UPA government continued to aggressively defend and expand policies of economic liberalization as demanded by the big business, while making the protection of the rural poor from bearing the social costs of liberalization a bigger priority than in the past. The theoretical and practical implications are significant: 1. the interaction of neoliberal policies and democratic politics can produce curious, counter-intuitive outcomes. 2. India may be finally ready for developmental politics.

Verrelli, Nadia (Nadia.Verrelli@algomau.ca)

The Supreme COurt: Shaping Canadian Federalism?

It is common, especially in English Canada, to refer to Canada as a decentralized federation. If this true, has the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) played a role in facilitating decentralization? Since Patriation, studies of the SCC have tended to focus less on the issue of Canadian federalism and more on the legitimacy of judicial interpretation vis-à-vis the Charter. Gerald Baier, Eugenie Brouillet and John Saywell have, in their various works, re-introduced federalism into the study of the SCC. Specifically, Saywell in *The Lawmakers: Judicial Power and the Shaping of Canadian Federalism* argues that the SCC, through various decisions it rendered up to 2000, rebalanced the structure of the federation by expanding the field of activity of the federal government without narrowing the traditional enclaves of provincial powers.[1] Does Saywell's interpretation hold true post-2000? This paper is a preliminary assessment of the role played by the SCC in shaping Canadian federalism. Examining SCC decisions involving the division of powers between the two orders of government, this paper will begin to answer the following: What areas of jurisdiction were most contested by the federal government and by the provincial governments? What is the ratio of wins to losses for each order of government? What were the political outcomes of each decision and all cases combined? Did they strengthen the powers of the federal or provincial government(s) without narrowing the powers of the provincial or federal government(s)? [1] Saywell *The Lawmakers: Judicial Power and the Shaping of Canadian Federalism*, 302

Vickers, Jill (jill.vickers@sympatico.ca)

Title: Double Session Roundtable: Founders, Builders, Challengers and Transformers: Federalism Scholars & the Development of Canadian Political Science & Government Practice (Participants will speak for 8-10 minutes each.)

Abstract: Federalism scholars and ideas about federalism have been a major influence on political science and practice in Canada. Evident in dialogues among scholarly generations transmitted through supervisions and mentoring, the preoccupation with ideas about territorial politics has dominated theoretical debates and conflicts and shaped the priorities of political science research. Moreover, with frequent movement between academia and governments, the preoccupation also includes practitioners. The roundtable will bring together three generations of Canadian and international scholars and practitioners to discuss how ideas about federalism have affected Canadian political science and practice and international scholarship; as well as how Canadians have been influenced by international ideas and innovations. Among the themes participants will explore are: why ideas about federalism were so important in the development of political science and governance practice in Canada; differences in and relations between Canadian and international federalism scholarship and practice; the roles of builders, challengers, transformers and practitioners in shaping discourses about federal governance; and the challenges being posed by those who question the valorization of territorial over non-territorial politics and interests. Participants: Organizer & Chair: Jill Vickers, Carleton University Founders -- Keith Banting (Queen's), Alan Cairns (Waterloo) TBC, Richard Simeon (Toronto), Ronald Watts- (Queen's) International Observers- Alan Fenna (Curtin, Australia), Carol S. Weissert, (editor of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Florida State University). Builders & Practitioners: Roger Gibbins (Canada-West). Challengers & Transformers--- Alain G- Gagnon (UQUAM), Kiera Ladner, (Manitoba), Miriam Smith (York), Tim Nieguth (Laurentian), Jill Vickers (Carleton). * all participants confirmed except for Cairns

Vissers, Sara (sara.vissers@mcgill.ca)

The (un)intended Mobilisation Effects of Social Networking Sites for electoral participation

Political participation refers to all forms of involvement in which citizens express their political opinion and/or convey that opinion to political decision-makers. Within the scientific literature there is a broad consensus on the view that political participation is one of the cornerstones of a well-functioning democracy. One of the most innovative forms of political participation that has developed during the past decade, is based on the use of on-line communication tools. The use of websites, email-campaigns, virtual communities, social networking sites can be considered as an important new element in political communication and participation. There is still no consensus in the scientific literature, however, about the impact of new political communication structures on citizens' civic and political engagement. This paper will focus on one specific aspect of this puzzle, i.e. the mobilization effect of the usage of social networking sites for electoral participation in the Canadian federal elections of 2 May 2011. More specific, the paper will explore the intended and unintended mobilization effect of citizens' use of social networking sites on electoral participation and vote choice. If we want to develop the existing political participation and mobilization theories we should take the wider context and new resources offered in the online world into account. In order to answer our main research question we rely on 2011 survey data of undergraduate University students in Canada which is especially developed to measure detailed online media consumption and new forms of political participation, and content analysis of participants' Facebook profiles and wall posts.

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The Megapolitan Region as a New State Space: Territory without Governance?

Scholars have recently pointed to the emergence of the megapolitan region fusing metropolises in a new urban morphology (see Lang And Dhavale 2005). Less attention has been given to whether the emergence and recognition of this new metropolitan scale has been accompanied by new metropolitan governance arrangements (see Wheeler 2009, Vogel 2010). In this paper, we explore whether economic integration is accompanied by political integration analyzing the situation in the 40 world megaregions identified by Richard Florida (2007).

Wagner, Andrea (awagner3@connect.carleton.ca)

Corruption and Property restitution in Postsocialist Hungary and Romania

Economic liberalization in China has generated new and more pernicious forms of corruption. In Eastern Europe the shift from state to private ownership has been accompanied by soaring corruption and clientelism. Inescapably, the research on these questions had to come to grips with the methodological limitations of the existing literature. Despite the multiplicity of cross- country data sources and the concomitant surge in the academic interest on the topic, surprisingly little of the resulting research has been broadly and systematically comparative. Additionally, much of recent studies, illustrate that perceived corruption levels in the former socialist countries do not exhibit any significant path- dependency attributes. In contrast, the case study, is sensitive to the nuance of individual country experiences, but fails to incorporate systematic comparisons that transcend particular times and places. The paper will attempt to bridge this gap through the application of the comparative method for the purpose of identifying broader contrasts and trends in the changing patterns of corruption, without

overlooking however the specificity of clientelistic structures in which these processes are embedded. Therefore, the explanation of corruptive practices calls for an investigation on how old communist patron- client relations have been reshaped or how additional relations have been created during and after the transition. Consequently, the paper will evaluate the complexities of decollectivization in Hungary and Romania and shed light on how the ambiguity of the post- communist context made the privatization process a hotbed for corruption and mismanagement.

Wagner, Angelia (angelia@ualberta.ca)

Handicapping the Horse Race: Gendering Municipal Election Coverage in Alberta

Title of Panel: The Sex Factor: Media, Politicians, Gender and Sexual Orientation in Canada with Joanna Everitt (presenter), Daisy Raphael (presenter) and Linda Trimble/Shannon Sampert/Angelia Wagner/Daisy Raphael/Bailey Gerrits (presenters) The news media's fascination with which party is ahead in the polls - otherwise known as the horse race - has raised questions about how well informed voters are about their choices at the ballot box. A preoccupation with campaign strategies, gaffes, and photo-ops leaves journalists with less time to report on issues and platforms. While horse-race coverage disadvantages all candidates by drawing attention away from more substantive matters, feminist scholars argue women are particularly handicapped because it often leads to (negative) evaluations of their electoral viability and because the masculine language used in this type of coverage tends to depict them as inappropriately aggressive. However, my research on community and daily newspaper coverage of the 2007 Alberta municipal election reveals journalists do not bother to handicap races for council seats. The real problem for women (and men) council candidates is media invisibility - getting the coverage they need to build a public profile so voters will select their name on the ballot. And this lack of media attention was a problem whether women campaigned in communities with a daily newspaper or ones with a weekly. My paper will explore the gendered aspects of municipal election coverage in different types of newspapers during the 2007 Alberta civic election, focusing in particular on candidate prominence, sports metaphors, and viability evaluations.

Walsh, Denise (denise@virginia.edu)

Political Competition and Intersectionality in South Africa

In contemporary multicultural liberal democracies minority women are situated at the intersection of cultural and gender injustice. Activists, bureaucrats, lawyers, and state elites tasked with addressing these injustices theorize the relationship between culture and women's rights. How might these practitioners advance intersectionality theory? How can intersectionality theory inform political practice? In this paper, which is part of a larger book project on intersectionality and public policy in liberal democracies, I focus on political competition and the ways that it shapes discourse and outcomes for black women living under customary law in South Africa. Using qualitative data - including speeches, newspaper articles, and 24 semi-structured interviews -- I find that practitioners uniformly reject the idea that indigenous African tradition conflicts with women's rights. Instead, practitioners theorize diverse modes of coexistence. Nonetheless, their theorizing is constrained by political competition among elite state actors, chiefs, and women's rights advocates. Integrating political competition with intersectionality theory, I argue that these constraints shape the claims practitioners make about authenticity, choice, and rights. This analysis also provides insights for practitioners committed to social justice. State elites seek to maximize political leverage by mollifying their strongest competitors while drawing on the political strength of these groups. In South Africa this strategy has resulted in symbolic and political gains for powerful chiefs that have deepened the subordination of women and men living under customary law. This suggests that practitioners advocating for social justice need to expose the inequalities of power that limit their theorizing.

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Assessing the Accountability of Non-governmental Actors in Canadian Public Governance

In the tradition of democratic theory, elections are recognized as important mechanisms of accountability. However, the migration of public regulatory responsibility outside the boundaries of elected governments necessitates a fuller conceptualization of accountability relationships. As governments pursue partnerships with societal actors and disperse political authority across multiple levels of government, questions of public input and accountability within the democratic governance process arise. In this paper, cases of authority migration in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Nova Scotia between the years of 1946 and 2005 are used to examine the accountability relationships between non-governmental actors and both government and society. The existence and relative strength of accountability relationships are evaluated using the rules stipulated in the legislation. The legislation is coded based on the existence of requirements for non-governmental actors to justify their actions, the ability of government or societal actors to question and pass judgment, and the ability of government or societal actors to sanction non-governmental actors. Using regression analysis, factors such as political ideology of the party in power, strength of voter support for party ideology, geographic scope of the non-governmental actors' jurisdiction, and period in time are evaluated as predictors of the existence of the components of the accountability relationship and fullness of the accountability relationship overall. The findings

will contribute to our understanding of the democratic implications of the creation of these bodies in Canadian politics.

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A Crisis of Integration? Political Community and Mutual Trust in the European Union

We examine the development of Europeans' sense of political community over the EU's history. Recent eastward expansion has renewed doubts about building a sense of political community in a more culturally and religiously diverse EU and the viability of European integration generally. Drawing on a unique data set of opinion surveys from 1954 to 2004, we examine the levels and sources of mutual trust, a key component of political community, among EU member-states. We show that citizens' shared sense of political community is as much a consequence as it is a precondition of building the EU, suggesting that, in time, the eastern EU member-states and possible future candidate countries are likely to be accepted as legitimate members of the Union.

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Selling Social Democracy: Branding the Political Left in Canada

Much of the academic attention on Canadian political marketing has focused on parties of the right, most notably the Conservative Party of Canada. This is understandable, given the close relationship between the values of conservatism and the premises of marketing, and the Conservative Party's pioneering role in applying these principles to the world of Canadian politics. Yet, this narrow focus has left a noticeable gap in our knowledge of how left-leaning parties engage in the practice of political marketing, both at the federal and provincial levels. This study addresses these gaps by examining the recent rise of three New Democratic Parties: "Today's NDP in Manitoba; Darrell Dexter's NDP in Nova Scotia; Jack Layton's federal New Democrats. The analysis is grounded in interviews of key NDP advisors and strategists, whose collective insight reveals the intricate relationships between ideology and policy, strategy and tactics, internal and external marketing, mobilization and persuasion, and branding and governance. The paper begins with a critical review of political marketing research in Canada, noting the historical foundations of the concept and its practice. It then proceeds to a discussion of the Manitoba case, drawing parallels between the province's political environment and that of Tony Blair's Britain. The study then demonstrates how the Layton and Dexter teams adapted the Blair and Doer models to their own ends. The paper concludes by assessing the future of left-wing political marketing in Canada, highlighting the age-old tension between achieving internal, ideological goals on one hand, and external, electoral objectives, on the other.

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Pracademia: Connecting the Tower to the Ledge

While a healthy relationship is vital to the success of both public administration and the public service, links between them have remained weak due to the nature of both the academic and government environments. These developments have spawned "pracademic" sessions at several national and international political science conferences. The proposed roundtable brings this discussion to Canada. Speakers will include scholars and practitioners who have successfully bridged the divide between academia and the public service: J. Peter Meekison - Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Alberta, and former Deputy Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs with the Government of Alberta; Janice MacKinnon - Professor in the University of Saskatchewan School of Public Health, and former Minister of Finance, Minister of Social Services, and Minister of Economic Development with the Government of Saskatchewan; Douglas Brown - Associate Professor of Political Science at St. Francis Xavier University, and former Director in the Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Drawing on their experiences, speakers will offer practical advice on how to get out of the office, classroom, or conference room to interact with people who are doing the things we are re-researching, or researching the things we are doing. With this objective in mind, organizers will actively promote the panel to federal, provincial, and municipal government employees through a partnership with the Institute for Public Administration Canada (IPAC).

Whelan, Robert (rkw091000@utdallas.edu), **Kincaid, John** (meynerc@lafayette.edu), **Cole, Richard** (cole@uta.edu)

Attitudinal Evidence for the Viability of the North American City Concept

In *THE MYTH OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CITY* (1986), Mercer and Goldberg argued that differences in U.S. and Canadian political culture, institution, and values contributed to different forms of urban development in the two countries. The authors noted three differences, in particular: a greater acceptance of government involvement in economic affairs in Canada, a greater role for the federal government vis-à-vis states in the U.S., and greater stress on individual goals in the U.S., as opposed to collective action in Canada (1986:131). In turn, these political characteristics led to different forms of urban development: more substantial planning and development controls in Canada, a more restricted role for federal government in Canada, and an emphasis on individualism, leading to an emphasis on privatism in the U.S. (Ibid.: 142-144) The central question of this paper is to what degree a comparison of the U.S. and Canada today looks like the Mercer-Goldberg world of the 1980's. Using survey data

from the two countries, we examine public attitude about different levels of government, trust, and federal political culture. Then, we look at how attitudinal similarities and differences are reflected in continuities and changes in planning and development controls, federal government roles, and privatism in both countries. REFERENCE Goldberg, Michael A. and John Mercer, *THE MYTH OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CITY: CONTINENTALISM CHALLENGED*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Whiteside, Heather (heather.whiteside@sfu.ca)

Routinize, Institutionalize, Depoliticize: How Global Privatization Policies are Implemented Locally in Canada

The invention of markets within the public sector and the enabling of long-term, profitable partnerships between subnational governments and transnational corporations is no easy task, as the dismal record of early public-private partnerships (P3s) in Canada clearly demonstrates. Moving beyond the policy inertia and public resistance produced by these initial failures, especially in sensitive areas like health care, has required a degree of institutional support, policy learning and depoliticization which has thus far gone greatly under-examined. This includes alterations to taxation and labour laws, new guidelines around funding for capital projects, changes in the authority granted to health systems managers, and allowing municipalities to levy new user fees in order to attract investors. In particular, the creation of specialized government agencies to promote and evaluate P3s appears to have become a key element of policy restructuring and reorientation which normalizes and routinizes accumulation by dispossession. In so doing this also helps to reduce conflict around, and promote the longevity of, future P3s - particularly relevant in light of the ongoing economic and financial turbulence experienced since 2008. The aim of this discussion is therefore to specify some of the actual mechanisms that allow for global neoliberalization to take place locally, at the provincial and municipal level. The paper focuses on, but is not limited to, examining how the P3 model for delivering hospital infrastructure and support services is promoted and sustained in Ontario and British Columbia.

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Studying Indigenous Politics in Canada: Assessing Political Science's Understanding of Traditional Aboriginal Governance

In the study of indigenous politics in Canada, connections between modern and traditional forms of aboriginal governance are common. Understanding aboriginal traditions is essential for achieving aboriginal-non-aboriginal reconciliation, and many political scientists argue that misrepresentations of pre-contact indigenous governance continue to perpetuate colonialism. Therefore, how are aboriginal political traditions being conceptualized in the discipline of political science? Is this portrayal based on a rigorous and systematic evaluation of all the evidence that is available? Through an examination of three aboriginal political traditions - the Iroquois Confederacy's Kaienerekowa, the pre-contact Mi'kmaw Sante' Mawi'omi and the ancient Gitksan ayook - a preliminary assessment, of the conceptualization of pre-contact social characteristics in the discipline, will be developed. Questions will then be raised about how this perception is influencing our current understanding of aboriginal governance. It will be argued that there is a linkage between academic determinations of aboriginal circumstances and policy formulation; all political scientists, therefore, should be concerned about how indigenous traditions are being represented in the discipline.

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Diversity and Critical Thinking in Political Science

A major focus at the 2012 Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA) concerns diversity in the discipline. Of particular significance is the linkage between diversity, and teaching and learning. References are made to teaching diversity in the discipline, and it is often taken for granted that this would be a positive development in political science. But what is meant by diversity, and why should the discipline go beyond lip service to teaching diversity, as is implied in the CPSA's teaching and learning conference workshop? At Mount Royal University, some diversity initiatives have asserted a commitment to respecting and valuing the diverse differences and backgrounds of the members of the community, and the differences and backgrounds specified include religious beliefs. But doesn't the demand that faculty members value any ideology impede the honest exchange of viewpoints that are necessary for the pursuit of truth? How will political scientists encourage critical thinking in the student body if ideological criticism is inconsistent with teaching diversity? These problems are often obfuscated by a reluctance to clearly define diversity, and the assumption that any questioning of the concept is indicative of some underlying bigotry or xenophobia. It is therefore necessary to critically investigate the notion of teaching diversity, and to promote open and academically rigorous debate about its potential impact upon the discipline of political science.

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A Precarious Place? From Federal Responsibility to Biopolitics in Aamjiwnaang

Places are constructed over time, through space, and in everyday practice. Following a Foucauldian analysis of biopolitics, this paper employs a genealogical method to evaluate how biological beliefs are tied to politics and history in Canada in a particular place: the Indian reserve. How has the Canadian state regulated the bodies of Indian citizens in Canada and on the Aamjiwnaang reserve? To respond, this paper contains three parts. First, it explains the theoretical framework of ecological citizenship, which tethers biopolitics to place, and expands upon existing Canadian literature within the field of citizenship studies. Second, this paper presents a historical analysis of the role of the body in official state policies for the regulation and management of Indian citizens on reserves. It reviews the changing governance and citizenship regimes for First Nations - or Indians - in Canada by analyzing the Indian Act, Hawthorne Report, White Paper and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Third, the paper examines these questions by drawing on an empirical study of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation reserve. Based upon personal interviews, published materials, and archival documents in a region known as Canada's Chemical Valley, adjacent to Aamjiwnaang, this paper explores practices on the ground, at the fenceline of this Valley. By tracing past and present links between federal responsibilities for reserve governance, formal citizenship policy, and situated practices, this paper demonstrates how governance of the Indian body is central to constructing this precarious place.

Wilton, Shauna (swilton@ualberta.ca)

Bodies, Boundaries and the Ballot Box: An Analysis of Campaign Materials in the 2011 Canadian Election

Campaign materials are important subjects of analysis as they aim to speak to the nation and reflect public attitudes, political desires, and the dominant debates and discourses of the day. This paper explores the ways in which national election campaign materials - leaflets, brochures, pamphlets and posters - participate in discourses surrounding gender and national identity. The campaign materials created and distributed by major political parties during the 2011 federal election in Canada will be analyzed using content and critical discourse analysis. Specifically, this analysis will focus on the use of women, women's issues and women's bodies within campaign materials. As women's bodies are often used as markers of group difference and as symbols of the values of the national community, this research asks what how gender is used in campaign materials in order to construct a national community embedded with ideas of the common good and citizenship. By exploring the role and representation of women within campaign materials, this research seeks both to elucidate the resulting problems caused for women by reproducing systems of power, oppression and inequality, and the function that such discourses play in political campaigns.

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Is the NDP as Manitoba's Natural Governing Party?

This paper argues that Manitoba's NDP, with their fourth consecutive majority victory in the 2011 election, have a reasonable claim to the title of natural governing party. Now firmly embedded in the provincial political culture, the NDP serves as Manitobans' governmental default option. The image the party projects and the policy path it pursues are congruent with the touchstones of the province's ethos. A qualitative method of analysis includes an historical overview, an examination of ideology and policy, leaders and followers, organization, strategy and tactics, and the bases of electoral support. The paper highlights the party's conduct and the public's response to its messaging in the 2011 election. The notion of a natural governing party is well entrenched in the literature on Canadian party politics. Deployed to characterize the success of the federal Liberal party in the twentieth century, the idea also applies at the provincial level to long-standing regimes such as Alberta's Progressive Conservatives. This study is situated within the author's ongoing work on Manitoba politics, specifically the NDP, and his wider research interests in party politics, provincial politics, and social democracy in Canada.

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Agrarian Citizenship and Climate Justice

Food sovereignty involves the right of local peoples to control their own food systems, including markets, ecological resources and food cultures. The development of a food sovereignty paradigm consistent with a just sustainability depends on the transformation of citizenship to include consideration of social and ecological equity, rights and responsibilities. This paper examines the emergence of a multi-layered and ecologically-minded 'agrarian citizenship' as a product of domestic and transnational mobilization around food sovereignty and peasant rights. This paper investigates the international peasant movement La Via Campesina's claim that a food sovereignty framework can change the global food system to feed the world and cool the planet, with specific attention to its proposals for agro-ecological food production, land reform, and climate justice. Case studies examined include the Brazil's Landless Rural Worker's Movement (MST) efforts to link land reform, climate-friendly agriculture, and social mobilization and the Community Farms Program in Canada's plan to transform farmland access in support of local food systems. By examining the intersection of global claims and local initiatives around peasant rights and citizenship and investigating grassroots experiences of sustainable and equitable local food system transformation, the paper proposes a new political-ecology framework for agrarian and climate justice.

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Coping with Crisis, Managing Democracy, Streaming Participation: Can Contemporary Parties Meet the Challenge?

For 'Western Democracies in Crisis' Schattschneider's dictum, 'no parties, no democracy' is a mantra for parties specialists. However, it has never been universally accepted. Ostrogorski and Michels had doubts and Schattschneider criticized the parties he studied. Reservations rarely translate into consideration of whether parties can do what critics want. The paper examines contemporary parties in light of Katz and Mair's critique of cartel parties. Distance from members is only part of the problem: Equally important is the ability of parties to provide workable visions around which they can organize and galvanize. Drawing on parties in North America and Europe, the paper explores the ability of parties to do the vision thing. The problem is not public finance or that parties have become part of the state, but rather getting parties to move beyond immediate demands. This reflects not only characteristics of parties as organizations but also the difficulty of developing short and medium term visions which are not only electorally palatable but can also mobilize and galvanize and allow members to participate. Using ideas in this way is something that parties have managed from time to time, but it is difficult at the best of times. Whether they can do so today is an open question. Faced with tasks that seem impossible, parties abandon the pursuit, operating instead as recruitment bureaus and sophisticated electoral machines, capable of governing, but only with difficulty, putting power behind ideas. Democracy is not only impossible without parties but also problematic with them.

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What is at Stake in Democratizing Knowledge? The Relation Between Knowledge and the Political

Panel Democratizing Knowledge, Engaging Dissent with Loren King and Bandon Morgan-Olsen. Is democracy, particularly its deliberative formulations, an adequate way to approach marginalized communities and dissenting voices? In a recent paper, Margaret Grebowicz challenges standpoint theorists and feminist epistemologists, claiming that, by their alliances with deliberative democratic theory, they do not take seriously enough that epistemology is rational as well as political. The ideal of rational consensus papers over differences and fails to engage sufficiently with dissenting others in a process of on-going negotiations. I argue that the relation between knowledge and the political, and the inclusion of dissenting others, are underdeveloped in Grebowicz's account. How does the political interact with the epistemological? Are there limits to difference and including dissent in order to make disagreement matter? I address these questions from a Foucauldian perspective.

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Tacit imperialism and limiting of agency: the potential of speaking to

In *On Law, Democracy and Imperialism* James Tully argues that imperialism in Western political thought manifests implicitly and explicitly. Given the subtlety of imperialist thought and the inextricability of research process from results, I ask; does the use of Western political thought as a mode of critique amplify the marginalization and disqualification of indigenous voices, despite attempting to develop emancipatory practices of anti-colonization? This paper is a necessary prelude to a larger project on museums as institutions of public memory that create colonized subjectivities while holding the potential for transformation and anti-colonial practice. This project employs Western political theory, including Foucauldian critiques of power and Hegelian practices of recognition, to consider the role of material culture in the construction of colonized subjects. I ask; does the use of Western political theory to understand subjectivities and representation limit understandings of the relationship between objects and colonization and truncate the possibility of emancipatory practices? Can the constitution of colonial subjectivities be effectively explored within Western political theory without reducing the non-Western other to the product of colonization? In the context of representation and articulation, I explore Guyatri Spivak's strategy of speaking to, rather than speaking of, for, or about the subaltern other as a strategy to maintain agency in theory and practice. I suggest that speaking to recognizes agency and voice only in conjunction with practices of listening. Thus, the paradoxical and perhaps ironic dangers of using Western theory to explore critical emancipatory projects necessitates multivocal praxis.

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Ambition, Public Opinion Polls and Policy: Legislative Careers and Linkages

Title of Panel: Policy and Political Change in the Ontario Legislature with Lauren Hanna (presenter), Sylvia Pena (presenter), Henry Jacek (chair) and Michael Atkinson (discussant) Ambition theory and political careers are studied in an important body of political science literature. Political climate has been found important for civic involvement. As well policy choices also seem to connect ambitions and knowledge of the electorate. After the 2011 Ontario General Election and the selection of the new cabinet, many backbench and opposition MPPs could be expected to re-evaluate their decision to run in that election. The Progressive Conservatives led in the public opinion polls for the year before the election yet came in second. No Liberal without previous cabinet experience was let back into a severely reduced cabinet. Many factors trigger and suppress interest in running for office. Given the results of the election and cabinet selection, interest in structural circumstances would seem to be top of mind. Electoral success or failure of an MPP's party and the likelihood of new cabinet appointments might have led to misjudgments and now regret. For opposition members, previous policy choices may now be seen as inappropriate. For backbench Liberals, the nonpursuit of a career outside the legislature may now be seen as a lost opportunity. This paper will report on interviews with backbench Liberals and opposition Progressive Conservatives. The information collected will explain how these MPPs evaluated the year long public opinion polls suggesting a PC government was in the cards. For the backbench Liberals, expectations for a possible cabinet seat and their reaction to their exclusion will be explored.

Yeatman, Anna (a.yeatman@uws.edu.au)

Integrating post-Hegelian and psychoanalytic perspectives: Jessica Benjamin's contribution to civil philosophy

This is one essay in a larger project. It explores how the conception of civility, (and of its conditions of possibility) is both developed and transformed by a psychoanalytic and relational account of subjective life. The focus is on the work of Jessica Benjamin, a critical theorist, and a psychoanalyst. The paper offers an historically situated reading of her work from *The Bonds of Love* (1988) to the present as a contribution to civil philosophy. Four key ideas of Benjamin's provide the organisation of the paper: (1) the proposition that the paradox of self-assertion (with its inherent desire to dominate the relationship with the other) and dependence on recognition by the other is unresolvable; (2) the challenge of co-existence is one of living as a subject who is both like and unlike other subjects; (3) domination is inherent in the dyadic structuring of relationships and is checked only by 'thirdness'; and (4) mutuality is a mode of being together that does not have to collapse boundaries (subjective symbiosis) but

can realise shared rhythms of co-existence. Understood as classical civil philosophy, there is a convergence between the distinct currents of civil republican thought, liberal thought, and social democratic thought. This project explores a post-classical conception of the civil that works with an elaborated account of the subject as a self in the company of other selves, and that rectifies the lack of such an account in classical civil philosophy.

Young, Robert (young@uwo.ca)

Multilevel Governance in Canada: Policy-making and policy in Canadian municipalities

This roundtable will present results from a large MCRI project focused on how policy in municipal spaces in Canada is shaped by intergovernmental relations and the play of social forces. We focus on six policy fields - emergency planning, federal property, image-building, immigrant settlement, infrastructure, and urban Aboriginal policy. We discuss the relative power of governments, and deal with general issues in multilevel governance - co-ordination problems, joint decision traps, information asymmetries, and horizontal cooperation. We also discuss how social forces are involved in policy making. Does business dominate in these policy areas? Do multiple tiers of government encourage local social forces to >shift scale= and operate at other levels? Bob Young will present the results of our studies of the six policy fields in 48 municipalities across Canada. Martin Horak will present the results of studies of 10 major cities in Canada. Andrew Sancton will discuss 10 studies focusing on how provincial governments mediate federal-municipal relations. Finally, Katherine Graham will analyze the results from studies of several >horizontal= policy areas, where federal initiatives cross traditional departmental silos. The issue is whether policies in areas like homelessness, economic development and child care are more flexible and responsive to local conditions than most standard federal policies. In summary, the panel will present fresh research into matters of interest to scholars working on urban issues, public policy, and federalism and intergovernmental relations.

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Nuclear Learning and State Behaviour: the case of North Korea, Pakistan, and India

Can the time of nuclear acquisition influence the behaviour of nuclear states in militarized interstate disputes? The paper evaluates whether nuclear acquisition influences the behaviour of nuclear states and their adversaries. The basic idea is as follows. When states acquire nuclear weapons they become more likely to reciprocate challengers as well as have their challenges reciprocated by others in a dispute. This outcome is a result of nuclear learning about the behaviour of new nuclear states, in order to understand the learning behaviour of states the paper applies Heider's (1946) rule for interpreting state behaviour. The paper focuses on North Korea, Pakistan, and India by arguing that the lack of nuclear experience in combination with the following 4 dimensions: complex military organizations, enduring rivalries, territorial revisionism, and regime structure contributes to instability in the region.

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Body Protests: Public Exposure as Political Dissent

Recent political and legal attempts at addressing historical injustice within retributive and reconciliatory frameworks have challenged (and changed) the theorizing of justice and democracy in transitional contexts. While the problems of transitional justice have been addressed within contemporary democratic theory, and at the cross-section of both ethics/politics and law/politics, what perhaps has not been sufficiently explored is the juxtaposition of transitional justice and traumatic memory. The psychoanalytic concept of trauma (meaning, literally, a wound) re-emerged in theoretical humanities over a decade ago as a way of thematizing a subjective experience of disastrous magnitude. It also became an attempt at re-framing the question of representability insofar as trauma was understood as a mark of unassimilable events, which only belatedly manifested themselves through a series of haunting returns. This paper seeks to bring the concept of traumatic memory to bear on the theorizing of transitional justice by suggesting that the perspective of trauma illuminates the space of the subjective dimension in the historical justice discourse. That perspective complicates the reconciliatory and retributive positions in their attempts to determine the emergence of a transitional subject within complex matrixes of gender, ethnicity/race, and sexuality. In this context the critical capital of the trauma concept lies in its potential to illuminate, and also, perhaps, to resist, these disciplinary impulses through a radical political reflection about the connection between democracy and collective memory.