

## 2004 ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS 2004

**Abedi, Amir and Schneider** - Adapt, or Die! Organizational Change in Office-Seeking Anti-Political Establishment Parties  
There is relatively little work dealing with anti-political establishment (APE) parties in the extensive party organization literature. Organizational change within that party type remains an under-researched area even as a number of APE parties has joined governments in several West European countries. Government participation should put stress on APE parties because they differ from mainstream parties both in terms of policy profiles and of their organizational make-up. Being in government should foster more moderate policy positions and organizational structures more closely resembling those of mainstream parties. APE parties that fail to adapt may be less successful in their attempts to establish themselves permanently as (potentially) governing parties. We examine these issues by focusing on Germany, which not only provides examples of APE parties that have become serious contenders for government participation but also formations that have succeeded in gaining access to government but not in establishing themselves long-term. Despite growing political cynicism, APE parties have faced considerable hurdles in Germany. Organizational challenges often proved at least as important - and in many cases, fatal - as the hurdles built into the electoral system. These challenges stemmed from conflicts between the very rationale of being anti-establishment on the one hand and the objective of government participation on the other. Using the most similar cases design, our paper compares the experiences of successful and unsuccessful cases of organizational change. This should help us in answering the larger theoretical question of whether APE parties can transform themselves into establishment parties, and if so, which factors are most important in predicting the likelihood of successful organizational adaptation.

**Abizadeh, Arash** - Words versus the Public Thing: Verbal Threats to the Rousseauist Republic

If republican legitimacy, for Rousseau, derives from the physical presence of the assembled people, then the political role of language, which operates via representation like the theatre, is immediately suspect. First, representation introduces a gap between appearance and reality, making arbitrariness, falsehood, and deception possible; second, the proliferation of linguistic signs threatens to efface the presence of the very objects that they are supposed to represent. Thus republican freedom hinges on the possibility of a form of language that overcomes these problems even while it facilitates the harmonious unity of a people and the transparent expression of its general will. By examining the sources and philosophical context of Rousseau's linguistic theory (especially Plato, Plutarch, Descartes, Hobbes, Arnaud & Nicole, Lamy, Condillac), I show how the early modern preoccupation with the thing-idea-word relation shapes Rousseau's political theory. In particular, the possibility of freedom becomes dependent, for Rousseau, on a form of language that maintains the ontological priority of the thing to the idea to the word, a priority threatened by the "corruption" that Rousseau claims has affected modern languages, and to which his musical theory is ostensibly supposed to provide a "solution."

**Akintola, Bukola** - THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN GRASSROOT EMPOWERMENT IN NIGERIA

Civil society in Nigeria is made up of a wide array and a rich variety of voluntary associations, charity organisations, professional associations, trade unions, hometown associations, co-operative societies, ethnic associations, academic associations and alumni, age grades, youth associations and clubs, religious associations, the press as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Members of the society formed many of these associations, primarily, to serve and protect the interests and values of their members, and to address many developmental needs that may not be met by the state. Secondly, they promote political awareness and educate their members on their rights and responsibilities as citizens of the country. In other words, the organisations of civil society generate the power to undertake their missions through bringing together members for concerted action, through persuading people of the importance of their efforts, and through combining resources and seeking funds through contributions, grants, and contracts. In brief, civil society organisations generate the power to act through co-ordinating the efforts of many and substantial resources from various sources. Yet, despite the visibility of civil society organisation in Nigeria, many Nigerians are wallowing in abject poverty. Many of these organisations are able to attract funding from international NGOs and donors, but are not doing enough in making the people to be self-reliant, and not to continue to rely and wait for the state to provide them with infrastructure, and other basic facilities. The paper examines what civil society organisations have done, and what they still need to do to empower people in Nigeria, most especially in the rural areas. It argues that civil society organisations need to put in an extra effort in empowering the people of the grassroots who feel detached from the state to make their lives a little easier.

**Albo, Greg** - Varieties of Capitalism or Varieties of Imperialism?

The internationalization of capital has raised the stakes in the theorization of the divergences and convergences of contemporary capitalism. Neoliberals have argued that globalization constitutes homogenous world market, only differentiated by the relative cost conditions for competitiveness. Weberians have responded by stressing the uniqueness of markets and of the conditions for the creation of competitiveness, that is, by the varieties of capitalism. Neither of these positions adequately incorporate the more general and abstract characteristics of capitalism that produces both processes of equalisation and differentiation: the uneven development that makes empirical postulates of convergence or divergence besides the point. The contemporary internationalisation of capital raises questions about the varieties of imperialism that have been the concrete form of international competition.

### **Ammirante, Julian** - PROFESSIONAL SPORT AND SPECTACLE IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Public money has been crucial in the past twenty-five years in bringing major league sport franchises to cities. Though private investors have paid exorbitant franchise fees, most expansion teams since the late 1960s have performed in publicly financed facilities, socializing one of the owners' major costs, more recent cases of public subsidization will be understood against the background of greater capital mobility in an area of new information technologies, free trade, and more flexible industrial work processes. Changes in the interrelated spatial and temporal modalities of capitalism that distinguished the post-Fordist phase of 'flexible accumulation' from the Fordist era of mass production, have changed to such a degree that the world has increasingly become a single field within which capital flows are more sensitive to the relative advantages of spatial locations. Growing and declining cities and regions now compete more self-consciously for every kind of investment. They have long done so for manufacturing, but with manufacturing jobs declining, civic leaders now campaign for information-processing and telecommunications functions, for shopping complexes, entertainment venues, and other consumption and tourism-related investment. This situation underlines the growing role of leisure and entertainment in the western world's urban political economy and the perceived importance of investment in civic image. In this paper, I will assess and compare state policy with respect to the conflict between the regulation requirements of major league spectator sport as a public, professional and market-based activity in both Europe and North America.

### **Anderson, Cameron** - Economic Voting and Multi-level Governance

The literature on economic voting has moved well beyond the initial formulations of a simple reward and punishment calculus. One of the most important developments concerns the clarity of attributions of responsibility in different political contexts. The clarity of responsibility argument contends that economic perceptions will play a greater role in determining support for the government where responsibility is more clearly attributable to the government (e.g. under a single party government) than under conditions where responsibility is less clear (e.g. coalition government). While the clarity of responsibility literature is extensive, a surprising omission has been the comparative consideration of economic voting in the context of federal or multi-level institutions of government. The proposed paper tests the proposition that the presence of multi-level and/or federal institutions of government will decrease the effects of economic evaluations on voting for the incumbent government in elections to the national parliament or congress. The logic underlying this proposition is that the existence of more than one level of government makes it harder for voters to attribute credit and blame for economic conditions. There are two reasons for this. First, the actions of other levels of government also have an effect on economic conditions, and second, incentives are created for government actors to engage in blame-shifting and credit-taking. It is hypothesized that the effect of economic evaluations on incumbent support in national elections will be inversely related to the extent of sub-unit autonomy: the more decentralized a federal state the smaller the effect of economic evaluations. This hypothesis is tested using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 1. This cross-national individual-level dataset, developed between 1996 and 2001, includes over 30 countries that exhibit institutional variation ranging from unitary states through federalizing states and highly centralized federal states to highly decentralized federal states. The degree of sub-unit autonomy is determined on the basis of the division of powers and the extent of sub-unit spending relative to the national government. In addition to addressing an important gap in the economic voting literature, the proposed paper raises significant issues about the link between multi-level governance and democratic accountability.

### **Anderson, Chris** - Restricting Rights, Losing Control: Canadian Policies Towards Asylum Seekers in the 1980s

A major strand in the literature on liberal-democratic state control over international migration holds that the recent rise of a rights-based politics – often captured by the phrase “judicial activism” – has limited the ability of states to control their borders. Through an examination of the case of Canadian policies towards asylum seekers in the 1980s, the paper provides an essential corrective to this view by demonstrating that a loss of control can also be linked to the rights-restrictive policies pursued by liberal-democratic states towards non-citizens. More specifically, it details how the denial to asylum seekers of certain features of fundamental justice (such as the right to an oral hearing at some point during the process of having one's refugee status determined by the state) served as one of the major contributing factors behind Canada's crisis of control during the mid-1980s. In this view, then, the rise of a rights-based politics itself is seen to be part of a more general dynamic that exists when government control objectives clash with deeply embedded principles within liberal-democratic political systems. Thus, the paper not only sheds new light on the unfolding of Canadian control policies in the 1980s, but it also challenges a central explanatory argument put forward in the comparative control literature. The material on which the paper is based is drawn from my thesis work, which uses the case of Canadian control policies towards asylum seekers to explore the concept and the practice of liberal-democratic state control over international migration.

### **Arneil, Barbara** - Science Envy within the Discipline of Political Science: Implications for Political Theory

Using political science as a window on the larger question of 'science envy' in the social sciences, I hope to explore the specific cultural roots that might account for the very 'narrow definition of what counts as science' in the western tradition of political science. Tracing back the origins of the 'science' in the study of modern politics to the application of Galilean method to the study of states in Thomas Hobbes Leviathan, I hope to show how the 'scientific approach' of contemporary political science is rooted in a particular kind of Anglo-American approach to knowledge: an aggregative methodological individualism. The assumption behind this methodology is that any collective enterprise (be it the market or community or

society as a whole) can be analytically broken down into its constituent parts and these can be reassembled, analytically in order to understand the whole. I will trace this view of science to some contemporary manifestations of science envy in political science, namely the deployment of this aggregative model of individualism by Robert Putnam in his understanding of the 'collapse' of contemporary civic society as the result of the aggregate decision making of individuals with respect to their investment in 'social capital'.

**Ashour, Omar** - The Common Causes and the Domestic Political Ramifications of the Russian Campaign in Chechnya and the American Campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq

This paper aims to qualitatively analyze the causes of the second Russo-Chechen war (1999-Present) and compare them to the factors that led to the initiation of the United States' campaign against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. The paper will attempt to answer the following research question: what are the common factors that led to the Russo-Chechen, US-Taliban and US-Iraqi conflicts and what are the ramifications of these three conflicts in the context of Russian and American domestic politics? I shall argue that three common factors led to the ignition of the wars: 1) The security factor that pertains to states' responses to major attacks perpetrated by alleged non-state actors. A series of bombings in Russian cities in 1999, the incursion in Daghestan and the September 11th attacks are examples of the pre-war security variations. 2) The economic factor that pertains to the Caspian and Gulfian oil reserves. 3) The domestic political factor that is related to empowering and enhancing the popularities of the Russian prime minister and the American president. The Russian and American domestic political consequences of the wars in Chechnya, Afghanistan and Iraq shall be discussed to answer the second part of the research question. Such consequences are related to the variations in the prewar and postwar popularities of the Russian and American presidents, the "rally round the flag" effects in presidential elections and the relative-empowerment of the presidential institution in the United States and the Russian Federation.

**Ayres, Jeffrey** - Civil Society Responses to Deepening Integration Across North America

Research on North American integration has shown us a great deal about how the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has affected trade and investment flows, levels of competitiveness, and changes in productivity and economic growth across the continent. Yet, as we near the tenth anniversary of the implementation of NAFTA, and in the midst of increasing debate over the merits of "deepening" North American integration, we still know little about those patterns of collective action and protest that have targeted North American states, actors and policies, despite the fact that this contentious political behavior has consistently accompanied the regional integration process. This paper will assess the reactions of civil society groups within the three NAFTA states to the continually evolving processes of continental integration, and evaluate their tactical organization to influence policies at the national or transnational level. The paper will thus reflect a particular research agenda, one which provides a conceptual counterweight to the narrow business-economic model on deepening integration, and which focuses on contentious politics across North America, and the forms of national and transborder civil society responses to continentalist trends. Specifically, the entrenchment of a neoliberal economic model across North America through NAFTA has encouraged innovative tactical responses from within and between the civil societies of the three NAFTA-member states. Drawing conceptually from contemporary social movement/contentious politics literature, this paper will explore the forms this contentious political behavior has taken, assessing both the promise and the limits of various strategies employed to challenge the resulting policies of neoliberal economic restructuring. On the one hand, attention has been paid to novel instances of transnational cross-border collaboration between citizen groups. Yet, no less important continue to be those domestically-rooted incidents of popular resistance, with civic actors targeting the most accessible institutions and structures of authority within their respective states. A clearer understanding of which protest repertoires have best assisted civil society groups in their efforts to exercise power and influence under ten years of neoliberal constraint, may both contribute new perspectives to the narrowly focused deep integration debate, and help provide a roadmap for those strategies best adopted in any efforts to "deepen" NAFTA in a more socially equitable and popularly democratic direction.

**Baier, Gerald** - Collaborative Federalism and Dispute Resolution: Back to the Devil we Know

Canada's federal system is increasingly characterized by a large gap between the jurisdictional map found in the written constitution and the jurisdictional practice of federalism. The concentration of power in executives which makes their interaction the primary modus operandi of Canadian federalism has led to an era of collaborative (in place of co-operative) federalism. One feature of the collaborative model has been increased reliance on semi-independent secretariats responsible for the implementation of co-operative agreements, including the resolution of intergovernmental disputes. This collaborative model has been criticized for being far too secretive, unparticipatory and ultimately destructive of traditional forms of governmental accountability. Jurisdictional interpenetration and co-operation is so complex and interdependent that 'watertight compartments' patrolled by judicial umpires is little more than the faintest of memories. Perhaps counter-intuitively, this paper argues that courts (the devil we know) promote democracy in federalism. While judges are even less accountable than political executives, the criteria for their decision making is ultimately different than that of political actors. While legal theorists have offered several important challenges to the myth of judicial objectivity, there are important values in the law of federalism that are commonly overlooked when making such arguments. Perhaps most notably, judicial review promotes greater accountability by clarifying jurisdictional responsibilities, and empowers weaker actors in the federal system when they have legal grounds to challenge developments detrimental to their

interests. The paper investigates a number of quasi-judicial forms of dispute resolution such as tribunals and mechanisms conceived in the Social Union Framework Agreement and the Agreement on Internal Trade. All are found to be wanting and ultimately distortive of the basic values of federalism and democracy. Judicial review, it is then argued, has untapped potential for those wishing to revive the democratic character of Canadian federalism.

**Baker, Dennis** - Judicial Remedies in the Dialogue Era (1997-2003)

The concept of inter-institutional 'dialogue' has recently come to dominate Canadian law-and-politics debates because it offers a particularly attractive reconciliation between Charter-based judicial power and legislative democracy. The 'dialogue' account – which suggests that legislatures are capable of responding to even the most activist judicial decisions – fails to recognize the crucial impact of the remedy selected by the Court. A judicial remedy is the specific action ordered by the Court when a statute is found unconstitutional. The Court can choose from a number of different remedies that vary according to their interference with the legislative domain. On this continuum, remedies such as 'reading in' – where the Court pre-empted the legislative reaction – can be considered the most intrusive whereas a 'suspended declaration of invalidity' – where the Court delays its finding of unconstitutionality until the legislature can amend or repeal it – invites legislative participation and thus more compatible with the idea of inter-institutional dialogue. In the single major work focusing on remedies in the dialogue context, legal scholar Kent Roach argues that a "remedial consensus" has coalesced around the use of suspended declarations. However, Roach's anecdotal evidence is not supported by this paper's examination of all Charter invalidations in the 1997-2003 period (roughly the period in which 'dialogue' has held the attention of legal academics). Less than half of the invalidations were granted a suspension, leaving a majority of invalidations to have an immediate effect. The low number of suspended declarations, combined with the occasional use of intrusive remedies such as 'reading in,' suggest that the Court maintains a controlling position in any 'dialogue' with the legislature.

**Baker, Richard** - Gendered Neighbours: American Identity and the Feminization of Canada

This paper will examine a neglected thread in American foreign policy discourse that feminizes Canada through the use of gendered signifiers. This process of feminization occurs within the shifting context of the American other, such that the substance of Canada's femininity at any one point is linked to the specific threat represented by the current other. More specifically, the precise manner in which Canada is represented as feminine changes as the threat and/or identity of the American other changes. Linking a feminized portrayal of Canada to the American other is replete with implications for both the Canadian and American polities. First, a feminized Canada renders the simultaneous representation of American masculinity meaningful and believable. In essence, a strong or defiant America is made more plausible in the face of its other through the presence of a weak or submissive Canada. Second, the linkage suggests that elements in both societies will continue to find Canada lacking because perceived weaknesses do not derive from some material deficiency that can be overcome, but from Canada's role as an ontological foil against which American masculinity is maintained. Third, the feminization of Canada implies an inability on the part of that country to mount a credible defence of its own interests. Combined with Canada's spatial and cultural proximity to the United States, this makes the shadow of the other either imminently threatening or already extant in Canada. In this sense, the feminization of Canada plays a crucial role in locating threat in that country. The resulting immediacy of this threat serves to enhance the legitimacy of measures aimed at disciplining internal dissent and developing a more coherent and homogeneous American identity.

**Barker, Paul** - Assessment of the Health Council of Canada

A major recommendation of the Romanow Commission on health care was the establishment of a body called the 'Health Council of Canada.' The commission believed that existing intergovernmental mechanisms for dealing with health care had led to 'corrosive and divisive debates' and that a more disinterested entity was necessary to bring medicare successfully into the 21st century. The mandate of the council would be to collect and analyze data to measure the performance of health plans, and also to survey the views of stakeholders and the general public. More ambitiously, the council would seek to be a mechanism that could 'drive reform and speed up the modernization of the health care system by de-politicizing and streamlining some aspects of the intergovernmental process.' This last purpose seemed to suggest that the proposed council would have more than an advisory role in relation to provincial health plans and accompanying federal-provincial fiscal arrangements, and that it would have the capacity to directly shape the Canadian health care system. The proposed council is well intentioned, but ultimately it would do little to advance the cause of better health care in Canada. The existence of a fair number of bodies working diligently on the performance of provincial health plans and fiscal arrangements makes the need for an additional body unclear. More important, the attempt to insert the proposed council into the decision-making processes affecting provincial health plans would do little to improve the functioning of the Canadian health care system. Finally, the endeavour to de-politicize the intergovernmental process affecting health represents a misunderstanding of federalism and health care, for this process is a political process involving differing views on the appropriate roles of federal and provincial governments in a significant area of public policy.

**Bassett, Carolyn** - Three things Thabo Mbeki learned in Zambia

South Africa's choice of economic structuring strategy in the post-apartheid era was shaped by the experiences of debt crisis and structural adjustment programs elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. This paper argues that three particular concerns influenced the strategy: (1) the determination not to acquire unserviceable external debt (2) the determination not to surrender direct control of national economic policy to international financial institutions (3) the determination not to allow public protests to reshape (or reverse) policy. The final section of the paper suggests that there were further lessons for South Africa to learn from the experiences elsewhere on the continent, most notably that this type of policy framework will not necessarily induce the type of new foreign investment that South Africa's political leaders were counting on.

**Bateman, Thomas** - Corporate Social Responsibility and First Amendment Jurisprudence in the United States

Free speech jurisprudence in Canada and the United States has maintained a distinction between political communications and other types of expression, including commercial expression. A recent challenge to this distinction arose in the American case of *Kasky v. Nike*, in which a private individual sued Nike Corporation under California false-advertising law for mis-reporting its overseas contractors' labour practices. Nike argued that the law violates the First Amendment because social reporting and Nike's public interventions in defence of its practices are political speech enjoying maximal constitutional protection. Kasky argued that even public affairs-oriented corporate communications are fundamentally commercial and therefore subject to commercial speech regulation. Kasky won in California's highest court; after the US Supreme Court refused (for technical reasons) to hear the appeal the parties settled out of court in September 2003. The case is significant because it involves corporate conduct ostensibly associated with the global Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) movement. The CSR movement emerged from the US corporate sector in the 1970s and is dedicated to the principles that responsible corporate practice – social and environmental stewardship and development, transparent reporting, and fair labour standards exceeding minimal regulatory requirements – is the right thing to do, a means of forestalling burdensome public regulation, and is consistent with the making of profit. CSR is about businesses' advancement of three bottom lines: social development, environmental sustainability, and profit. It is also about a private sector-based form of global governance, an example of global civil society shaping the global economic and social order. Some critics of CSR contend, however, that the movement and its slogans are cynical public relations designed to safeguard corporate freedom from much-needed regulation. This paper will critically examine how Nike's legal strategy fit into the overall objectives of the global CSR movement, and what challenges new corporate forms and practices pose for free speech jurisprudence in the US and Canada.

**Bayirbag, Mustafa Kemal** - The Role of Local Political Parties and Local Businessmen in the Development of Regional Policies

This paper explores the role of the (local branches of) national political parties in mediation of local economic interests, and in establishing the contacts between the local businessmen and the state. First of all, an analytical exposition of the various approaches in urban political economy will be provided. It is argued that, role of national political parties in formation of local political agendas and the way in which they serve to relate local economic concerns to national politics remains rather unexplored. Then, outlines of an alternative perspective will be laid down, aiming at relating the theories such as Urban Regime Theory(ies) to explanations about broader national political-economic processes. The role of local branches of national political parties will be analysed in this context. It is argued that, the way in which a national political party responds to the local issues also gives us clues about the political-economic project it pursues and the social classes/groups they address. In this respect, the rise of neo-liberalism and the emphasis of the Third Way approaches to business and to the question of local economic development becomes worthy of attention. The paper will be a theoretical one, yet will draw upon insights from different country examples, where the ideology of Third Way has been influential. It is prepared as part of my theoretical research within the framework of my PhD thesis that concentrates on the and the role of local businessmen in formulation and implementation of regional policies.

**Belanger, Yale** - The Politics of Accommodation in Winnipeg: Working Toward a Policy of Aboriginal Inclusion

The push for Aboriginal self-government in Canada has become a prevalent issue, so much so that Aboriginal concerns peripheral to this dialogue are often ignored. One area in need of further investigation in Canada is municipal-Aboriginal relations. Even though Aboriginal urbanization has occurred in Canada and various cities now boast impressive Aboriginal populations demanding municipal government accountability, academics tend to focus upon federal Aboriginal policy development and have to date ignored this emerging field of study. Implicit to the issue of increasing urban Aboriginal populations is that Aboriginal policy development is no longer the sole responsibility of the federal government working in concert with reserve communities, and that policies of accommodation at the municipal level will be required to deal with the myriad of issues anticipated. This presentation will elaborate upon the City of Winnipeg's policy of accommodation, a unique approach that advances effective partnerships with Aboriginal community leaders to promote sustainable community development to build a better future for Winnipeg's Aboriginal citizens.

**Bélanger, Éric and Gélinau, François** - National and Provincial Economic Voting in Canada

In federal regimes, the distribution of economic resources is often at the center of disputes among the subnational units and between the different levels of government. While each subnational unit wants to increase its share of the pie, the

central government is often resilient to let go its spending power. Drawing upon the theory of economic voting, one would believe that with more spending power, each level of government can improve its policy delivery and hence, create more favorable economic conditions that increase its chances of getting re-elected. While the extant literature has repeatedly demonstrated that presidents and prime ministers are consistently blamed and rewarded for their economic performance, empirical work on subnational economic voting remains divided on the subject. Whereas some scholars suggest that subnational electoral outcomes reflect swings in the national economy and/or the popularity of the central government, others contend that voters take subnational-level economic performance into account when casting their ballots for subnational officials. In an effort to address this confusion, we propose a comparative analysis of federal and provincial economic voting in Canada. This country constitutes a particularly relevant case to study since it has experienced frequent intergovernmental struggles in the past fifty years concerning the distribution of fiscal resources. The current Canadian debate over "fiscal imbalance" is a good illustration of this. We propose an analysis based on a pooled time-series cross-sectional design that covers the period 1950-2000. The dependent variable consists of the percentage of votes for the incumbent party in a particular province for a given (federal or provincial) election. The independent variables are aggregate measures of inter-election economic and fiscal performance at the national and provincial levels. We use inflation, unemployment, GDP growth, fiscal balance at the federal and provincial levels, as well as the ratio of provincial to national revenues. This design allows us to systematically compare the impact of national and provincial economic conditions upon federal and provincial election results across provincial units. By comparing federal and provincial electoral behavior, our study will contribute to fill an important gap in the literature on economic voting. It will help us clarify the ways in which voters in a federal context assign political responsibility for economic and fiscal outcomes, and understand some of the motivations behind economic policy choices from both levels of government in such systems. The Canadian case will also allow to draw interesting conclusions that could be of interest to students of economic voting in other federations like Germany, Australia, and the United States.

**Bélanger, Éric and Godbout, Jean-François** - A Party Realignment Waiting to Happen? Strategic Coordination Problems Among Right-Wing Elites and Voters in Canada

The classic literature on party realignments generally predicts, after a relatively short period of instability, the return of a more stable party system in which new political parties either replace pre-existing coalitions, or are absorbed by the latter (e.g., Sundquist 1983). Strategic voting and strategic entry considerations also predict the gradual disappearance, or transformation, of obsolete political parties (e.g., Cox 1997). Can these predictions hold in every circumstances? The results of the last two Canadian federal elections tend to contradict the previous theoretical perspectives. Since 1993, two right-wing parties, the Progressive-Conservatives and the Reform Party/Canadian Alliance, have shared the opposition status in the House of Commons; and neither one of them has yet been independently able to displace the ruling Liberals. Despite some talks over the last years of an alliance or a merger between the Alliance and the Tories, the party system still remains split to this day. How can the Canadian case be reconciled with the literature on party realignments and strategic coordination? We argue that the answer lies in the non-duvergerian equilibrium found in Canada, and in strategic coordination problems that are overlooked or downplayed by legislative and party scholars. Our analysis takes up three steps. First, we develop a spatial model using Canadian Election Study (CES) data from 1988-2000. This model explains how the introduction of the Quebec issue in federal politics in the 1980s accounts for the emergence of the current multiparty system. Second, using aggregate data on district-level electoral outcomes, we show that, in principle, a strategic alliance between the Conservative and the Reform parties would have defeated the Liberals in the 1997 and 2000 elections. However, the calculation of Gary Cox's "SF ratio," which is the ratio of the second to the first loser's vote total in each constituency, indicates that Canadian voters did not bother to vote strategically in noncompetitive districts; a finding that runs counter to Cox's theoretical expectation. This can be explained by the fact that Conservative voters' second choice was the Liberal Party, not the Alliance, as further analyses of the CES survey data suggest. These particular voter preferences suggest the existence of a potentially important short-term problem of strategic coordination between Tory and Alliance voters. Riding results from the upcoming spring 2004 election will also be used to confirm these hypotheses. Third, we compare provincial vote shares obtained by right-wing parties in federal and provincial elections over the period 1950-2000. This comparison suggests that the provincial right-wing parties usually lose votes when a right-wing party is in government at the federal level. We believe that this comparison helps clarify the strategic coordination problems that right-wing provincial and federal elites have faced over the years. According to our theory, some provincial right-wing elites might actually have an incentive not to favor a federal united right-wing alternative. Overall, the analysis explains in part why the coordination problem faced by the Canadian right-wing elite was so difficult to overcome. Both Conservatives and Reformists were playing a game of attrition -- each side refusing to compromise. Thus, the introduction of a new issue dimension in the Canadian policy agenda has produced social choice instability (e.g. Plott 1967; McKelvey 1976). While recent attempts to form a right-wing union have met with modest success, the two factions still seem unable to find an equilibrium of tastes on both the economic and Quebec issue dimensions.

**Belkhdja, Chedly** - The Language of Proximity : The Intrusion of Populism in Mainstream Politics

In recent years, populism has become part of the political reality of many western democracies. The Rise of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe is well documented (Tagueiff : 2001, Perrineau : 2001, Betz and Immerfall : 1998, Hainsworth : 2000). These new actors have addressed issues such as immigration and insecurity and have also mobilised individuals frustrated with the political system. Drawing on the theoretical model of Betz and Immerfall (1998), we want to

pay a closer attention to one particular aspect of the populist challenge, that is the way traditional parties are using some populist measures to connect with the electorate. Our hypothesis is that in order to confront the « Democratic Deficit », governments are proposing a soft version of populism, namely proximity. Proximity can be defined as a way of establishing a closer relation with the people who express high levels of frustration toward the political system. Proximity can be analysed in political discourses and in various policies such as democratic reforms (local democracy, decentralization, electoral reform). In this presentation, we would like to illustrate our case with a study of the Canadian political scene.

**Bernard, Prosper** - The Rise and Fall of the Third Option: Canadian Industrial adjustment in the 1970s and early 1980s. In this paper, I seek to explain the rise and fall of the Third Option, an industrial adjustment strategy pursued throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. The main goal of this paper is to determine what aspects of Canada's trajectory of industrial adjustment can be explained by what international and domestic factors. The paper will proceed in the following order. The first part argues that changes in particular systemic factors —vulnerability to American opportunism and shifts in relative power capabilities—help us understand one aspect of the rise and fall of the Third Option. I argue that low to medium levels of vulnerability to opportunism and deterioration in Canada's relative position were significant factors that explained why the Third Option designated the domestic sphere as the most favorable arena in which to address the adjustment problem. The two systemic factors also explain why the strategy sought internationally to create strategic counterweights, and therefore rejected the idea of further institutionalizing its bilateral economic relations with the United States. However, an increase in vulnerability to opportunism and improvements in Canada's relative position by the beginning of the 1980s created a new set of systemic opportunities and constraints which made the Third Option's domestic orientation and focus on creating counterweights unfeasible. These systemic changes precipitated the fall of the Third Option and rise of a new adjustment strategy, continentalism, by the mid-1980s. The second part makes the argument that the institutional dynamic of increasing returns played a significant role in undercutting the implementation of the Third Option and consequently contributed to its demise. By implementation I mean the ability of government officials to rework key political economic institutions to fit the tasks of an adjustment strategy. I argue that the preexisting political economic institutions found in Canada were not suitable for the implementation of the Third Option. Institutional resistance— caused by the dynamic of increasing returns—defeated attempts to rework existing institutions to fit the tasks of the Third Option. Institutional obstruction combined with changes in Canada's external environment caused the fall of the Third Option.

**Birler, Omur** - The Leviathan and the Contours of Conservative Imagination: The Role of Hobbes in the Works of Schmitt, Strauss and Oakeshott

According to Leo Strauss, the meaning of all political actions is evident; they aim either preservation or change. This paper provides an analysis of conservatism; one of the most rigorous philosophical accounts aiming at preservation. It focuses on three prominent figures of the twentieth century conservative thought, namely Carl Schmitt, Leo Strauss and Michael Oakeshott. The paper specifically examines the conservative response to liberalism. Its main thesis is formed by the common interests of the above mentioned thinkers in the works of Thomas Hobbes. Taking different aspects of Hobbes's political philosophy as departure points, these three scholars shaped their own theories in a distinguished way. In other words, this shared interest delineates the heterogeneous character of the twentieth century conservative thought, as well as its complex response to liberalism. In this respect, two major arguments are developed: First, I argue that the conservative political thought springs from the radically restrained answer to the question of "What is the nature of knowledge? Second, in providing an answer to this question, conservative thinkers share a common assumption of human nature as both morally and intellectually imperfect. The works of Schmitt, Strauss, and Oakeshott which demonstrate intense discrepancies, yet share an intellectual merit, are outstanding examples of reflections of these points. What brings these three thinkers together is a remarkable concern for the 'evil' in human nature, which prominently manifested itself in the famous work of Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan.

**Bodnar, Cameron** - Reconciling the Irreconcilable? A Theoretical Take on the Prospects for Intergovernmental Peace in Canada

Achieving intergovernmental agreement-constitutional or otherwise-is notoriously difficult in Canada. Although Jean Chretien succeeded in keeping the constitution off the agenda, as he promised in 1993, his government had an active intergovernmental agenda, the cumulative results of which are substantial to say the least. Of course, the changes affected by the Chretien government were not without controversy. Chretien's approach, in particular, won him few friends in the provinces. If a single word is sufficient to describe intergovernmental relations in Canada during the Chretien years, confrontational is best suited to do so. Recent events, however, bring with them a sense of optimism to federal-provincial relations not present for quite some time. Jean Chretien's forthcoming retirement and imminent replacement by Paul Martin and the results, confirmed and predicted, of, recent and future, provincial elections lead many to predict the replacement of 'confrontational federalism' with an era of 'collaborative federalism.' Should we, however, expect peace to prevail? The short answer, I argue, is no. Rather than focusing on the potential for conflict developing from ongoing and specific disagreements over such matters as the implementation of the Kyoto Accord and the establishment of a national health council, I explore what might be termed the conditions of compromise. My basic thesis is that intergovernmental negotiations in Canada are hampered at least as much by a lack of understanding of how a fair compromise might be

reached as they are by disagreements over the content of specific reform proposals. To assist in this endeavour, I look closely at the recommendations of both the recent Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Place of Newfoundland and Labrador in the Constitution and the Benoit Pelletier authored *A Project for Quebec: Affirmation, Autonomy and Leadership* and draw upon aspects of recent debates in democratic theory, specifically those surrounding the concept of deliberative democracy, and its emphasis on expanding our understanding of the relationship between public discourse and political legitimation in particular, to develop an understanding of both the nature of intergovernmental conflicts in Canada and their ultimate irreconcilability. Relevant Publications: Forthcoming, "Half Way In Or All The Way Out: Quebec, Liberalism, and the Politics of Difference," Raymond Blake and Andrew Nurse (eds.), *The Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Nationalism, Citizenship and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: Harcourt-Brace).

**Brock, Kathy** - Consultations, Engagement, Participation and Partnerships: Finding Meaning in Citizen Involvement in Policy-Making

Horizontal governance, sustainable governance, citizen engagement have all become popular buzzwords in governing circles in recent years as governments have attempted to involve citizens and their representative organizations in the decision-making process. Originally conceived as a means of responding to citizen demands for more democratic and inclusive decision-making structures and to high levels of political disengagement and disaffection, these new forms of governance have received mixed reviews. What are these new forms of governance? What are they intended to achieve? How effective are they? Do they result in a more effective or efficient process of governing or better policy decisions? Have they lent more legitimacy to the political process? Insufficient attention has been paid to how meaningful and effective these vehicles for "improving" political decision-making are. This paper begins by discussing reasons, merits and limits of horizontal or sustainable governance. The next section examines vehicles for engaging citizens and organizations in the federal government policy-making process, including consultations, engagement, participation and partnerships. It assesses the merits of these types of citizen involvement in government decision-making using four case studies consisting of the consultations in the constitutional wars of the early 1990s, federal government partnerships with organizations under the SIDPD (Sectoral Involvement in Departmental Policy Development), the federal government and voluntary sector initiative, and the ill-fated federal consultations on First Nations Governance. The paper concludes with a discussion of the merits of these mechanisms in achieving the goals of horizontal or sustainable governance by returning to answer the questions outlined above.

**Brown, Douglas M.** - The Newfoundland and Labrador Royal Commission: Intergovernmental Wars and Diplomacy by Other Means

In July 2003 the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada presented its report, after 15 months of consultations, research and deliberations. Its call for a renewal of the place of the province in Canada comes in the face of strong alienation in recent years, due to concern over out-migration and the collapse of the fishery, and to perceived federal neglect. The report contributes to current trends of renewed regional disaffection in Canada and advocacy of stronger intergovernmental collaboration. This paper will analyze the Royal Commission process and the substance of its final report as an instrument of provincial intergovernmental relations strategy, as well as evidence of the evolving role of Commissions as deliberative democratic exercises. The paper will draw upon the written record of the Commission report, consultations and research program. The author was Director of Research of the Commission and will also draw upon his own experience in the Commission process. The paper will address the challenges which the NL Commission report presents to current intergovernmental relations in Canada, the reception of the report and the views of critics, as well as the contextual factors constraining the impact of the Commission's report. The objective is to contribute to the literature and theory of Commissions as policy instruments and of the issue of democratic input to intergovernmental strategy. In the process, the author will draw upon the literature on the role of Commissions of inquiry in the public policy process (e.g. Pross, Cairns, Salter, Aucoin, Jensen, Marchildon) and on the role of Commissions in the dissemination of ideas, including about Canadian federalism (Bradford, Simeon, Smiley, Watts).

**Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel** - The End of the Westphalian Order: Federal States, International Relations and the National Gatekeeper Position

Canadians were shocked when Mel Lastman, the mayor of Toronto, suggested in November 1999 that Toronto should become the eleventh province of Canada. Yet, the changing relationship between federal states and their sub-national governments has been a central theme on the research agenda of political scientists for the past several years, who have primarily focused on how globalization processes threaten federal sovereignty. This debate is animated by two key themes. First, scholars have focused on the decline of the Westphalian order, which had inaugurated the modern European State system in 1648, arguing that the emergence of new social actors and polities both challenge and perforate the unique role of the nation state in the international system. Second, scholars have explored the changing relationships between politics and market forces as a characteristic of new political orders: trans-border flows of goods, capital, information, and skilled workers create 'spaces of flows' that supersede 'spaces of places.' This Westphalian state system suggests a hierarchy of political authority within which loyalty, identity, and function of government develop into a territorial state that is an all-purpose organization, i.e. all functional jurisdictions are grounded into the same territory. The Westphalian state system also suggests that central/federal executives are the legally enshrined authorities that enforce domination and control of international and intergovernmental relations. In the Westphalian state system executives are



“statutory gatekeepers,” a concept at the core of this research project. For the last decade, scholarly debates about the nature of the relationship among different levels of governments (federal, state/provincial and local) and the rest of the world have hypothesized challenges to the sovereignty of the territorially demarcated nation state characteristic of the Westphalian order. First, the Westphalian order has been called into question (Valaskakis, 2001), because the dominant role of the state seems to be undermined by new sub national and international actors and polities that are challenging and perforating the unique role of central states in the international system (Yale and Mansbach, 1996; Duchacek, 1988; Risse-Kappen, 1995a; Pagnucco, 1997; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco, 1997; Fry, 1998; Courchene, 1999; Balme, 1998; Keating, 1998 and 2001). Second, trans-border flows of goods, capital, information and skilled people, lead to a logic of “spaces of flows” that supercedes a logic of “spaces of places” (Castell, 1996 and 1998; Guehenno, 1995; MacMillan & Linklater, 1995; Walker & Mendlovits, 1990). Doubts, however, have been raised regarding those challenges to sovereignty: first, economic globalization also happened at the turn of last century (Krasner, 1999; Hirst and Thompson, 2000; Held and MacGrew, 2000; and Thompson and Krasner, 1989); second, increased government activity and sovereign control parallel economic internationalization (Bernauer 2000; Krasner 1978; Thomson and Krasner, 1989); third, today’s national political leaders have more choice (Krasner, 1999; Hirst and Thompson, 2000; Thompson and Krasner, 1989) and are the emerging winners (Milward, 1992; Moravcsik, 1998); and fourth, the growing transnational embedded-ness of the economy does not destabilize the nations states (Kasner, 2001). This debate, however, concentrates on external variables or looks at how broad changes permeate state systems. It asks: Are we the observers of a process of “debordering the world of states?” (Albert and Brock, 1996) It ignores changes in the statutory allocations of executive functions that are at the core of the Westphalian state system and the evolving gatekeeper functions organizing the domination and control of international and intergovernmental relations, and to focus on the emerging form of polity challenging the classic Westphalian state system. This research project, contrary to this literature, will investigate the gatekeeper role of the executive, looking particularly at the statutory delegation of power, and specific dominant functions of the executive in domestic intergovernmental and international affairs in Canada. With Kasner (1999) this research work will hypothesize that sovereignty is a two dimensional concept, which links territory to government and makes the State the only subject of the international system. It seeks to develop the argument that the critical analysis of the link between territory and the executive function of central government best explains the changing nature of the relationship among federal states and between their sub-national government levels. This is because it is a fundamental transformation of the formal statutory delegation of power of the executives of each level of governments and concurrent specific functional roles, that best explains the new intergovernmental and international relations (Krasner, 1999). The Canadian statutory functions of federal executives; the statutory functions of sub-national governments (Provinces); the statutory protection of sub-national governments rights and policy preferences in matters of domestic intergovernmental and international affairs are the focus of this research. This research hypothesizes that over time, evolving statutes have weakened the federal gatekeeper position in favour of lower level governments because of overlapping, cooperative, and increasingly segmented functional lines that affect domestic and international intergovernmental relations.

**Burt, Sandra** - Environmental Tobacco Smoke Bylaw Development in Red Lake and Ear Falls: Revisiting an Explanatory Framework

In 2002 we reported at the annual meeting of the CPSA on our findings in our pilot study of environmental tobacco smoke (ETS) bylaw development in Waterloo Region. On the basis of a document review and semi-structured interviews we concluded that issue framing interacted with issue initiation as well as with the shape of the policy network, to explain bylaw outcome. We developed an explanatory model of the ETS bylaw process that integrated these three major factors with the sub-themes of the local political culture, access to resources, and the impact of bylaw diffusion. In this paper we apply that model to two northern Ontario communities. In Red Lake, council voted against an ETS bylaw, while in Ear Falls council passed the gold standard bylaw first proposed by the region’s Medical Officer of Health. Following an analysis of the interviews we carried out with stakeholders in each community, we conclude that our model works well in these two cases, and explains the difference in bylaw outcome.

**Cantin, Etienne** - The Contentious Politics of Industrial Democracy: Social Power and the Origins of Modern Workplace Governance in Interwar America

Through a social scientific history of the rise of modern workplace governance in the US, this paper questions theoretical understandings of the practice of governance. In political science, governance is defined as the reflexive self-organisation of actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the dilemmas involved in such situations. On this minimal definition, governance may be conceptually distinguished from the ‘invisible hand’ of uncoordinated market exchange and from the ‘iron fist’ of centralised, imperative coordination under the aegis of the state. This gives new legitimacy to practices of corporatist concertation, but no grounds for claims that historical practices of governance have entailed symmetry in power relations or equity in the distribution of benefits. This paper argues that the operation of the power relations specific to capitalist industry best accounts for the inequitable outcome of the interwar confrontation of rival groups which promoted their own visions of ‘industrial democracy’ and irreconcilable projects of workplace governance. A new conception of workplace governance is presented, which refers to the contested institutional forms through which employees not only exercise voice but also to aggregate interests on the job. Modern workplace governance is presented as another social arena in which constituencies may be structured and broader or narrower constituencies formed. Yet, it

is specified that this happens in the context of power relations and contentious politics which other theories tend to downplay by one-sidedly connoting 'consultation' and 'dialogue'.

**Carbert, Louise** - LIBERAL TENTACLES IN ALLIANCE COUNTRY

This paper reports preliminary results from a new and ongoing research project on rural women's leadership in Western Canada, funded (2002-05) by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. This project is the second stage of a larger program (the first stage was conducted in Atlantic Canada) that takes a new approach to understanding why relatively few rural women hold public office, by going directly to the source: qualified rural women who are active in community affairs but who, for the most part, are not running. In 2002 and 2003, I interviewed over 100 rural women leaders in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan about their experiences and perceptions of leadership, public life, and running for elected office. Strong political and economic contrasts between Western and Atlantic regions allow comparative analysis. Do common rural characteristics transcend regional distinctions, or do different characteristics deter women's election in different rural areas? Among the topics addressed are the role of political parties, regional-development initiatives, and the nature of political life in resource-dependent communities.

**Carrier, Martin** - The Determinants of Direct Foreign Investments in Russia's Regions

Most accounts from post-communist Russia tend to present a quite homogenous and somewhat biased portrait of the Russian federation. Despite some widespread national problems, contemporary Russia is marked by very strong variance among its regions and republics in respect to economic performance and reform policies. While some Russian regions can compare themselves to prosperous Central European countries, others show economic conditions similar to third-world countries. Many have argued that the support of reformist policies by regional leaders is one of the main determinants in explaining the economic performance of a given region and the only solution to overcome a precarious condition. Thus, one will expect that regional leaders who follow pro-reform policies will be rewarded by an increase in economic performance and will be positively perceived by foreign investors, who it is often assumed, tend to encourage such policies. Privatization of industrial and agricultural sectors, price liberalization, legal reforms and reduction in subsidies should therefore attract foreign investors in Russia. Through qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and cases studies of a few Russian regions, this essay evaluates economic as well as political explanations to inequalities in foreign direct investment distribution in Russia's regions. It relies on the assumption that foreign direct investment has an impact on economic imbalances between regions. In contrast to the frequent arguments put forward in the literature that industrial legacies, presence of natural resource and a reformist agenda play a primordial role in attracting foreign direct investment, it is here argued that they play a somewhat weaker role in attracting FDI than political variables. Governmental industrial policies and State interventionism are put forward as an alternative explanation to determine FDI distribution in Russia's regions. The dual objective of this analysis is thus to assess the impact of economic reforms, industrial legacies and presence of natural resources on FDI distribution and to propose preliminary analysis of regulatory explanations. This essay constitute an initial step in my dissertation on the process of economic and status differentiation between Russian regions.

**Childs, Sarah** - Women's Bodies, Feminist Minds': Understanding Labour Women MPs' 'Acting for' Women

1997 was the British 'year of the woman'. The numbers of women in the House of Commons doubled overnight: 101 of the 120 women MPs sat on the Labour benches. The presence of so many more women MPs, albeit at 18 percent far short of equal presence, was accompanied by a clear expectation that Labour's women would feminize British politics. This expectation was an articulation, in everyday terms, of the feminist claim that women's descriptive and substantive representation are linked. This paper examines whether this expectation was realised and what implications the experiences of Labour's women MPs have for feminist conceptions of substantive representation. It draws on a range of empirical studies that explore the differences Labour's women MPs have made in Westminster.

**Clancy, Peter** - Industrial Policy Offshore: Eastcoast Petroleum Benefits Regimes

Late emerging industries face a market and political situation that differs, among other reasons, by the presence and prior success of their first generation predecessors. For offshore petroleum exploration and production, the pioneering advances occurred in the US Gulf of Mexico between 1950-1970. Consequently, the specialized offshore petroleum sector spread around the globe from an American base. For host governments in the North Sea, and on the continental shelves of Canada, Australia, Africa and southeast Asia, this posed a variety of political complications. Rather than allowing these technology-rich, potential high-growth and strategic sectors to take shape as distant adjuncts to a Louisiana-Texas based global node, emerging offshore petroleum states sought alternative policy solutions. Chief among these is the "industrial benefits" regime, an amalgam of OPEC operating rules and western industrial strategy thinking of the 1970s. The goal was alter, in stipulated ways, the power ratio between host states and international industry. As with foreign investment screening, much of the advantage is said to result from the altered climate of operations instilled by the regulatory presence. The fashioning of such regimes raises many intriguing questions. This paper selects the Scotian Shelf offshore basin as the focus to explore such politics. Exploration began here almost forty years ago, with the first commercial discoveries uncovered in 1979. The region remains subject to an offshore regulatory regime today, and it remains a source of continuing political tension. Surprisingly, little is known of how such regimes perform: in terms of firm – state bargaining over rules; in terms of the enforcement (i.e. implementation) function; or in terms of outcomes.

Consequently, the paper will focus on the Nova Scotia offshore regime in the period 1981-2001. It will explore the manner in which this policy regime was formulated and applied. This policy narrative is initially one of policy diffusion: across jurisdictions, from the North Sea to eastcoast Canada; and across time, from the industrial strategy era of 1970s to continental trade regimes of the 1990s. Particular attention will be given to the mediating role of the Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Petroleum Board (CNSOPB), the joint federal-provincial regulatory board that has administered the benefits program since 1982. Another core concern will be the disaggregation of "offshore industry" and an assessment of the political leverage, exposure and adjustment as it varies by sub-segments of this too-little-understood international business sector.

**Cobban, Tim** - Local Governments and Economic Growth: The Case of the Petrochemical Industry in Sarnia, Ontario  
This paper concerns the relationship between local governments and economic growth in Canada. In particular, it focuses on how local governments can influence economic growth by accommodating the requirements of new industrial sectors with appropriate and timely public policies. In doing so, this paper challenges the longstanding view that the influence of local governments on economic growth is marginal. The case study is the petrochemical industry in Sarnia. This industry was born in the 1940s as the result of Canada's participation in the Allied effort to manufacture synthetic rubber, but its industrial origins trace back to the petroleum refining industry in late nineteenth century Ontario. Using archival data and some minor quantitative analyses, this paper demonstrates that municipal policies in the areas of infrastructure, land-use regulation, and property taxation were highly influential in the migration of Canada's refining industry from London to Petrolia to Sarnia during 1870 to 1900. Forty years later, the Canadian government elected to place its colossal \$52 million contribution (Polymer) to the synthetic rubber program in the Township of Sarnia because of the by-products available from the adjacent Imperial Oil refinery, then the largest and most diverse refinery in Canada. The development of the petrochemical industry in Sarnia that rapidly followed was heavily dependent upon Polymer assuming the responsibilities of a full-blown industrial development commission from the predominantly rural Township, which had been overwhelmed by the explosive development occurring within its borders.

**Collier, Cheryl** - Retrenchment Politics in Ontario and BC – Do Provincial Governments Cut Child Care Programs in Tough Economic Times?

Canadian feminist researchers have increasingly studied what they saw as a growing trend toward government retrenchment of welfare state policy (initially in response to poor economic performance) and its impact on women since the 1980s. Child care researchers also point to the negative impact of retrenchment politics on child care programs (Jenson and Sineau, 2001. "Who Cares? Women's Work, Childcare, and Welfare State Redesign," University of Toronto Press.) Canadian child care activists, too, note government willingness to blame policy inaction and cuts on needing to live within its means. But have governments been cutting back on child care programs as part of this retrenchment trend, particularly during bad economic times? As one part of my wider dissertation research, this paper examines child care policy compared to provincial economic performance in Ontario and BC between 1980 and 2000. Using aggregate expenditure data and qualitative program evaluation, it tests the assumption that governments are more apt to cut expenditures and programs in bad versus good economic times. It also argues that provincial welfare state convergence has not necessarily been the case in the child care field. Instead, it demonstrates that different party governments react differently to economic performance that is more in line with ideological differences than with theories of retrenchment policy convergence. In so doing, the paper adds to the debate over the importance of partisan differences in determining provincial social policy direction.

**Cohn, Daniel** - The Public-Private-Partnership "Fetish": Moving beyond Rhetoric

Public-Private-Partnerships (P3s) encompass a broad range of commercial and financial activity involving the state engagement of for-profit firms to either provide or partially finance publicly prescribed services through long-term contracts. States have long engaged in such activities (for example preferring to lease office space in some circumstances). However, the scope of activities that governments are willing to consider open to P3s has grown. States now eagerly seek to engage for-profit-firms to own, manage and maintain critical public infrastructure, while increasing asking public and quasi-public sector organizations to finance their capital programs through private borrowing rather than state grants. So eager are states to do deals and so prominent are such deals in their financial rhetoric, that P3s have now become almost a fetish. Most Canadian political-economy studies of P3s have focused on the state rhetoric, attempting to understand the trend by relating this fetish to the political ideological agenda of neoliberalism. While valuable, this concentration has caused one of the first principles of Marxism to be neglected. This principle is that to understand events we must understand the motivations inspiring capitalist investors. This paper seeks to provide such understanding by asking why capitalist investors would want to finance P3s? The paper argues that an imbalance in supply and demand for high quality bonds and dividend paying stocks emerged during the 1990s due to declining public debts, management practices at large corporations, and an increasingly aging population. P3s provided a solution to this dilemma for capitalist investors. As public debt issues (especially U.S. government issues) increase, and financial propriety again becomes fashionable in corporate boardrooms, capitalist investors will likely be less willing to engage in the risks associated with P3s on terms as attractive as those that initially lured states into the market. At this point the P3 fetish will likely end and they will go back to their previous limited role in public policy. Recent evidence from British Columbia indicates that this point might already be approaching.

**Conway, Janet** - Knowledge: Why Movements Matter

This paper explores “knowledge” as an emerging problematic in the study of social movements. Social movements produce knowledge. Through their everyday practices of survival, resistance, and solidarity, progressive social movements are producing new and distinct knowledges about the world as it is, as it might/should be, and how to change it. Movement-based knowledge is largely tacit, practical and unsystematized. It is partial and situated, grounded in activist practice, arising from concrete engagement in social struggle, and embedded in specific times and places. In this paper, I conceptualize the kinds of knowledge arising from activist practice and explore their significance for understanding social movements, social order and social change, for generating post-neoliberal alternatives and for re-imagining democratic politics. I draw on Hilary Wainwright’s work on the practical knowledge of the new left, feminist standpoint theories as epistemologies for movement politics, and Paul Freire’s critical pedagogy for theorizing movement-based knowledge production.

**Conway, Janet** - The World Social Forum: A New Space of Politics?

The World Social Forum (WSF) was initiated in 2000 by a committee of Brazilian organizations as a process to convene “groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neoliberalism” from around the world. The first WSF was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January 2001, after which it became a permanent process on a world scale of seeking and building alternatives to neoliberalism. This process is characterized by the creation of open, diverse and pluralistic spaces for the generation and communication of movement-based ideas and practices oriented to an alternative world. The WSF as a whole is not a unitary entity or process nor focused narrowly or primarily on interacting with or reforming national or international institutions. It is better characterized as a world-wide movement-based multi-scale cultural process involving a wide variety of civil society entities, themselves operating at a variety of geographic scales. As an annual event, the WSF has grown exponentially. It has also spawned numerous local and regional social forum processes on other continents involving tens of thousands of others. The power of the Social Forum is in this global diffusion as a process among movements and groups of civil society worldwide. The Social Forum is producing new forms of political participation, deliberation and popular power and articulating a new political geography of social movement organizing, globally and in Canada. This paper will describe the global process, document how the Social Forum has taken shape in Canada, and explore the notions of political community, inclusion, participation and deliberation that it is inculcating. In particular, the planning of a pan-Canadian ‘people’s forum’ around the theme of “re-imagining Canada” will be a major reference point for my discussion of how the Social Forum is interacting with and reconfiguring received notions of citizenship, including its attachment to the nation state.

**Cooke, Murray** - Constitutional Confusion on the Left: The NDP’s Position in Canada’s Constitutional Debates

The federal New Democratic Party experienced a dramatic electoral decline in the 1990s from which it has not yet recovered. Along with difficulties managing provincial economies, the NDP was wounded by Canada’s constitutional debates. The NDP has struggled to present a consistent, united and progressive position in these debates. This has harmed the party in two ways. On the one hand, the constitutional debate has pushed the NDP to the sidelines. On the other hand, the federal party’s stumbling approach has alienated certain regions and constituencies while solidifying the party’s image as one of the old, traditional parties. The NDP’s constitutional confusion has not only hurt the party but it has prevented the emergence of a potentially alternative voice in English-speaking Canada on issues of Quebec and constitutional renewal. For example, the NDP has leaned toward supporting a distinct society clause and asymmetrical federalism but has rarely chosen to publicly advocate or defend those policies. The national political dialogue has suffered as a result. The retreat from ‘mega-constitutional politics’ has not made these issues irrelevant. The divisions and tensions within the NDP were revealed in the debate over the federal Clarity Act. Under Jack Layton the party hopes to appeal to Quebec voters, which should re-ignite the tensions over how the party should relate to Quebec nationalism. This paper is part of my dissertation research on the decline of the NDP in the 1990s.

**Cross, William** - Canadian Political Parties' Capacity for Policy Study and Development

This paper will examine the capacity of Canada's political parties for policy analysis and development. Topics covered include the role of members in party policy development, the use of policy experts in developing election programs, policy and transition preparation undertaken by opposition parties, the relationship between parties and think tanks, and comparison among Canadian, European and American parties on these issues.

**Cross, William and Young, Lisa** - Youth Participation in Canadian Parties

This paper will present data from two mail-back surveys of youth members of federal political parties. The first survey conducted in spring 2000, includes members of all 5 major federal parties. The second focuses exclusively on youth members of the federal Liberals, NDP and Bloc Quebecois, from fall 2003. The paper will examine the following questions: how engaged are Canadian youth in political party activity? What attracts youth to political party activity? What party activities do youth members engage in? Are youth party members satisfied with the opportunities afforded them by the federal parties? Comparisons will be made between youth members and members generally. As well, wherever possible, we will compare youth party members with the general youth population in an attempt to identify those characteristics that set apart those youth who choose to join political parties. We are defining youth as party members

between the ages of 18 and 25. The analysis will be set within the context of declining youth participation in traditional modes of political participation. This phenomenon has been identified in many western.

**Crow, Dan** - The Relationship Between Neo-Liberalism and Labour in Canada

For at least the past two decades, neo-liberalism, as both a discourse and a pattern of state regulation, has become the hegemonic political project within Canada. Regardless of their political orientations, governments across Canada have embraced the logic of capitalist globalization, fiscal orthodoxy, the primacy of the market over the state and competitiveness as their primary goals. Still, there is a significant amount of unevenness in the practice of neo-liberalism in different provinces (and at different times in a single province as the differences between NDP and PC governments in Ontario demonstrate). This paper will provide an analysis of the uneven development of neo-liberalism across Canada, with particular attention paid to the provinces. Central to the project of neo-liberalism is the question of labour regulation. Solutions to the labour problem, from the neo-liberal perspective, include shifting the costs of the reproduction of labour power from the state to the market (including welfare state retrenchment), and reducing the power of organized labour to act politically and economically in the interests of workers (in Panitch and Swartz's terms "the assault on trade union freedoms"). But labour does not exist as a passive recipient of neo-liberal reform. To greater or lesser degrees, labour resists changes that diminish its capacities to act politically and economically. The dynamic of this relationship between the state and labour can explain two trends. First, it can explain the general decline in organized labour's political strength because labour has been unsuccessful at resisting the development of neo-liberalism. Second, it can explain patterns of unevenness in the development of neo-liberalism. That is, this relationship can explain why neo-liberalism takes different forms in different jurisdictions. This essay will be informed by state theoretical approaches to regulation and class capacities, including Bob Jessop's recent work on the transition from the Keynesian Welfare State to neo-liberalism, and will contribute a necessary case study to this body of research. More generally, the essay is a part of my Ph.D. dissertation on the relationship between neo-liberalism and labour in the North American context which will examine the impact of neo-liberal reforms on the labour movements of Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, as well as the ways in which working class politics within each country have created state specific patterns of neo-liberalism.

**Curtin, Jennifer** - Are quotas contagious? Promoting women's parliamentary presence in Australia

In Australia, the Labor Party has introduced a quota in order to increase the representation of women in parliament. In 1994 the quota was set at 35 per cent women to be selected as candidates for safe seats by 2002. In 2003, this proportion was extended to 40 per cent). This paper explores the impact of this quota on the selection rates of women at the federal level, not only by the Australian Labor Party, but also by the other major party, the Liberal Party of Australia. While the impact of proportional representation on women's parliamentary presence in Australia is now well-researched, the effectiveness of gendered party interventions in Australia's majoritarian system is less obvious. Here we examine the selection rates of women as candidates over the past 10 years for Australia's House of Representatives and explore the extent to which a quota system combined with a possible "contagion" effect has led to an increased parliamentary presence for women.

**Cutler, Fred** - Provincial Government, Intergovernmental Policy: Provincial Electoral Choice in a Federal Context

This paper will use recently completed provincial election studies in Saskatchewan and Ontario to address questions concerning voters' ability to manage the complexities of their federal context. The research is part of my SSHRCC-funded project: "Federalism and Electoral Accountability: Can Voters Cope with Multi-Level Governance?" In both Ontario and Saskatchewan, voters were asked a series of questions tapping their attributions of responsibility to both levels of government. Do these attributions mediate retrospective, performance-oriented voting? Does confusion about responsibility mute the voice of electoral accountability? I will provide standard election-study voting models for these two provincial elections, estimated by multiple regression. I will then add measures of responsibility and issue salience to gauge the degree to which the federal context complicates the seemingly simple link between policy outcomes, government performance, and support for the governing party. This analytic approach has been fruitful with small survey efforts in BC (2001), Alberta (2001), and Vancouver (2002) elections. Examining the much larger samples (N=800) in Saskatchewan and Ontario will allow finer-grained analysis and more nuanced conclusions. Scholars should also benefit from the more basic analysis of vote choice in these two elections—provincial election studies have been too rare in Canada.

**Cutler, Fred, Fournier, Patrick, Lyle, Greg and Soroka, Stuart** - Voting Dynamics in the 2003 Ontario Election

This paper presents the first analysis of the recent Ontario Election Study (OES). The study includes both a rolling cross-sectional election poll and a comprehensive media content analysis for the entire campaign period. Accordingly, it offers a new and unique opportunity to explore voting, media and campaign dynamics in Ontario; indeed, the first opportunity to do so in the Canadian provincial context. This data analysis focuses on predictors of vote choice in Ontario - including demographics, information, issue saliences, policy preferences, and media content. More precisely, the paper focuses on whether and how the significance of these predictors varied over the 2003 campaign. The paper is intended to provide an exploratory analysis of the new OES, with an eye towards using these valuable data to contribute to the important literatures on vote choice and campaign dynamics.

**Cyrenne, Chad** - Should Political Liberals Uphold Universal Values?

What can political liberals say to so-called "reasonable non-liberals"? What kinds of language are likely to be persuasive when persons with very different moral understandings disagree about important issues? Do the normative foundations of a political liberalism preclude certain kinds of discourse? Do they provide an adequate vantage point for political and moral critique? In recent times, these questions have taken on special urgency. Both at home and abroad, critics of a political liberalism are anxious to know just what political liberals will say to illiberal or non-liberal minorities. On the one hand, critics charge that political liberals are too exclusionary, banishing (in particular) certain kinds of religious discourse from the public sphere. On the other, there is the concern that political liberals are too permissive, lacking the necessary moral resources to criticize oppressive practices and beliefs. This paper cuts at the heart of these questions by asking whether political liberals should uphold universal values. The argument is that they should not, because - at least as a matter of historical and empirical investigation - these values do not exist. What otherwise diverse communities do share, however, is a common set of political and social experiences - experiences belonging not to any one community in isolation, but rather to the accumulated historical records of many diverse societies. The crux of my argument will be to say that the relative attractions of a particular politics or society can be recognized cross-culturally by ordinary men and women. Those attractions are discerned not in the values those societies embody but in the practices of daily life. For that reason, political liberals needn't bother with universal values, but they should uphold universal practices.

**Daly, Tamara** - Measuring Change in the State-Nonprofit Relationship

An unresolved debate in the state-nonprofit literature involves how to measure the changing boundaries of the (nation) state – nonprofit relationship. The state role has been characterized traditionally along a static continuum depicting more or less involvement in funding and/or regulating nonprofits. Some analysts argue that the state plays a more pervasive role in regulating and funding certain nonprofits and particular, state-sanctioned activities, but less state involvement delivering services directly (Wolch 1990; Rekart 1993; Milligan 1998). Other analysts argue that state retrenchment characterizes patterns of engagement between state and nonprofits, defined by less state involvement (funding) to nonprofits with state contracts (Salamon 1995). Existing analyses lack consistent measures making it easier to miss the ways specific policy changes may simultaneously expand and shrink the state role within a given sector, across time and place. The divergent trajectories of the relationship are compared amongst Stockholm, Amsterdam, New York City, and Toronto (1980 until present). Pierson's (1994) systemic and programmatic retrenchment (and expansion) concepts are used to consistently measure changes to state involvement funding and delivering health and social care services to community-dwelling frail elderly. Changes to how nonprofits fund, advocate for, and deliver services to this group, resulting from state funding and regulatory shifts, are examined. Complex time series chronology is the method used to draw together funding and regulatory policy events. Data sources include policy / planning documents, key informant interviews, and administrative data. This study builds on the author's earlier case study of the Ontario state-nonprofit relationship (Daly 2003).

**Derouin, Jodey** - Political Participation in Elections of Major Cities: An Analysis Based on the 'Ethnic Diversity Survey  
The paper will focus on the level of political participation in elections in Canada's three major cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Statistical evidence from the Ethnic Diversity Survey will examine the level of voting in federal, provincial and municipal elections by ethnicity and visible minority groups. The paper will consider what impact discrimination may have on voting behaviour in Canada.

**Dhamoon, Rita** - Intersectional Identity: A Challenge to Liberal Multiculturalism

What are the implications of conceptualizing identity as intersectional for identity/difference politics? In order to explore this central question, I engage with theoretical frameworks outside of liberal political thought, particularly feminist thought, queer theory, and post-colonial analysis. Liberal multicultural conceptions of individual and group identity advanced by Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor tend to be analysed uni-dimensionally. This oversimplifies identity and neglects analysis of the ways in which dominant and subordinated identities are intersectionally constituted and reconstituted through relations of power. I contend that by conceiving of identity as intersectional, a politics of identity/difference is fundamentally altered from the versions offered by liberal multiculturalists. This is because power and inter-subjectivity are placed at the heart of identity/difference. First, I examine the way in which a one-dimensional conception of identity is dependent on binaries (such as white/non-white, western/non-western, heterosexual/homosexual, disabled/non-disabled, and female/male), and how an intersectional lens challenges the binarization of identity. Second, I assess how an intersectional understanding of identity alters minority claims. In this, I consider the ways in which intersectionality further complicates the predicament that Gayatri Spivak addresses, of strategically essentialising identity for the purpose of making political demands, seeking representation and asserting legal claims. Finally, I suggest that intersectionality enlarges the sources of oppositional consciousness, agency, and resistance for subjugated identities.

**Dobuzinskis, Laurent** - Policy Research Councils: Back to the Future?

In 1992, the Economic Council of Canada (ECC), the Science Council of Canada (SCC) and the Law Reform Commission of Canada were abolished. Looking back at the legacy of these institutions (and of the ECC and the SCC in particular), but also comparing their achievements with the more current performance of comparable agencies in other jurisdictions (Canadian provinces and foreign countries), this paper proposes a) to assess the contribution of these institutions to the

furthering of the goals of deliberative democracy; and b) to raise the question of whether it would make sense to re-establish either the ECC, or the SCC, or both, now that the Law Reform Commission has been reborn under the name of Law Commission of Canada. The paper concludes that while there is no obvious answer to that question, there are reasons to think that the re-establishment of the SCC is a more urgent priority in view of the new prominence and urgency of policy issues concerning risk assessment and the ethic of biomedical and genetic engineering research.

**Docherty, David, Henderson, Ailsa, Kay, Barry and Brown, Steven** - Your Leaving? Great! Exit Polling in the 2003 Ontario Election

During the Ontario Election of 2003 the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy (LISPOP) undertook what is probably the first exit poll in a general election in Canada. The project employed senior undergraduates and graduate students who interviewed a random sampling of voters leaving polling stations in Kitchener Centre, one of two ridings in Ontario whose vote distribution tends to mirror that of the province. With the co-operation of Research In Motion, the poll used Blackberrys to enable the instant transmission of data. The exit poll was both an opportunity to understand voting behaviour at the sub-national level and a pilot study to examine the challenges and strengths of exit polls. The paper examines the methodology of exit polling. It provides a broad overview of the exit poll in two important areas. First, we examine the logistical concerns of exit polls. Despite both a concerted and expensive effort to encourage participation among youth, Elections Ontario was dismissive and indeed obstructive of the efforts of students engaged in important social science research. The use of wireless technology also presented its own unique challenges. The original design to have instant transmission and analysis of data changed during the course of the exit poll. Second, we examine some of the implications of the exit poll exercise. Exit polls concentrate only those individuals who actually vote. Does this provide a more accurate picture of voting behaviour? The paper argues that female interviewers enjoy a higher response rate than male students. Further, citizens who vote earlier in the day are less likely to participate in exit polls. The paper concludes by suggesting that exit polls provide another valuable tool for those interested in understanding voting behaviour in Canada. There is potential for using this methodology as a routine feature of Canadian elections, but there remain considerable challenges to overcome before that becomes a reality.

**Donais, Timothy** - Peacekeeping's Little Brother: Canada and the Challenge of Post-Conflict Policing

This paper will explore Canada's experiences with post-conflict policing over the past decade, and make the case for a more prominent Canadian role in the restoration of public security in the aftermath of conflict. While an entire mythology has developed around Canada's role as originator and long-standing champion of peacekeeping in its military guise, less attention has been paid to policing as the second core pillar of security in transitions from war to peace. This is gradually changing, as the limitations of military peacekeepers as agents of post-conflict peacebuilding become clearer, and as it is increasingly recognized that building sustainable peace in the absence of minimal levels of public security is next to impossible. In many ways, post-conflict police assistance - including the provision of civilian police for either monitoring or law enforcement roles as well as longer-term training and institutional development assistance - is an issue tailor-made for Canadian foreign policy, combining national commitments to human security, to peacebuilding, and to the export of core Canadian values such as peace, order, and good governance. While Canada's contributions in this area to date are far from negligible, neither has it been an international leader. Building on recent theoretical and empirical work in the area of post-conflict policing, this paper will assess not only the advantages of but also the obstacles to a greater Canadian role - such as chronic personnel shortages and the hodgepodge of inadequately coordinated institutional actors already active in the field - and examine ways in which Canada might contribute to overcoming some of these challenges. Set within the context of a broader study being carried out by the author on human security and post-conflict policing, this paper will attempt to develop policy-relevant recommendations by drawing both on lessons from past experience and on recent theoretical insights.

**Dufour, Pascale** - Globalization and Social Protests: Where and How? The case of Canada and France

Although, in these times it could be considered a good "marketing" strategy to speak about globalisation, it is increasingly difficult to choose how to address it, given the abundance of literature that has been produced concerning this subject. First, we do not seek to address economic globalisation or the objective trends of globalisation that occur in the economic sphere. Secondly, we are not analysing globalisation as an external factor that can contribute to national economic development, nor as an hegemonic economic force preventing society from developing itself. In other words, the term globalisation, as utilised, is not a causal factor. This paper is rather an attempt to apprehend the relationship between globalisation as a new space of social protest (a space of action, and also as an issue of discourses) and social protest occurring in two countries: Canada and France. We observe that the fight for global justice is embedded in national contexts, each of which uniquely translates the global problematic. To understand the variation, the role of the State is particularly central. In concert, globalisation, as a space of debates and conflicts, affects the form of national social protest, modifying both the frame and the scale of it. If in France, globalisation seems to have multiple and non-linear effects on previous forms of protest, including sharper divisions between social movements, in Canada; it seems to have a more unifying effect, some pan-canadian social protest being now possible. This paper is part of a postdoctoral research on "Collective action and marginalization in France and Canada".

**Eagles, Munroe** - The Impact of Third Parties on Canadian Elections: A Preliminary Assessment

Several attempts have been made at the federal level in Canada to extend the regulatory umbrella governing campaign financing to incorporate the election-related spending of "third parties" (interest groups and other non-party organizations seeking to influence electoral outcomes). In every case, these efforts have resulted in litigation that has struck them down as infringements on the free and democratic expression of citizens (with the most recent case currently being appealed before the Canadian Supreme Court). The case for regulating the electoral activities of 'third parties' is based on the belief that their election-related activities influence voters and election outcomes. Unfortunately, there is some uncertainty over this based on existing empirical work. While most research into the effects of these interventions in constituency campaigns has suggested that there is no, or little impact, these conclusions are based on descriptive evidence that lacks statistical rigor. This paper surveys the existing debate about the effectiveness of third party spending, looks at the information collected from third parties in the context of the 2000 federal campaign, and reanalyzes data used in earlier empirical work on this topic (from Tanguay and Kay 1997 and Tanguay, 2002) in a more comprehensive ecological model of constituency outcomes (that includes data from census materials, candidates' official spending, and political data). The academic and legal debates over the electoral role of third parties will benefit from having a sharper empirical measure of the effectiveness of their activities.

#### **Earles, Kim** - Policy Feedback and the Reregulation of the Swedish Welfare State

I argue that due to policy feedback (Pierson, 2001) and historical legacy (Esping-Andersen, 1990), the Swedish welfare state has not been dismantled, as so many suggest, but has undergone a reregulation (Vogel, 1996) in recent decades. This reregulation has led to a series of critical modifications (Olsen, 1999), which have affected women adversely, particularly in areas such as childcare and pensions. However, due to the fact that these modifications have been relatively minor (when compared to welfare state de/reregulation in the rest of the world), there remains potential that such losses can be reversed. As such, I look at the strategy of state feminism (Eisenstein, 1996) employed in Sweden and its potential for reversing these losses and pushing for future expansion of the Swedish welfare state. Eisenstein, Hester. *Inside Agitators: Australian Democrats and the State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. Esping-Andersen, Gosta. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Olsen, Gregg M. "Half Empty or Half Full? The Swedish Welfare State in Transition." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 36.2 (1999): 241-57. Pierson, Paul. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Vogel, Steven K. *Freer Markets, More Rules: Regulatory Reform in Advanced Industrial Countries*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

#### **Eberts, Mirella** - Putting the Church in Its Place: Redefining Church-State Relations in a Democratic Poland

The Church's political clout and strong institutional presence allowed it to take an active stance in the redefinition of the legal basis for Church-state relations and in the constitution-making process in Poland in the post-1989 period. The new Concordat, a document that spells out the details of Church-state regulations in Poland, in large measure reflects the Church's aims to maintain a relatively privileged status in Polish society. Similarly, the new Polish Constitution, a product of wide-ranging compromises and flaring debates, incorporates many demands that the Church hierarchy pressed upon its political supporters and the government during the constitution-making process. The 1993 Concordat and the 1997 Constitution redefine the legal basis of Church-state relations in Poland in such a way so as to privilege the Roman Catholic Church in Poland vis-à-vis other religions. No other organized religion received a special mention in the new, democratic Constitution, and no other organized religion has obtained such a wide range of prerogatives spelled out in an international agreement as the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. This can be, in part, explained by the relatively powerful position of the Church in Poland, both in terms its access to the corridors of state power and in terms of the support it has maintained among certain political forces and population at large. In fact, one cannot adequately understand the dynamics of laying out the fundamental rules of a new, democratic polity in Poland without paying attention to the role of the Church in the whole process. By looking at the debates and processes that produced the two fundamental documents, one can obtain a clearer picture of the Polish democracy making and the Church's role in it. The final documents set the legal basis for the Church's role in Polish society and provide the legal framework for assessing the changing dynamics and character of Polish democracy.

#### **Eichler, Maya** - Gendering the Nation-State in Post-Communist Russia

The waging of war is a key prerogative reserved to the modern nation-state. It is on the terrain of war that the gendered nature of the state most clearly comes into focus (Enloe, 2000). Militarized notions of femininity and masculinity always intersect with, and help reproduce, constructions of 'nation' (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Indeed, both gender and nation are fundamental to the ideological legitimacy of the state and its policies. My paper argues that in post-communist transitions to capitalism, gender relations and national identity come into crisis and war comes to play a central role in their 'normalization'. My paper thus addresses two themes of the workshop: the gendered nature of state processes, and gender relations and nationalism. I develop a feminist analysis of the two Chechen wars (1994-96, 1999-present) that have accompanied Russia's transition to capitalism. I argue that war has taken on a central function in the attempt to strengthen Russian state power and establish the legitimacy of the reform path and the new social order. Specifically, this has happened through the manipulation of gender identities and appeals to the nation. However, the crisis of national identity and of masculinity during the first Chechen War resulted in high levels of desertions from the Russian Army; while the vocal criticism of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers signalled the abandonment of patriotic motherhood. The second



Chechen War, which has been legitimized as part of the global war on terrorism, has been more successful in mobilizing Russia's citizenry. It has played a central role in the 're-masculinization' of Russian society and the reconstitution of the Russian nation. As an analysis of the Russian-Chechen wars shows, the gendering of the nation-state takes place at the intersections of political economy and military violence. Works Cited Enloe, C. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Yuval-Davis, N. 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage Publications.

**Ellington, Thomas C.** - Opening Doors: The Role of Freedom-of-Information Laws in Protecting and Expanding Democracy

The democratic state faces a paradox. Democracy demands that citizens have access to information in order to act effectively. However, state security, indeed survival, demands that some kinds of information be kept behind closed doors. Traditionally, this demand for official secrecy is even greater in Westminster-style systems, as the need to protect deliberations from public scrutiny has led to exceptionally broad restrictions on public access, of which Great Britain's Official Secrets Act is an example par excellence. However, the experiences of Canada, Australia and New Zealand with freedom-of-information statutes demonstrate that a general presumption of openness can be instituted without endangering the constitutional foundations of the state. Indeed, because secrecy breeds distrust and diminishes citizens' sense of efficacy, keeping official secrecy to the bare minimum actually strengthens the state's democratic foundations. The tension between openness and security cannot be resolved completely. However, democratic theory requires maximum possible openness, and current democratic practice, particularly with regard to freedom-of-information laws, shows that such a requirement is reasonable and to a large extent achievable. It should therefore be the task of democratic theory — and practice — to recognize and address the centrality of freedom of information, as well as to grapple with and comprehend, if not remove, the obstacles that prevent complete openness on the part of the state.

**Emamjomehzaded, Sayed J. and Jahanshahred, Hourii** - Women's Political Participation and Political Development

In view of the fact that women constitute half of the population and they are architects of family life, we should recognize their roles in societies. One of the important roles of women in different societies concerns with political participation and political development. Through political participation, individual rights and liberties in particular and democratic principles in general can be maintained and guaranteed. Five points show the significance of women's political participation. They include (1) democracy can be achieved when women as half of the population participate in leadership and decision making of societies; (2) different policies and laws may be only acceptable and enforceable when all of the people including women, take part in making them; (3) concerning various interests and needs of the people, women that are much better familiar with their interests and needs, can better find out ways to properly meet them; (4) in some issues such as children, birth control and the like, women can better undertake initiatives and recognize preferences; (5) with regard to the fact that women possess capacities and suitable capabilities, political participation of women can really contribute to the better use of human resources. Given the said points, the facilities and necessary conditions such as high education, economic power, legal protection and social norms are very important to provide political participation of women in the societies. With the exclusion of half of the population the path of development will be imperfectly followed. In the Holy Quran there are some verses which refer to this participation. For instance in S.9 A.71 we read: "The Believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another: they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil: they observe regular prayers, pay alms and obey Allah and his messenger". This verse indicates that men and women both participate in social, economic, political and religious affairs. Also, there are some prominent women in history of Islam who participated in political and even military affairs. In general, political participation of women is theoretically acceptable and we are expected to accomplish it practically. It needs an environment in which pressure, oppression and discrimination are excluded and freedom, human rights, enhancement in knowledge, some reforms in structure of government and legal codes for women are included. Islamic societies in this context should cooperate with each other to legislate related laws and try to implement them.

**Erickson, Lynda and Matthews, J. Scott** - Circling the Wagons?: The Social Distribution of Social Citizenship Opinion, 1988-2000

Although the politics of welfare state retrenchment is a major issue in the current literature on social policy-making, in Canada one area of this politics that has received relatively little attention is that of public opinion. In earlier work (Erickson and Matthews 2003) we looked at the structure and dynamics of support for state welfare provision and various aspects of "new" social citizenship (women's rights, gay rights, etc.) from 1988 to 2000 in an effort to address this gap in our knowledge. We found evidence of some change in public support for traditional social programs and new social citizenship rights, but found that this change was complex and varied across different elements of the social policy package. But we have yet to address the question of the social bases of the changes we have documented. With recent debates highlighting the relevance of the social bases of support for a welfare state in "regress" (Pierson 2000; Korpi and Palme 2003), questions concerning the distribution of opinion across various groups have become especially relevant. Building on our earlier work that identified a number of empirically distinct dimensions of opinion on social citizenship issues, we will examine the social correlates of support for these dimensions, and trace change through time within and across groups. This will allow us to test a number of hypotheses concerning the selective withdrawal of support for welfare

state policies and the growth of a new politics surrounding issues of social citizenship. The data to be used in the paper come from the Canadian Election Studies from 1988 to 2000.

**Erler, Helen** - Shortened Time Horizons and Economic Growth: The Impact of Legislative Term Limits on Economic Policy

This paper examines the effect of shortened time horizons on economic growth using cross-sectional fiscal data from the U.S. states from 1977 to 2001. Due to the passage of legislative term limits in nearly half of the states, the U.S. states furnish a natural experiment with which to test the effects of finite time horizons and political uncertainty on economic growth. Research in comparative politics has shown that the shortened time horizons associated with electoral uncertainty are negatively correlated with public investment and economic growth. A government that is uncertain about whether it will be in power in the future has little incentive to carry out long-term economic policies. By increasing turnover within the legislature and, consequently, increasing political uncertainty, states with term limits should have lower levels of economic growth than states without term limits. Further, this paper argues that term limits give legislators greater incentives to deviate from socially optimal fiscal policy by altering the costs and benefits associated with certain types of economic policies. This paper builds on the broader literature on the relationship between political institutions and economic policy as well as the effects of institutional change on policy outcomes. This paper expands on my dissertation research on the impact of term limits on spending patterns and tax rates in the U.S. states.

**Evans, Bryan** - Constructing a Neo-liberal State: The Transformation of Managerial Culture within the Ontario Public Service

The shrinking of the Keynesian state involves much more than the structural dismantling of public institutions. Ideas, ideology and structures are intimately linked. The construction of the state apparatus which managed post-war order was broadly informed by Keynesian ideas. However ideas require carriers, agents in order to be operationalized. Much as a generation of Keynesian trained economists and policy analysts institutionalized an official 'state ideology' in the 1940's to the 1960's, a new generation of senior public servants steeped in both the ideas and practice of neo-liberalism have moved into positions of managerial and policy leadership. Antonio Gramsci proposed that 'the life of the state is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria'. The organic intellectuals of the charged with the consolidation of the neo-liberal era, consist in part, of state managerial elites. This paper proposes that a cultural shift has begun within the senior ranks of the Ontario Public Service, a cultural shift which both reflects and facilitates the reconstruction of the Ontario provincial state as a neo-liberal state. This study is a qualitative research project based on respondent interviews with 40 current and former members of the Senior Management Group (managers, directors, assistant deputy ministers) and Deputy Ministers of the Ontario Public Service. The informants were identified through a nonrandom sampling process of 'snowballing' where one case would lead to the identification of another case and the process repeats. In other words one connection leads to another and so on. The reason why this method was chosen has to do with the difficulty in accessing senior Ontario public managers. Given the paucity of studies exploring public management culture especially in Canada let alone a provincial state this work is unique. Moreover the study of the agents of paradigm change is very underdeveloped and again, this is especially so in the case of Canada. This work should spark interest in 'public managers' as an object of further study. This study is a first step in a broader research agenda which will explore 'public management culture in a neo-liberal era' from a pan-Canadian comparative perspective. In other words it is proposed that a similar study be carried out in key provinces. In addition, changing terrain of the work process within the state requires greater investigation of the state as a workplace. This is especially important given the increasing move toward creating a more flexible public service workforce.

**Fast, Travis** - Regressive Competitiveness: Competition, Labour Market Regulation, and Distribution

This paper investigates a straightforward question: What is the link between competition, labour market regulation, and income distribution. The immediate rationale for such a broad based and integrative approach is that the three most pervasive macroeconomic shifts across advanced capitalism over the past thirty years have been a secular slowdown in the rate of economic growth corresponding with persistently high levels of structural and cyclical unemployment and increasing labour income inequality. All welfare states engage in redistribution of some form or another: some aggressively so, others only insignificantly so (for example, Sweden and the US respectively). Much of the current literature on welfare state restructuring has been limited to an assessment of the quantitative changes to the level of transfers. However, determining the absolute and relative distributional role of the welfare state lies not only in determining the level of transfers to individuals, but, also, the way in which the qualitative conditions attached to those transfers interact with existing labour market conditions and the broader macroeconomic environment. Conventional examinations of the relationship between competition, labour market regulation, and distribution either assume that the present polarisation of income, between and within classes, is a transient problem of adjustment which is frustrated by inappropriate state policies in the field of labour market regulation (neoliberal political economy), or stem from a failure by the state to evolve the necessary institutions for coordinating high road competitiveness policies such as investment in human capital and supports for labour mobility (institutionalists). Both of these approaches are predicated on the common assumption that increased competition and the technological innovations which have enabled firms to restructure along flexible lines can be understood apart from the broader set of capitalist social relations in which production, exchange and distribution are embedded. The purpose of this paper is not merely to act as counter point to neoliberal and institutionalist

accounts of restructuring, although this is one of the underlying motivations, but more importantly to contribute to Marxist scholarship on restructuring in general and Canadian Marxist political economy in particular.

**Ferguson, Peter** - Breaking Up is Hard to Do: Incorporating Uncertainty into Rational Choice Accounts of Democratic Breakdown

In this paper, I advance a new rational choice model of democratic breakdown. Current efforts fail to explicitly account for the notion of democratic uncertainty - the idea that political forces comply with present defeats because democratic competition will permit them to advance their interests in the future. The model argues that when considering whether to support democratic breakdown, actors calculate the net present value of goods received and then, recognizing the uncertainty of democracy, they inflate/deflate these values to account for future changes in government. In addition, they consider rewards expected under a non-democratic regime, the costs associated with such a fight and the chances of success or failure. I hypothesize that player  $i$  should support democratic breakdown when,  $(P_i) \ddot{a}_i < (R_i - C_i) \ddot{i}_i$  where:  $P_i$  is the net present value of goods received under the democratic regime,  $\ddot{a}_i$  is the discount/inflation factor of democratic uncertainty,  $R_i$  is the reward expected under the non-democratic system,  $C_i$  is the cost of the fight over regime change, and,  $\ddot{i}_i$  is the assessment of the chance of a successful breakdown. In comparison to the existing literature, this model allows for more actors, iteration, more robust preference structures, and explicitly incorporates the risk of failure and the notion of democratic uncertainty. I test the model by drawing on information from twelve case studies of democratic breakdown. This paper is a chapter from my dissertation.

**Ferry, Leonard** - Will Novel Reading Make Me a Better Theorist?

It would be helpful to address two interdependent issues in thinking through the relationship that obtains between literature and politics. The issues are interdependent, but they involve a relatively clear priority in the sense that the one must be answered, in at least a rough and ready sense, prior to pursuing answers to the other. The two issues that I have in mind can most succinctly be put as questions (1) what is the relationship between literary texts and political theory/philosophy? and (2) what do we learn from this or that particular work. We know from Plato that the first question is an old one, but do we yet have a satisfactory answer? Is political theory the same as or different from literature, even when the literature in question is undeniably political? If the same, do we judge both by the same standards? What are those standards? If different, how do we relate the two? Is one 'scientific' and the other not, for instance? To answer the second question, of course, we will need to determine which works we are reading (the tragedies of Shakespeare, the poetry of Shelley, or political novels of Melville (say)). Yet even once we elect to discuss a given text there are more and other questions to be raised, not the least of which is the relationship to be played in our understanding of the work and its significance for politics of its form or structure. If literary texts differ from political texts, they do so quite strikingly in this sense; and so, it is important to speak to this, which cannot but re-introduce the first issue of the relation between literature and political theory. I have until now only posed questions, but I should confess to having some answers (though by no means all, and, unfortunately, too many that are at best only working ones). But I have been thinking these and other problems through in the writing of an introduction to an essay collection that addresses Martha Nussbaum's work on this topic, and I suspect that even the questions that I ask reveal my starting points. Nevertheless, Nussbaum's work in this area is certainly something that might make for a good discussion.

**Findlay, Tammy** - State Feminism in an Anti-State Era: Gender, Democracy, and Neoliberalism in Ontario

Accounts of state restructuring continue, in large part, to ignore the gendered nature of these processes. Of course, there is a body of feminist literature that highlights the negative impact of state restructuring on women. However, this literature tends to focus on either women as users of state programs and services, or as public sector workers. While my work draws upon both, I am interested in examining how neoliberal strategies aimed at the administrative structures of the state, have affected feminists working in the state bureaucracy in Ontario, and how this restructuring impacts women's movement strategies against neoliberalism. My paper, "State Feminism in an Anti-State Era: Gender, Democracy, and Neoliberalism in Ontario," will examine the impact of state restructuring, specifically the movement toward the marketization of the state through managerialism (or New Public Management), on the work of state feminists, and on women's structures of representation at the provincial level. Focussing on the activities of the Ontario Women's Directorate, and other women's policy machinery, specifically in relation to labour market policy, the paper will demonstrate that a shift occurred within the Ontario bureaucracy, away from advocating for women as workers, and toward promoting the development of women's entrepreneurial initiative. The paper will explore both the challenges posed to women's representation by neoliberal public management, and the promise of democratic administration, to foster democratic and representative state structures for women. The paper will be based on interviews with feminist bureaucrats and women's movement activists in Ontario, done between the fall of 2003 and the spring of 2004.

**Fournier, Bernard** - Clustering the Participation of High School Students: New Data from St. John's, Newfoundland  
Since 1990, several colleagues and I have had the opportunity to distribute surveys in Quebec, France and Belgium on youth participation and political interests. This data constitutes a rare source of information for analysing the political attitudes of 16-18 years old. This year, we are planning to distribute the same survey to the student population in St. John's, Newfoundland (800 high school students). In particular, participation in more than 20 movements and associations will be compared with similar data collected in Quebec City in 1998. At that time in Quebec, for example, more than two-

thirds of young people were participating in one association or another (a figure which clearly needs to be assessed according to the type of participation). Can we draw a similar portrait for Newfoundland and Labrador today? In conformity with our previous research objectives, we want to go beyond the usual snapshots provided by survey instruments, and illustrate the complexities of participation behaviour beyond usual sociological indicators. For the latter, for example, the variation in a population is merely indicated between male and female population, without stressing so much internal differences within either population. Cluster analysis, and particularly hierarchical cluster analysis, is a perfect tool for this different view: with a more precise image of the various forms of participation, and with the different attitudes about involvement attached to them, several distinct discourses might be differently qualified. Moreover, the understanding of political socialization processes could also be questioned. This task, indeed, is crucial to assess and critique existing opinions about youth participation in politics.

**Friesen, Elizabeth** - Transnational Networks, the International Financial Architecture, and the Transformative Potential of Ideas

This paper addresses the question of through what processes and on what authority is the international financial system (IFS) constructed, reconstructed, and reproduced? Historically political contestation has been central to this but, in this paper, it is argued that the nature of this contestation is changing. While state actors continue to play an important role, an unprecedented number of non-state, public as well as private actors and institutions now seek a voice in determining the "architecture" of the IFS. This paper focuses on the power of transnational networks to influence the reproduction and reconstruction of the IFS and focuses on the role of ideas in this process. Two case studies - the World Economic Forum and the World Social Forum - are used to explore the impact of identity based values and principled ideas in this process of contestation. Examining the interplay between the discourse of the two forums will provide a rich basis of analysis and an opportunity to better understand how the tensions between material interests, beliefs, values and identity play out in practice.

**Froese, Marc D.** - Theorizing Institutional Influence: The Impact of the WTO on Canadian Trade Policy

It is well-recognized that multilateral trade rules have created a new set of opportunities and constraints, that are often imposed on the Canadian political economy from outside (McBride 2001, Drache 2001, Clarkson 2002). However, little research has been conducted into how the World Trade Organization influences domestic decision-making in Canada. This paper is a theoretical starting point for my dissertation research, and explores the influence of the WTO's Trade Policy Review Mechanism and Dispute Settlement Mechanism on Canadian trade policy formation. Preliminary research suggests that an emergent set of legal norms and political values at the WTO competes with Canadian decision-making processes. With respect to trade policy, the WTO has developed a characteristic interpretation of international trade law, often at odds with Canadian domestic priorities. There is a significant body of research in the European Union, where much of the literature on the domestic impacts of supra-national governance structures originates (de Burca and Scott 2000). However, this is a relatively new area of study for Canadian governance specialists, who often focus on the other side of the issue, Canadian foreign policy in the multilateral context (Cooper 1993). The lengthening reach of the WTO into domestic policy areas requires that neo-institutional methodology take international institutions into account when explaining national institutional change. In concrete terms, this means that more empirical research is required to adequately explain the role of international governance institutions in national processes of trade policy convergence.

**Frohlich, Norman** - Cracks in the Public Choice Foundation

Public choice theory, and its kissing cousins, economics and game theory, are built deductively on propositions which are false. This may seem to be 'not so serious' as many theories are only approximations. But the onrush of experimental methods has shown the problems to be greater than one of inaccurate but workable proportions. We consider the nature of the problems and possible solutions and work-arounds.

**Galabuzi, Grace-Edward** - Beyond Class Compromise: Zambian Copper Miners and New Radicalism in the Neo-liberal Era

The paper discusses the role of Zambian miners in the resistance against the corporate take over of the Zambian copper industry following the denationalization of the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines, imposed on the Zambia people by global capital embodied in the International financial institutions and the transnational mining corporations. Zambian miners hold a vaunted place in the political economic history of Zambia and they are well positioned to lead the counter movement against the neo-liberal project in Zambia. No social force has had as decisive an impact on socio-political and economic developments in Zambia as have the mineworkers. Today, as Zambia stands at a crossroads, in the midst of a socio-economic crisis on the Zambian Copperbelt that has thrown over 80% of the population into poverty and diminished the ranks of miners to a fraction of their historic numbers, Zambian miners, are turning to a new radicalism in search of new political formations that can recapture their glory as the vanguard of the peoples' struggle against predatory global capitalism. In the paper I discuss the extent to which the political decision by the Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) in the early 1990 to embrace the MMD's neo-liberal agenda of privatization, deregulation and liberalization contributed to the present day socio-economic crisis. Was this class compromise over-determined by the structural power of global capital or did it represent a convergence of class interests? I conclude that the compromise undermined the power of the Zambian working class and allowed the alliance between global capital and Zambian business and political elites to

become ascendant. I then consider the subsequent attempts to re-assert class-based modes of struggle against the entrenchment of the neo-liberal project, as evidenced through the attempts by some radical affiliates of the Mineworkers Union of Zambia to disaffiliate from the national union and their key role in the numerous anti-government strikes and riots in Luanshya over the last few years.

**Garber, Judith** - The Role of Cities in Achieving National/Regional & Global Security

Discussions of national, regional, and global security, and above all discussions of border enforcement, tend to be directed almost entirely towards the nation-state. But the actions that countries are taking to seal their borders, to seal them more tightly, and to seal them selectively--against certain groups--have begun to involve cities significantly. This is perhaps most obviously true in the US, but it is also true in Canada and in Europe, because policing and control of space are quintessentially local functions across many countries. I will discuss how, since September 11, 2001, local governments are increasingly helping to secure national borders in two major ways. First, cities are actively and sometimes eagerly helping to erect, maintain, and protect borders. In particular, local police forces are shifting their priorities and resources to antiterrorism activities such as intelligence-gathering and surveillance of spaces and people, in conjunction with the data, training, technology, and money of security agencies, national and foreign-country police, and the military. In some cases, local police forces have taken the lead in incorporating antiterrorist activities into the military-style policing that was adopted in recent decades in reaction to youth gangs, drug control, and other street crimes. Second, cities are being subjected unwillingly to various costs of border security, where "costs" is defined broadly. The push for nationalization of immigration policy, and for uniform city borders, is widely evident. Notably, there is a move in the US to require local police (rather than federal immigration agents) to enforce immigration laws, which they have previously neither wanted nor been authorized to do. Cities at the Canada-US and US-Mexico borders have not only been burdened economically by border closures and slow-downs, but they are now formally enmeshed in identifying, detaining, or providing services to people not permitted to cross the border. I argue that national governments have a range of measures at their disposal--fiat, coercion, bribery, political pressure, etc.--to ensure local participation in the production and maintenance of the national borders. As well, contend that widespread local policing of the border helps normalize counterterrorism (and anti-immigrant) activities. Finally, I argue that the integration of cities into the border security regime undermines the possibility for plurality and publicity that are contained, at least, in urban areas.

**Gattinger, Monica** - Bringing the Transgovernmental In: Public Administration in the Context of Globalization

There has been relatively little systematic theoretical or empirical attention to the public sector dimension of international relations. Public administration scholars tend to train their sights on the domestic level and pay little or no attention to the public management dimension of international affairs. Indeed, a recent edited volume studying contemporary public administration (Dunn, 2002) does not contain a single chapter examining transgovernmental relations. International relations scholars, meanwhile, have tended to oversimplify domestic politics and policy institutions (Doern, Pal and Tomlin, 1996: 5). This paper would seek to bridge this gap in the literature. Utilizing the concept of transgovernmentalism – relations between legislative, executive, regulatory and judicial players with their international counterparts (Slaughter, 1997) – it would aim to develop a typology of approaches, mechanisms and processes by which public sector players interact across borders (e.g., informal relations, formal agreements, joint institutions, etc.). Focusing on the Canada-United States relationship, it would employ a case study methodology to develop and test hypotheses that seek to account for the pattern of transgovernmental relations across policy fields or issues (e.g., energy, defence, health, etc.). This paper sits within the author's broader research interests regarding the influence of globalization on domestic public policy and public administration. Doern, G. Bruce, Leslie A. Pal and Brian Tomlin, eds., 1996. *Border Crossings: The Internationalization of Canadian Public Policy*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Dunn, Christopher, 2002. *The Handbook of Canadian Public Administration*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 1997. 'The Real New World Order,' *Foreign Affairs*. 76 (5), 183-197.

**Goldstein, Joshua** - Miseducations to Freedom: Hegel, Rousseau, and Liberalism's Legacy

Throughout his mature work, G.W.F. Hegel offers several, brief critiques of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's attempt to refound freedom on the 'general will.' Although layered in complexity, the thrust of the critiques is well known: Rousseau conceptually fails—a failure that shows itself historically, for Hegel, in the Terror of the French Revolution—because, ultimately, he cannot distinguish between the mere mechanical unity of will (the 'will of all') from what ought to be its qualitatively new shape as a universal will (the 'general will'). In describing Hegel's critique, many of the commentators have failed to see that, at its core, Hegel is pointing to Rousseau's inability to think beyond liberalism's legacy of the single individual. This critique will form the context for the thesis of this paper: that Hegel himself is not immune from the very problems he identifies in Rousseau. In his own attempt to formulate the true nature of freedom in terms of the will in the 1821 *Philosophy of Right*, he is constantly forced to make recourse to the very liberal conception of the will he is trying to overcome. Inattentiveness to the tension between Hegel's intent and the means he chooses to actualize it, has obscured the radical nature of his project. The result is that Hegel education to freedom becomes an unintentional miseducation that parallels Rousseau's own. By comparing Hegel's published attempt to think beyond the liberal will with his earlier, unpublished lectures on the philosophy of right in 1817–1819, I suggest it will be possible both to trace out the way in which this miseducation to freedom develops and to highlight those features of the liberal legacy most resistant to change.

This paper greatly expands, historically contextualizes, and takes in a new direction, one element initially sketched in my forthcoming book *Hegel's Idea of the Good Life*.

**Good, Kristin** - Multiculturalism in the City: Explaining Municipal Responsiveness to Immigration in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)

Immigrants comprise between 30 and 50 percent of many urban and suburban municipalities in Canada's largest city-regions. In addition, changes in the source countries of immigrants have resulted in municipal populations which are increasingly both ethnically and racially diverse. However, since immigration is outside their jurisdiction, and because Canadian municipalities have been viewed by many as mere administrative arms of provincial governments, the way in which municipal governance structures adapt to these dramatic social changes has received insufficient academic attention. The budding literature indicates that the way in which municipalities respond to immigration varies. Municipalities are not simply carrying out policy decisions made at the provincial level. Rather, they are democratic governments that are variably responsive to changes in constituent preferences. The paper presents the initial findings of an ongoing research project. Given the newness of the empirical terrain, it begins by asking: In precisely what ways do Canadian municipalities vary in their responsiveness to immigrants? Essentially, it describes and evaluates the types of policy responses that exist at the municipal level in Canada. Second, the paper explores the ability of the American urban politics theory to shed light on why Canadian municipalities vary in their responsiveness to immigrants. [Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data collected on municipal websites, in public documents and through interviews with key policy actors at the municipal level. It compares municipal responsiveness to immigration within and across two city regions. The following cases are examined: Vancouver, Richmond, Surrey and Coquitlam in the GVRD and Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the GTA].

**Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth** - Through a Different Lens? Television News Coverage of Female Politicians in the 2000 Canadian Federal Election Campaign

Male and female politicians are covered differently in the Canadian news media (see Gidengil and Everitt 1999, 2000, 2003; Robinson and Saint-Jean 1991, 1995). Gidengil and Everitt's analyses of differences in portrayals of male and female politicians in coverage of televised leaders' election debates has established several important theses. In Canada, as in the U.S., the concept of 'gendered mediation' provides purchase in conceptualizing how female politicians are reported. The concept of gendered mediation holds that female politicians get less unmediated speaking time than male counterparts; by extension the views and actions of women politicians are subject to more interpretive analysis as opposed to simple descriptive reporting. Moreover, media coverage is also gendered in that modes of interpretation in the news media – the 'filter' through which politicians are commented on – are gendered. Dominant news frames are defined in large measure by masculine experiences and viewpoints, resulting in an approach to news that relies on war, sport, and games metaphors to report politics. While Gidengil and Everitt find little evidence that women politicians receive less unmediated speaking time relative to their actual participation in debates (2000), political women are more likely to receive interpretive comments by news personnel; women politicians are portrayed as more aggressive than they actually behave; and election news does focus on war and sport metaphors. The proposed paper extends these analyses in several ways. First, it examines media coverage of the entire 2000 federal election campaign. Second, it attempts to gauge sex-differentiated coverage of both party leaders and non-leaders. The data are derived from a content analysis of the CBC's English-language coverage of the 2000 federal election campaign, conducted as part of the Canadian Election Study (CES). The data set covers each news story broadcast during the 35-day campaign, for a total of 162 stories. The coding scheme is quite thorough, for it includes data about every aspect of a news story from the lead-in to the wrap-up. Using the concept of gendered mediation as the guiding framework, the paper addresses the following themes. First, the paper examines whether Alexa McDonough's coverage was systematically different from Joe Clark's coverage in 2000. Clark is the best comparison for McDonough given that the two leaders and their parties entered the campaign with similar popular ratings: both leaders and their parties were ruled out as contenders from the start. More specifically, the analysis addresses whether Clark received more sound bites than McDonough; whether Clark's sound bites were longer than McDonough's; and whether news personnel offered more analytical/evaluative comments, as opposed to descriptive comments, on McDonough's view and actions. Second, the paper will address portrayals of the behaviour of Clark and McDonough. Using coding on tone of speech and bodily gestures, the analysis will determine whether McDonough was portrayed as more aggressive or hostile than Clark throughout the campaign. Finally, although news media focus overwhelmingly on party leaders in their election coverage, the paper attempts to gauge the extent of sex-differentiated coverage of candidates other than party leaders. In this section, the comparison will be primarily between male and female Liberal cabinet ministers.

**Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth and Anderson, Cameron** - Public Support for Direct Democracy in Canada: The 'Post-Charlottetown' Era and Beyond

There is a widespread sense that Canadians are frustrated with the nature of democratic process in Canada, resulting in what has been termed a "democratic malaise". In recent years, a variety of developments – from the Charlottetown referendum to sovereignty referenda in Quebec to recall legislation in British Columbia – have reflected a desire of citizens for enhanced involvement in political decision-making. While these developments have been covered widely in the media and studied in recent provincial commissions (including Quebec, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island),

we do not possess a thorough understanding of public opinion toward the use of referenda or whether experiences over the past decade have altered public support for direct democratic modes of decision-making. The objective of this paper is to build on past studies of public attitudes toward referenda (and direct democracy more generally) in order to achieve a more complete and focused understanding of this critical subject matter. Using data from the 1993, 1997, and 2000 Canadian Election Studies (CES), we examine whether support for referenda has changed over the last decade, and if so, why and in which provinces. Given the relative quieting of the sovereignty debate in Québec, we expect a decline in support for referenda in the province toward the end of the 1990s. Meanwhile, there are reasons to expect that Albertans and British Columbians are more supportive of the use of referenda than their counterparts in other provinces, owing primarily to provincial histories of experimentation with direct democracy and feelings of regional alienation. We also gauge the impact of partisan identifications. We expect that Reform/Canadian Alliance supporters (due to populist elements and intermittent advocacy of direct democracy from within the party policy and ideology) are more likely to support direct democracy in all parts of the country. By extension, we expect that Bloc Québécois identifiers are more supportive of the use of referenda compared to other party supporters in Québec, especially given that the sovereigntist-federalist cleavage has been the most salient divide between the BQ and the old-line parties in the province. In addition to region and partisanship, we also examine how support for referenda relates to factors such as education, political knowledge levels, political efficacy, and political interest. While Mendelsohn and Cutler (2000) have shown that referenda experiences can increase knowledge and heighten political interest among citizens, we address how these sorts of factors bear on public attitudes toward the referendum mechanism itself. In addition, we assess how minority group membership influences support for referenda. As Mendelsohn and Parkin (2001) note, the referendum is a majoritarian form of decision-making that carries a threat of political polarization, especially in societies historically divided along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines. In an era characterized by repeated calls for institutional reform and more responsive politicians, not to mention declining voter turnout levels and diminishing party membership rosters, the issue of alternative modes of political decision-making is high on the public agenda. It is imperative that we delve further in our understandings of public attitudes toward these important issues.

**Gordon, Todd** - The New Vagrancy Laws and the Politics of Poverty in Canada

This paper is a study of the policing of the poor in Canada today. Based on study of government policy and laws, analysis of appropriate field research, and historical investigation of laws relating to the poor, it argues that vagrancy laws are being de facto re-established outside the Criminal Code and that this policing is a central component of social policy in the period of neoliberalism. In Canada, the use of vagrancy laws for the policing of the poor began in the mid-nineteenth century. Vagrancy laws criminalized being able-bodied but without work, and thus helped to establish a market in wage labour by diminishing alternatives to the wage for subsistence. This law remained a central feature of the Criminal Code into the twentieth century, but was considerably de-fanged by a series of amendments in the 1950s and '70s, negating the fairly broad and sweeping mandate it provided police to target the unemployed. However, with the emergence of neoliberalism and attempts by employers and government to establish a flexible and cheaper labour market, we are witnessing the de facto renewed criminalization of vagrancy via municipal by-laws, zero tolerance policing and laws like Ontario's Safe Streets Act. Although no changes to the Criminal Code have been made, it is effectively no longer legal for the able-bodied to (in the words of the old vagrancy law) "wander or trespass without means of support". By situating these by-laws and policing strategies within the broad historical context of vagrancy law and its role in labour market formation, this paper provides an alternative approach to our understanding of the policing of poverty, moving us beyond more commonplace ones that focus too narrowly on its relation to gentrification of city centres or the desire to hide the "other", i.e. the poor, from sight. In so doing, the paper also demonstrates that political restructuring does not necessarily mean less state today, but a different, often more coercive, role for the state.

**Grace, Joan** - The State of the Movement: Women's Political Activism in Manitoba

Women's political activism has made a significant contribution to the democratic project. In the late 1990s, voices on the right were questioning the continued viability, even necessity of the women's movement (Chwialkowska, National Post, 1998), while others on the left feel that the movement is still with us, but is nonetheless in abeyance (Wood, Smith, Findlay, Canadian Dimension, 2003). With that in mind, this paper will explore the following central question: What is the state of the women's movement? This question is focused around the activities of women in Manitoba, with particular attention to the elements of women's political activism, how women are mobilizing for change and to what end. A number of studies have examined women's political activism, although there have been few studies focusing on Western Canada, and even fewer analysing the provincial case. One important exception is the recent study by Lois Harder (Harder, Feminism and Politics in Alberta, 2003). Another significant contribution is the compendium of articles exploring women's politics across Canada with one chapter comparatively analysing women's political activism in Alberta, Ontario and Newfoundland (Tremblay and Andrew, eds., Women and Political Representation in Canada, 1998). These articles are largely framed around an understanding that economic restructuring has had stark consequences for women who have become caught up in a "politics of marginalization" (Brodie, Ibid., 21). However, although confronted with challenges, Pauline Rankin and Jill Vickers reminds us that women are acting politically (Rankin and Vickers, Ibid). This is further supported in my study of women's political mobilization in Manitoba which found that even though a key group, the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women disbanded in 1999 due to federal government funding cutbacks women are very active at the grassroots level and in established organizations (Grace, In for the Long Haul, Canadian

Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, forthcoming). Yet, from a theoretical perspective, we need to further explore what constitutes women's political activism, especially in consideration of young women's feminisms and the way in which they are seeking new spaces and places for political expression. Empirically, we also need to map out and attend to the way in which women are mobilizing to express a feminist agenda in conjunction with assessing opportunities and barriers. This paper will analyse political activism from a qualitative perspective in analysis and data collection. Individuals and activists with women's groups will be interviewed in order to determine ideas, motivations and action strategies. I will also closely examine information from women's groups and government documents, legislative debates and media reports. This paper is part of a wider study on women's political activism in Western Canada.

**Graefe, Peter** - Competitive Nationalism and the Patronat: Redefining the Class Bases of Quebec Nationalism

The rescaling of the state, a process often associated with the phenomenon of globalization, has expanded opportunities for political and policy action at the level of the subnational region (Jessop 2002; Peck 2002). The forms and consequences of these policies and actions are nevertheless open to contest, as actors in the regional space must mobilize alliances or development coalitions to seize the opening presented by rescaling (Keating 1998). In this context, it is worth exploring how regional identities and ideologies, including those of minority nations, are redefined in order to respond to and make the most of the opportunities presented by "globalization." While work on rescaling and new regionalism recognize that regional projects are exercises of power, and are not immune from the tendential shift towards neoliberalism, they recognize the need for more empirical work to reveal the linkages between perceived structural changes (e.g. "globalization") and the recomposition of political action (MacLeod 2001; Uitermark 2002; Agnew 2000). The proposed paper takes up this call by considering how the renovation of the mainstream nationalist strategy in the early 1990s, with an emphasis on using the nation as a means of facing global economic competition, changed its strategic receptivity to the ideas and place of Québec's employers' federations. It will argue that despite unchanged positions on key tenets of Québec nationalism (pro-federalist; opposed to language laws), the new "competitive nationalism" of the 1990s positioned employers as centrally important actors for the development and prosperity of the nation. In the process, actors on the left flank of the nationalist coalition, including labour unions, found it increasingly difficult to participate in defining the national project. This paper builds on my previously published work on nationalism and economic development strategies in Québec, and makes use of research on Québec's employers' associations undertaken in 2002 and 2003.

**Green, Joyce** - Trailblazing: Charting Aboriginal Identities and Nationalism in the Era of Globalization

In this paper I trace the many tensions that form a philosophical and political wilderness through which Aboriginal and other scholars and activists must find a stable path over which contemporary people can walk to a future that they also shape. Historically colonized Aboriginal nations are now also part of the framework, no matter how peripherally, of globalised consumer culture and its ideology. Yet, those who theorise decolonisation seek space for authentic traditional and contemporary political and cultural expression. The tensions framed by mass media, globalised capitalism, identity and nationalist claims, and the hegemony of the state of Canada bear down powerfully on those who would resist. Still, there may be political possibility for indigenous contestation in which the result is not simply insertion into the state and capitalist economy. If that possibility exists, it does so only because of the healthy, compelling cultural ethos and identity offered by contemporary Aboriginal cultures relative to the dominant option.

**Grey, Sandra** - An attack on feminism: Childcare discourses and neo-liberal beliefs in Australia and New Zealand

The women's movement is frequently attributed with having brought about major social and political change during the latter part of the 20th century. An analysis of childcare debates in Australia and New Zealand illustrates that the influence of women's movements on this topic have been placed under attack by successive governments in both nations. Even in Australia where a women's movement ensured that childcare was accepted as an industrial issue during the 1980s, neo-liberal assertions about targeted assistance and economic independence have overshadowed the feminist discourse. This paper explores why women's movements had varying levels of influence in childcare policies in New Zealand and Australia, and why neo-liberal proponents were so successful in gaining discursive dominance. An analysis of discursive change and 'discourse coalitions' provides evidence of the ways in which discursive legacies, frame alignment, and political networks have hindered women's movements seeking universal childcare provision and aided the cause of neo.

**Groves, Robert** - Changing Conceptions of Tolerance

In the last twenty years a surprisingly small amount of work has been done in unpacking the idea of tolerance as a concept within political philosophy. Of the work that has been done, a significant percentage of it now holds that tolerance should no longer be seen as involving key ideas of agent restraint and disapproval, but instead puts forward newer conceptions of tolerance as involving forms of acceptance, or even claims of recognition, as the work of A. Galeotti or M. Walzer reveals. I wish to trace out the evolution of this relatively recent conceptualization project, and establish how even the older Oxford English Dictionary sense of tolerance presumes a particular view of recognition which facilitated the genesis of the new set of tolerance conceptions.



**Grundy, John and Smith, Miriam** - Rescaling Political Participation: LGBT Youth Organizing in Toronto

By conventional measures, youth political participation in Canada is in decline. Yet, there is some evidence that Canadian youth are involved in new forms of political participation through social movements and alternative forms of political advocacy. This paper presents a qualitative case study of youth political participation in lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) organizations in Toronto based on interviews and focus groups with youth activists, conducted as part of a large-scale study of LGBT non-profits in Toronto. The paper outlines the ways in which youth have been disengaged by the dominant pan-Canadian LGBT movement, much as described in the literature on declining youth political participation in interest group politics. However, the paper shows that, at the local level, LGBT youth are a strong presence in the urban LGBT community. Drawing on the literature on the rescaling of social movement politics and citizenship, the study argues that lesbian and gay! youth have created a local urban citizenship that challenges the dominance of rights-based legal issues in the pan-Canadian lesbian and gay rights movements, issues which do not speak to the needs and political values of LGBT youth. While youth may appear to be absent at the level of pan-Canadian LGBT advocacy, they are active at the local and community level, an activism which calls into question the traditional focus on the nation-state as the locus of political participation.

**Hankivsky, Olena** - Gender Mainstreaming: An Examination of the Role and Transformative Potential of Feminist Theory

Gender mainstreaming has emerged as a key strategy for advancing gender equality at all levels of public policy. However, there has been a lack of academic contributions to the debate regarding GM. In particular, the discursive effects of GM on constructions of gender and equality have not been interrogated. Moreover, the role of feminist theory in providing conceptual and analytical knowledge of the complex circumstances involving gender differences remains largely uninvestigated. In this paper, I explore the conceptualization of GM and obstacles to its effective implementation, paying particular attention to the Canadian context. I suggest that one of the greatest impediments to its growth and impact has been GM's disconnect with its feminist theoretical groundings. Significantly, the connection to recent development in understanding gender equality and the interface between gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and power are not reflected in the concept of GM or the strategies and tools that have been developed to engender public policy. And yet, it is the very knowledge embedded within feminist theory, and specifically equality/difference and diversity debates, that is essential to being able to ask the right questions, to develop the right approaches, and to anticipate intended and unintended consequences of policy decisions. The argument of the paper is that the relationship of feminist theory and practice need to be interrogated and redefined if! GM is to realize its potential to transform the mainstream. The paper is part of the author's ongoing program of research which seeks to bridge the gap between theoretical and public policy analyses.

**Harrison, Kathy** - Races to the Bottom? Provincial Interdependence in the Canadian Federation

The concept of a "race to the bottom" has gained increasing attention in recent years, both internationally, in the context of debates about the impact of globalization on public policy, and domestically, in the context of debates about decentralization and devolution of policymaking authority to the provinces. While there has been no shortage of theorizing about this intergovernmental dynamic, empirical studies have been in short supply. Within Canada, we know relatively little about the degree to which provinces respond to each other's policy initiatives and, to the extent they do, whether the outcome is the inevitable downward competition suggested by the race to the bottom model. This paper first will offer a conceptual framework for analysis of provincial interdependence. It will distinguish between two different interprovincial dynamics: benchmarking, in which information crossing provincial boundaries is the primary source of interdependence, and race's to the bottom (or top), where the real or perceived mobility of influential actors is the basis for interdependence. The paper will argue for more nuanced models of intergovernmental competition, in recognition of provinces' competing incentives (pressures upward and downward) in the context of both horizontal and vertical intergovernmental relationships. Second, the paper will review evidence concerning the incidence of these dynamics in different policy fields, drawing on case studies of provincial policymaking in different fields by the author and colleagues from economics and political science: business taxation (McKenzie), tobacco taxation (Harrison), environmental regulation (Olewiler), social assistance (Boychuk), minimum wages (Harrison and Green), and industrial policy (Brown).

**Heatley, Joshua** - Banks versus Citizens in Internationalized Financial Markets

The dominant paradigm in the field of international political economy suggest that international capital mobility reduces state capacity to maintain burdensome regulations and tax regimes that raise the cost of financial service provision and diminish bank profitability. The increased ability for capital to exit and evade national jurisdictions facilitates regulatory arbitrage and a 'race to the bottom' (RTB) in financial regulation and taxation. Hungary and Poland are crucial cases. If any states should succumb to a race to the bottom in financial regulation and taxation, it should be these two. First, they are small, transitional and emerging economies that are dependent on external capital markets. Second, foreign banks control some 70% of their banking sector assets. While Hungary's regulatory climate is consistent with the RTB hypothesis, bank regulators in Poland have imposed a burdensome and conservative regulatory regime that surpasses the European Union's minimum standards. This variation suggests that A) at a minimum the RTB hypothesis needs revision and that B) some states are more susceptible than others to convergence pressures. In an effort to explain the

differences in the regulatory climates of two states confronted by similar external and internal constraints, I conducted some 70 interviews at Hungary and Poland's finance ministries, central banks, and financial regulators. The data collected suggests that many of the competing explanations that are typically used to account for regulatory diversity in the global economy are unable to account for the variation in Hungary and Poland. However, recent scholarly efforts trumpeting the importance of ideas and 'regime orientations' in economic policy outcomes appear promising.

**Henderson, Ailsa** - Satisfaction with Democracy: Evidence from Westminster Systems

Awareness of voter dissatisfaction has prompted various attempts at institutional reform in Westminster political systems. Such reforms have attempted to increase the influence of backbench members, strengthen the role of committees and improve opportunities for public participation. Those pushing for change argue that such changes will have a positive impact on popular estimations of politics and the political system. In the absence of a clear understanding of the predictors of voter dissatisfaction, however, it is not clear what reformers are reacting to, nor what voters see as the source of their malaise. This paper examines voter satisfaction with democracy in Westminster systems in an effort to determine which factors can best account for declining confidence, satisfaction, efficacy and trust in politics. It pays particular attention to the influence of electoral systems, the role of politicians, and other civic institutions to determine whether the Westminster system itself is producing citizen malaise, or whether certain design features can be held responsible. In its analysis the paper relies on data from election studies in Canada, the UK, Australia and New Zealand.

**Heinmiller, B. Timothy** - Instruments and Dynamics of Regulatory Harmonization: The Case of Insurance Within the Canadian Financial Services Sector

This paper examines governmental regulation in a very significant but understudied sector of the Canadian economy – the insurance industry. Insurance regulation can be generally conceived as having three distinct but interrelated dimensions: market conduct regulation, in which the content and pricing of insurance contracts is the subject of regulation; prudential regulation, in which the solvency of insurance companies is the subject of regulation; and, entry regulation, in which the number and type of insurance companies conducting business in a given jurisdiction is the subject of regulation. In Canada, this distinction is particularly relevant given the prevailing intergovernmental division of labour in insurance regulation. For the most part, the provinces are the dominant regulators in market conduct issues, the federal government is the dominant regulator in prudential issues, and the two levels share responsibility in entry issues. This horizontal and vertical division of regulatory authority has created significant intergovernmental regulatory harmonization challenges, challenges that are particularly acute as the Canadian insurance sector is subjected to increasing competition in a global marketplace and growing international regulatory cooperation under the IAIS. Accordingly, Canadian governments have tried to utilize a wide range of harmonization 'instruments' in recent years, some involving unilateral federal action, some involving unilateral provincial action, some involving cooperative federal-provincial action, and some involving cooperative inter-provincial action. Drawing on findings from a number of market conduct, prudential, and entry issues, this paper surveys these instruments, inventories them, and analyzes their efficacy for the insurance sector and beyond.

**Hennigar, Matthew** - The Politics of Avoidance: The Canadian Government's Litigation Strategy in Sexual Orientation Cases

Canadian politics was thrown into turmoil this summer when the highest courts of two provinces, British Columbia and Ontario, declared the traditional heterosexual definition of marriage unconstitutional under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (*EGALE v. Canada* and *Halpern v. Canada*). The ensuing praise and condemnation of the courts was as expected given the highly-contentious subject matter, but what was not expected was that the Canadian federal government, which has jurisdiction over marriage (s.91.26, Constitution Act, 1867) would appeal neither ruling to the Supreme Court of Canada. The proposed paper analyzes the Canadian government's appellate litigation strategy in sexual-orientation cases, in an effort to determine what factors encourage an appeal to the SCC, and the government's jurisprudential goals—that is, what substantive legal arguments is the government promoting in these cases? Of particular note is the fact that the Liberal government refused to appeal a 1997 judicial amendment of the term "spouse" to include same-sex couples (*Rosenberg v. Canada*), even going so far as to fight off an extraordinary attempt by the Official Opposition to force a vote on the decision to appeal. Similarly, following the rulings this summer, the Liberal government referred draft legislation of a new marriage law, which complies with the lower court, to the SCC, but did not ask the Court to rule on the central equality rights issue. The proposed paper will therefore pay particular attention to the Liberal government's apparent reluctance to pursue sexual orientation cases in the highest court. The paper builds on methods developed in my doctoral dissertation, which analysed the Canadian federal government's decisions to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada in Charter cases.

**Hiebert, Maureen S.** - Constructing Victims: Reconceptualizing Identity and the Genocidal Process

In this paper it is argued that a necessary condition for genocide is a unique three-step reconceptualization of the victim group's identity. First, political elites and then the majority society transform the victim group from marginalized members of the political community to outsiders to whom the state and society owe no rights and obligations. Second, and crucially, the victims' identity is further reconstructed as dangerous foreigner-enemies whose continued physical existence is believed to pose an overwhelming danger to the political community's survival. The victim group is not simply

dehumanized, but “superhumanized”. Their physical presence is seen to be the ultimate source of their power and, therefore, danger. As such, the victim group must be liquidated in order to save the wider society. The actual process of destruction requires a final cognitive shift: regarding the victims as non-human. This gives the perpetrators the psychological means to eliminate large numbers of objectively innocent people. The research methodology employed in this paper is comparative, qualitative and historical. The paper builds on the work of other genocide scholars by problematizing exactly how genocidal elites come to view their victims in such a way that genocide becomes the only available solution to what is perceived to be a perilous problem. This paper is the final chapter of a dissertation entitled *The Origins of Genocide: Political Culture, Crisis, and the Construction of Victims*. The dissertation argues that genocide is distinguished by a unique three-step reconceptualization of the victims groups by elites and society. This process, and the ensuing genocide, occurs as a result of the historical existence of a “permissive” political culture, long-term destabilizing structural changes, and short-term crises.

**Hikel, Sabine** - *Patrolling the Boundaries: Discourses of Love in Political Science*

Within the canon of ancient to modern political theory—from Plato to Rousseau to Nietzsche—love routinely makes an appearance. Beginning in the 20th century, however, questions of romantic love were seen as antithetical to the science of politics. Serious academic inquiry on the subject is now left up to other disciplines; monographs on love by twentieth century theorists such as Barthes and Irigaray can be used by political theorists, but their treatments do not deal with love through the “lens” of political science, nor through its methods. At the same time, feminist critiques of love have remained largely unchanged from Mary Wollstonecraft to the second wave of feminist organizing in North America, wherein the standard feminist position on love was that it is inherently oppressive and ultimately deteriorates into a gendered pattern of domination and submission. Although third wave feminists have made some efforts to articulate the importance of love while remaining critical about its gendered underpinnings, the second wave critique remains intact. Using both historical analysis and textual analysis, I will consider why political science has resisted interest in this important facet of human experience while other disciplines have seen a recent jump in interest in emotion, affect and Jameson’s “intensities.” I will argue that both feminist and mainstream political theorists overlook love—a key to revolutionary activity, a force of power in individual lives and communities—at our own peril. I will argue that political science, in fact, can make a unique contribution to “amatory studies.” In asking what the study of love has to do with political science, I will answer by considering what political science can contribute to the study of love.

**Hill, Carey** - *Regulatory Federalism: A Comparative Study of Safe Drinking Water Policy Implementation in British Columbia, Canada, and Washington, USA*

There has been considerable debate within federal states about the appropriate role of the federal government in setting national standards. The question of jurisdiction has been a prominent issue with respect to environmental policy, and drinking water, more specifically. For example, concerned citizens and environmental organizations such as the Sierra Legal Defense Fund (2001) have called on the Canadian federal government to issue national standards pointing to the American Safe Drinking Water Act as a benchmark. The centralized American system wherein the federal government effectively regulates states through coercive legal and financial threats is in sharp contrast to the Canadian decentralized model of each province setting its own standards. This important difference between the Canadian and US federal systems presents an opportunity to empirically examine the implications of these two contrasting federalisms. What happens when governments regulate governments within a federal state? The study of regulatory federalism with respect to drinking water policies can shed new light on intergovernmental relations as well as implementation challenges. This paper examines intergovernmental relations at both federal-state and federal-municipal, as well as state-municipal levels. Using a public choice framework and comparative case study methodology the paper examines the hypothesis that while intergovernmental relations will be worse in a top-down model, a regulatory federalism framework in which one level of government regulates another offers better protection for public health. The expectation is that when governments regulate governments, the government being regulated behaves akin to a private actor facing unwanted regulation evidenced, for example, by a focus on economic costs rather than social benefits. As state governments have more resources to protect and more votes to lose, they can be expected to act more adversely to regulation than local governments, though local governments may take on some characteristics of private actors. Finally, safe drinking water quality outcomes depend on the degree to which governments are held accountable in a principle-agent relationship. The six case studies involve three paired Canada-US groupings: (1) Vancouver, British Columbia and Seattle, Washington; (2) Nanaimo, British Columbia and Longview, Washington; and (3) Abbotsford, British Columbia and Whatcom County, Washington. Cases have been paired based on their source waters, population sizes, industries, etcetera, and their variation in governance model with the border as the point of difference via differing federal and provincial regulations. The six case studies fit within a larger research agenda that examines safe drinking water policies in two federal states, Canada and the United States of America.

**Hong, Gibin** - *Persisiting, Converging, or Diverging?: Transformation of Japan's Political Economy*

It has been hotly debated whether Japan's unique corporate ownership structure and financial system have been converging to Anglo-American forms under the pressure of globalization, or remaining essentially unchanged in spite of it. This framework of existing literatures on Japan is based on the view that corporate ownership structure and financial system are purely economic matters, generated and governed by the rationality of market, and that Japanese capitalism

has long been standing against this principle. Thus, question boils down to whether they cease or continue to deviate from the norm of market economy. This paper suggests the concept of Capital-Control-Complex (CCC) as an alternative methodology, which views corporate ownership and financial system as integral part of historical bloc formation rather than products of market rationality. Therefore, national variety of ownership structure and financial system is regarded as the result of different *raison d'état* of ruling classes in every country. Therefore, to study the nature of Japanese economic liberalization and its future trajectory, focus is given to whether there is emerging a new consensus among ruling forces over how and in what direction to change the existing CCC in Japan. From this research, I argue that the framework of persist or converge is inadequate in fully elucidating the Japanese economic transformation, because it excludes the possibility that the emerging new CCC may diverge to another direction. Also, I will emphasize the strength of the CCC approach in offering more wide vision to various paths that nations take in dealing with the pressure of globalization.

**Howe, Paul** - Political Knowledge and Electoral Participation in the Netherlands: Comparisons with the Canadian Case  
Previous research has suggested that one critical aspect of the political disengagement of young Canadians lies in their impoverished levels of political knowledge. The author's own previous work has considered this question and found that there is indeed a significant knowledge deficit among younger Canadians; and furthermore, that this represents primarily a cohort rather than life-cycle effect. This knowledge deficit seems to have contributed to the decline in voter participation among the young, in part because younger cohorts are less knowledgeable, but also because knowledge has a significantly greater impact on electoral participation among those same cohorts. This paper will seek to place these findings in comparative context by considering a country that presents an interesting contrast to the Canadian experience – the Netherlands. The most notable difference concerns voter participation. While there has been a decline in turnout in the Netherlands, there are, according to recent research, no cohort differences underlying this decline; instead it is simply a period effect. The paper will use Dutch election study data from 1971 to 1998 to evaluate why this is so. The first step will be to determine whether there is a knowledge deficit among younger cohorts in the Dutch case; preliminary analysis suggests there is and that it is of virtually the same magnitude as the considerable gap separating younger and older Canadians. The second step then becomes to explain why there has not been an attendant decline in voter turnout among younger Dutch citizens. Hypotheses that might be explored include: the offsetting impact of political interest, which seems to have actually increased among younger cohorts in the Netherlands (but not Canada); the weaker effects of knowledge on electoral participation in a country that uses a PR electoral system; a stronger sense of civic duty among the Dutch which mitigates the impact of the knowledge deficit; and the weaker effects of knowledge in a country where political knowledge levels, indeed literacy levels more generally, are somewhat higher (since the inhibiting effects of knowledge on participation are concentrated at the low end of the knowledge scale). Consideration of these alternative explanations will serve to shed light on the Dutch case as well as casting the Canadian experience in a useful comparative context.

**Howe, Paul, Everitt, Joanna and Desserud, Don** - Social Capital and Economic Prosperity: The Role of Entrepreneurship

Previous research on the connection between social capital and economic prosperity has focussed on interpersonal trust as the critical independent variable: trust acts as a lubricant that allows people to engage in business transactions and build economic relationships confident in the promises and guarantees of others, obviating the need for legal sanctions as a means of ensuring compliance. This paper will consider another potential mechanism of causality, entrepreneurship. The argument is twofold: first that entrepreneurship is an under-emphasized element in the formation of social capital, that the communitarian impulse emphasized by writers like Putnam must be wedded to significant levels of initiative and drive before it will come to fruition in social capital; and secondly that this under-emphasized source of social capital may be as important as interpersonal trust in explaining the connection to economic prosperity. To explore these ideas, data from the New Brunswick Social Capital Study (2003) will be used. The authors are the principal investigators on this study, which involved detailed telephone interviews with 1,000 New Brunswick residents designed to measure the relationship between social capital and a variety of economic, political and social outcomes. On the economic dimension, New Brunswick is an interesting case study because it is a region that, according to our data, has high levels of social capital yet it is also a less prosperous place than many other parts of Canada. Sorting through the dimensions of social capital may help in unravelling this apparent anomaly.

**Howlett, Michael** - Teaching Policy Analysis

Recently the basic precept of policy analysis - that 'one size fits all' - has come to be challenged. While sympathetic to the basic postulates and aims of the policy analysis movement, prominent critics argue that (a) different styles of policy analysis can be found in different organizations and jurisdictions and (b) these styles are not random or completely manipulable by policy actors but are linked to larger patterns of political behaviour and are, in a sense, quasi-permanent features of the policy analysis landscape. This paper examines this most recent set of concerns raised with policy analysis and explores its pedagogical implications using examples from the Canadian experience. It suggests that one of the most important factors affecting the style of policy analysis found in a jurisdiction is its "policy style". That is, that analytical style and policy style will be congruent and, therefore, that an important element of the education of policy analysts is instruction on the nature of policy styles.

**Hull, Carrie** - Superficiality Appears to Be Extremely Accommodating

In my proposed paper, "Superficiality Appears to Be Extremely Accommodating," I will use Plato, Hegel, and Freud to explore the hypothesis that we are not yet fully democratic, and that our shortcoming is philosophical as well as psychological. The dominant conception of democracy is that of personal opinion and its aggregation, with occasional safeguards for the rights of minorities. Outside of the formal political sphere, in classrooms and on streets, this conception is matched by the popular refrain, "this is just my opinion." Everyone is seemingly liberal-minded. However, deeper engagement with individuals often fails to uncover evidence, reasons, or any procedure for evaluating competing claims. I therefore suggest that our apparent tolerance is potentially quite superficial, and may instead reflect a deep fear of disagreement and disapproval. Liberal relativism may sometimes provide a cover for those who have an inability to interact meaningfully. I am particularly interested in the Platonic and Hegelian insights about the relationship between domination and an incapacity to accept criticism. I am also examining the Hegelian and Freudian thesis that the full development of character entails a willingness to undergo personal transformation in response to interaction with others and the world in general. I propose that a more vibrant democracy would promote this philosophical and psychological capacity. This project continues my interest in challenging contemporary relativism on a number of fronts.

**Huo, Jingjing** - Party Dominance in 18 Countries: The Role of Party Dominance in the Transmission of Political Ideology

In industrialized democracies, the implication of one-party dominance (witness Sweden, Italy or Japan) for democratic theory hinges on whether such dominant parties are the consensus of the society. This paper examines how party dominance affects people's assimilation of party ideology in 18 OECD countries. A composite index of party dominance is devised. Individual parties are given corresponding dominance scores. Using OLS regressions based on World Values Survey data, the paper argues that greater party dominance could enhance people's assimilation of party ideology only if they already ideologically agree with the party in question. For those ideologically distant from the party, greater party dominance serves to further restrain their assimilation of party ideology. Further, in confirmation of John Zaller's mainstream and polarization theories, for people ideologically agreeing with the dominant party, their assimilation of party ideology increases monotonically as their political knowledge increases; for others, their assimilation first increases and then falls back with rising levels of political knowledge. In an idealized mature democracy with highly involved citizens, a dominant party polarizes public opinion. People's rising level of political knowledge further aggravates such polarization. Dominant parties will not become the consensus of a mature and involved democratic society. A large sector of the public potentially exists as ideologically unrepresented. This raises questions about the effectiveness of majoritarian as opposed to proportional electoral systems with regard to theories of political representation.

**Hyson, Stewart** - The Institutionalisation of the Ombudsman Idea: The Case of New Brunswick's Ombudsman

The office of ombudsman has become a standard component of the administrative state in Canada since its much touted arrival in the late-1960s. Yet, we are at a loss to explain this institution's actual performance over the past three decades because it has received scant attention in public administration textbooks and journals. This poses an interesting situation. After all, as an independent officer of the legislature appointed to handle citizen complaints concerning decisions made by public servants, the office of ombudsman may be viewed as a mechanism facilitating a direct and personal form of political participation intended to ensure democratic accountability of the administrative state. This goal has apparently been met as would be implied by the institution's extensive use (both in the form of an all-purpose ombudsman covering all administrative complaints as well as in the form of specialised ombudsman office limited to a single field such as a language commissioner), but we are still left with several intriguing research questions as to the ombudsman's actual performance. New Brunswick's office of ombudsman was one of the first to be established in Canada in 1967, and will serve as a research window onto this institution's performance. The proposed paper will continue from where an earlier conference paper (given at the Atlantic Provinces Political Studies Association in September 2003) ended. Focus will be primarily on data of the complaints handled during the past thirty-six years, which will be supplemented by historical, organisational, and procedural information as well as interview insights. Institutionalisation theory will be drawn upon to explain how the New Brunswick ombudsman has been able to adapt to its environment, establish its authority relationship with other actors, and even assume other administrative tasks.

**Imbeau, Louis** - The determinants of Public Deficits in OECD Countries: Theoretical Constructions and Empirical Results.

This text systematically reviews and evaluates the empirical research on public deficits and public debts in OECD countries. Part one exposes the theoretical constructions underlying this research, emphasizing the basic assumptions made and identifying families of explanations. Part two reviews the main hypotheses proposed in the literature and the empirical results concerning them. Part three discusses the strength and weaknesses, both theoretical and empirical, of this literature and proposes avenues for further research.

**Ivan, Emese** - Sport: Identity or Industry?" Comparative Analysis of Hungarian Sport Policies through periods of 1990-1998;1998-2002;2002-present

The aim of the presentation is to explore the institutional and political context within which sport is administered in Hungary and also to explore the way policy for sport is made. The focus is on identification of those organization with significant involvement in the administration of, and policymaking for, sport. Of particular importance are the Committee of Sport and Physical Education 1990-1998;Ministry of Youth and Sport 1998-2002 and Ministry Children, Youth and Sport

2002-recently. However, it is accepted that policy is not simply the outcome of the pattern of interaction of a set of actors in the policy process. Historical and ideological factors are undoubtedly important. Although it is quickly become apparent that it is not possible to explore the Hungarian sport policymaking process without taking into consideration of the increasingly important role of a wide range of international organizations, such as the International Olympic Committee, the major international sport federations and intergovernmental bodies as the European Commission. The presentation will give a brief survey of the evaluation of the Hungarian government's interest in sport and examines the way in which different governments have perceived sport. It illustrates the strong tendency for governments to view sport as a means to an end rather than as an end itself.

**Jacobs, Alan M.** - A Theory of Policy Investment in Democratic Politics

Under what conditions do democratic governments adopt policies with short-term costs and long-term benefits? Conventional approaches to the study of politics have assumed that democracy suffers from an incurable case of policy myopia. Despite this common characterization, there is wide variation in the degree to which industrialized democracies have invested in the long term – by, for instance, reducing deficits, conserving resources, or reforming pension systems. Yet, in studying politics primarily as a distributive struggle between groups, scholars have paid little attention to how governments distribute costs and benefits over time. As part of a cross-national study of intertemporal policy choice, this paper will propose a theory of “policy investment”: a set of testable propositions about the conditions under which elected governments will impose short-term pain on constituents for long-term social gain. The paper will focus on four causal mechanisms that might generate policy investments: (i.) an electoral mechanism, through which politicians respond to voters’ concerns about long-term problems; (ii.) an interest-group mechanism, through which politicians cater to the long-range interests of organized constituencies; (iii.) a leadership mechanism, through which politicians pursue investments out of “good-policy” motives; (iv.) and a myopic mechanism, whereby policies adopted for their short-term benefits generate secondary, but significant, long-term benefits. More broadly, the paper will suggest that a theory of intertemporal policy choice must differ from theories of short-term distributive conflict by focusing on the profound problems of uncertainty that actors face when assessing distant policy outcomes.

**James, Matt** - Reparations and Compensation: Discourses of the 'Post-Socialist' Condition?

Historically stigmatized groups that have suffered extraordinary state discrimination now seek redress for injustices ranging from cultural assault in residential schools to the impact of racist immigration policies like the “Chinese head tax.” One striking aspect of this focus on recognition for victims of past injustices is that it seems to coincide with a diminished focus on attending to victims of contemporary economic injustices. This point is brought into stark relief by the simultaneous rise of reparations politics and decline of the welfare state. One way of making sense of this apparent paradox, and therefore of understanding some important transformations in contemporary Canadian politics and citizenship, is to focus on how new discourses of victimhood and redress are being used to generate public-policy claims. For example, not only victims of historical injustices but also victims of natural disasters and public-health emergencies have had increased success in pressing claims for recognition and compensation. The purpose of this paper is to better understand how new discourses of victimhood and redress are being used to frame claims on public resources. To this end, I will use frame-alignment analysis to compare the major discourses in claims for historical reparations and claims for disaster and emergency compensation. The overall aim of the analysis is to better understand how the ideational and discursive framework in which Canadians make public-policy claims is being refigured.

**James, Patrick** - How Does Free Trade Become Institutionalized? An Expected Utility Model of the Chrétien Era

This paper seeks to go beyond the question of ‘why free trade?’ and pursues issues related to the tendency for controversial free trade agreements to become institutionalized. In other words, why do opponents of free trade not mobilize to overturn it? Even more puzzling, why do opposition parties, which had opposed passage of free trade in the first place, not undo liberalization undertaken by their predecessors upon coming to power? Rather than seek reversal, it is not uncommon for free trade opponents, upon assuming control of the government, to deepen liberalization initiatives, hence serving to institutionalize the very policies they had decried vigorously. Six sections make up this study. It begins with a statement of the basic puzzle and an illustration in the recent Canadian context. The second section is a theoretical discussion of opposition parties and free trade. An expected utility model, based on the limits of rent-seeking, is introduced in the third section to explain institutionalized free trade. The fourth section provides the background to the case at hand, that is, the evolution of free trade as a politico-economic issue in Canada. The fifth section applies the expected utility model to the superficially puzzling case of Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien’s dramatic about-face on the issue of trade liberalization after coming to power. Sixth, and finally, the contributions of the model are reviewed, along with directions for future research.

**Janara, Laura** - Castoriadis and the Political Imaginary: Civic Ties and Human Relations with Nature

This paper sets the stage for a larger project that entails critical analysis of the historical habit, in liberal, republican and radical conceptions and discourses of modern Western democracy, of imagining democracy in either familial or individualist -- and sometimes both -- terms. This initial paper involves a study of the work of Cornelius Castoriadis -- an important theorist under-read by North Americans; the aim is to excavate a conceptual notion of "the imaginary".

Castoriadis argues that every society "develops an image of the natural world, of the universe in which it lives, attempting in every instance to make of it a signifying whole" (1987, 149). I aim to retrieve and construct a sense of this broad social practice to interrogate how Western democratic societies postulate ties among citizens, as well as ties between these humans, as social and political creatures, and the material conditions of nature. As such the paper will be textually focused on Castoriadis in particular, though also on other texts of phenomenology and on the work of Emile Durkheim and Jacques Lacan. It will be conceptual in nature.

#### **Jansen, Harold** - Is Alberta's Party System Unique?

The question of Alberta's party system is one that has occupied most analysts of the province's politics. Alberta is known for its long periods of single party dominance and its tendency to elect huge majority governments. C.B. Macpherson's (1953) analysis of the "quasi-party" system has been the standard explanation for the uniqueness of Alberta politics. Macpherson's analysis has been challenged by Bell (1993), who questions the class basis of Macpherson's argument. An additional line of challenge to Macpherson has been to ask whether Alberta's party system is as unique as it is commonly made out to be. McCormick (1980) demonstrates that Alberta's party system is not that different from those in other provinces and suggests that the problem is that Alberta's opposition vote is divided between multiple opposition parties. His analysis has been accepted by most analysts (Archer, 1992; Bell, 1992). Since the publication of McCormick's article, however, the province has experienced over twenty more years of single party dominance. This paper will update and re-analyze McCormick's argument. Furthermore, it will more rigorously test McCormick's suggestion that a divided opposition vote is responsible for the dominance of the Conservative party. It will do so by a comparison of Alberta's party system with those of the other nine provinces since World War II. The analysis will compare aggregate election results for all ten provinces, comparing vote shares and seat shares for government and opposition parties, and various indices of fragmentation.

#### **Jayman, Jayantha** - Assessing International Public Goods Delivery and its Raison D'être: Legitimation of Power

The economic development of Eastern Asia has in the main been led by the governing actions of individual states in the region as argued by WADE (1990), AMSDEN (1994) and others in the culmination of the research agenda of BRINGING THE STATE BACK IN (EVANS, et al 1985). These institutional lessons have challenged liberal ideas of development and the ad-hoc interpretation and re-interpretation of Eastern Asian success stories of the 1980s and beyond. In terms of the origins of the state-led model of developmentalism, in Eastern Asia especially, these nationalist efforts were inspired by the example of Japan thwarting Western imperialists' interests. Beyond such inspiration came the painful first-hand knowledge of Japanese imperialism itself that left a legacy of useful infrastructure and institutions geared for industrialisation and economic development. Well beyond both inspiration and painfully learned ideas of developmentalism was Japan's late 20th century pacific re-engagement espousing the "nuts and bolts" of the process as a means for post-colonial Eastern Asia's rapid industrialisation and development. This last aspect of deliberate inculcation of developmentalist practises in Asia was not limited to transplanting ideas that the regions' states were however grudgingly open to in any case, but also it extended to other areas. Japanese policy in the last two decades of the 20th century also extended to other areas of the political economy that can be best identified by the international public goods approach and by using the Strangean framework of focus on knowledge, security, finance and production. More so than just providing Eastern Asia with ideas of developmentalism, the hard materialist and economic aspects of Japan's provision of international public goods offers evidence of a very active role played by Tokyo to legitimate its power, particularly from the late 1970s with the Fukuda Doctrine. As Japan embarked on this course, it was also seen as necessary to meet the material demands from the Eastern Asian region that allowed its actions to be interpreted in terms of normative aspects of legitimacy. Unlike in the military security side, where Japan had limited room to manoeuvre, the economic realm had much to offer in terms of policy affecting other countries. Thus, Japanese policy to legitimate its power in Eastern Asia has met with increasing success, and concurrently Japan's relations in the region have improved. To systematically understand Japan's delivery of international public goods in the economic realm, this paper is divided into three sections covering the knowledge (technology), financial and production structures. Section 1.0 provides evidence for technology transfer via direct investment, concluding that Eastern Asia surpassed most other post-colonial regions and even middle income nations even with Japan's dated technology. In terms of financial international public goods, 2.0 provides evidence for legitimation of Japanese power, as it recycled its surplus, became the lender of last resort to the region and helped to co-ordinate macro-economic policies and maintain stable exchange rates. 3.0 presents evidence of international public goods in the area of production, as Japanese firms shifted manufacturing to the region, while Tokyo also opened its market for Eastern Asian goods with the sogo sosha distributing these within Japan.

#### **Jimenez, Jimena** - North American Integration: The Commission for Environmental Cooperation and the case of the Environment

Proposed Presentation: General Information Title: Integration in North America: The Commission for Environmental Cooperation and the case of the Environment Governmental cooperation on environmental matters is one of the oldest issues facing both the United-States-Mexico and the Canada-United States relation. However, despite the long history of bilateral cooperation on environmental issues, there has not been a strong move to integrate into a North American environmental system. Some point to the extremely weak nature of the institutions that make up the North American environmental regime as the reason for this. Weak institutions do not provide the necessary rule based framework that

reduces uncertainty and facilitates cooperation, steps necessary for other integrative processes to take place (Peters, 2000). Through an analysis of trilateral environmental governmental cooperation under the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) I will argue that although representing a weak institution, the CEC introduces a new institutional forum in which Canada, the United States and Mexico can interact, get to know each other, and cooperate. The existence of this space has enabled the countries to create a framework for cooperation that may eventually provide the basis for further integrative elements to take place. A focus on the environment in North America is important because it is one of the only areas where non economic trilateral cooperation exists and hence allows one to assess the barriers and obstacles to North American integration and how they may impede or shape the nature of integration. In addition, studying the environment enables me to examine the institutionalist argument that posits that strong institutions are necessary for other processes to take place and whether institutions really facilitates cooperation. In this case, I argue along with regime theorists like Keohane that although institutions are weak, they still act as a framework for cooperation (Keohane, 1982: 334).

**Johns, Michael K.** - Predicting Conflict, Predicting Peace: Understanding Minority Group Decision Making in Europe  
The generally accepted relationship between a state and the minority groups that lie within it is that if the state attempts to include the minorities there is less chance for conflict. The opposite is also assumed, that being states that actively exclude minorities are more likely to encounter resistance and potentially conflict. While this holds true for many cases in the world there are a number of minorities that deviate from this pattern. In order to truly understand the relationship between a state and its minority groups it is necessary to look to these outliers and attempt to explain them. That is the purpose of this paper. This paper examines states where ethnic conflict in all its forms has been minimal despite a continued lack of inclusion as well as states that have made attempts at negotiations and inclusion and yet ethnic conflict remains. The paper concentrates on the Russian populations of Estonia and Latvia, the Basque country of Spain and the island of Corsica. It tests a variety of hypotheses to explain the various minority groups' decision-making including the role of culture, geographic isolation, relative deprivation and the impact of international organizations. The paper uses data collected by the Minorities at Risk Project (MAR) as well as interviews with key decision makers. The main conclusion of the paper is that the role of the prevailing political culture of a minority group and its relative acceptance of conflict is a key and often overlooked factor in predicting group behaviour.

**Johnson, Nancy Kwang** - How Senegalese Youth Co-Opted the French "Technology of Nationalism"  
A Colonial and Post-Independence Critique In contemporary Sénégal, French is the official language (de jure) and Wolof is the de facto lingua franca. This paper suggests that the current Wolofization phenomenon (whereby roughly 80% of the Senegalese population speaks Wolof as one's mother tongue independent of one's membership to the Wolof ethnic group) is symptomatic of Senegalese youth who co-opted the French "technology of nationalism" during the colonial (1891-1960) and post-independence periods. This paper begins with an anecdote about Senegambian mothers who (during their ninth month of pregnancy) migrated from rural regions to the Four Communes (Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque, and Dakar) where their newborn were no longer beyond the idea of France. Within the confines of the Four Communes, the French colonial administration projected metropolitan notions of French national identity and citizenship onto the French schools in each commune to the extent that one's language and national identity were intertwined and forged in the classroom at the expense of one's mother tongue and membership to one of the Senegambian ethnic groups. Drawing upon thirty-three oral histories conducted over a thirteen-month period (1995-1996) with Senegalese youth during the colonial period, the paper addresses how the Wolofization phenomenon emerged within and beyond the Four Communes. What does it mean to be Senegalese today? Who, according to Senegalese youths (1891-1960), are the real Senegalese?

**Kafka, Petr** - Harmonization of the Treatment of Immigrants in the European Union  
The 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam transfers immigration and refugee policies from the third to the first pillar of European integration. Accordingly, the European Commission have taken concrete steps to harmonize policies regulating the terms of immigrants' entry into the Member States of the European Union. The policies regulating rights of immigrants already present in the EU countries remain, by contrast, within the jurisdiction of the national governments; although even in this area there have been attempts to harmonize some of the policies regulating integration of immigrants. The policy proposals formulated by the European Commission regarding family reunification, right to residence, and access to employment represent the most significant of these attempts. The purpose of this paper will be to map out the existing attempts at harmonization of the integration policies. I argue that we can observe an increasing convergence in the policies of immigrant integration of the candidate states in the three aforementioned areas. However, there is also a continuing danger that the Member States will preserve important differences in their treatment of immigrants, and such discrepancy will considerably limit the free flow of labour within the EU. The European Commission ought to push for harmonization in the area of immigrant integration, as it is illogical to spend a large amount of resources on harmonizing visa and border control policies, while turning a blind eye to important differences in the treatment of immigrants within particular Member States. Even if we understand the European Union as a project promoting economic unity rather than common values or fundamental rights, to provide conditions where labour migration is a realistic option we need to harmonize immigrants rights related to employment, family reunification and residency.



**Kellogg, Paul** - Kari Levitt and the Long Detour of Canadian Political Economy

When Kari Levitt first published *Silent Surrender: The Multinational Corporation in Canada* – it quickly became a defining text in the nationalist movement that was to dominate the English Canadian left from the late 1960s until the demise of the Waffle in 1973. Mel Watkins, in his foreword to the 2002 re-issue – makes it clear that he hopes it can become as important for the current generation of the Canadian left, asserting that "the continuing resonance and relevance of this book, thirty years on and counting, is remarkable. Call it a Canadian classic." This paper will argue that Watkins is right to identify Levitt's book as a seminal work in the Canadian political economy tradition, but that it did not lead to clarity, but confusion. It played no small role in contributing to a long detour of Canadian political economy, which has had political economists for almost 40 years trying to square the circle – explain the actions of a G8/Quad member country as being! in the same category as the world's neo-colonies and dependencies. Levitt's book should be read by today's new left – but not as a work to be emulated, but to be critiqued and transcended. The paper will first work through empirical evidence documenting the failure of Levitt's key predictions as to the trajectory of the Canadian and American economies, and then offer some thoughts on flaws in her theoretical framework which are at the root of these failures.

**Kershaw, Paul** - Carefair: Appropriating Duty Discourse to Counter the Irresponsibility for Care with which the State Privileges Male Citizens

The success with which the Right deployed a duty discourse to recalibrate post-war welfare prompts some critics of neoliberal restructuring to view welfare contractualism as an attack on social citizenship (for example, Shaver 2002). Stuart White (2000) cogently argues against this judgement. However, his analysis focuses primarily on paid work duties at the expense of caregiving. In response, this paper supports White in urging that duty discourse should be embraced further, but only on the condition that it is advanced to integrate care as a constitutive responsibility and right of citizenship that binds men as much as women. This analysis harks back to Peter Taylor-Goodby (1991) who appropriated the concept of 'moral hazard' to challenge the gender division of care. By invoking the same concept that neoliberals employ to critique the welfare system's alleged erosion of employment incentives, Taylor-Goodby suggests that mitigating patriarchy requires a cultural analogue to workfare through which the state currently uses its monopoly over legitimate coercion to compel citizens to discharge paid work duties. Following in this tradition, I develop the analogue of 'carefair' and argue for re-engaging the language of responsibility to justify the deployment of state levers to counter cultural and systemic forces that privilege many men with irresponsibility for care. The need for this shift is manifest in light of work by Kevin Olson (2002) who develops Fraser's universal caregiver model in a way that would limit state use of economic incentives to encourage men to share care obligations more equally.

**Khosla, Deepa** - The Changing Nature of External Interventions in Intrastate Conflicts: A Cold War-Post Cold War Comparison

Some recent studies indicate that the nature of external support for insurgent groups has changed in comparison to the Cold War period. States within a region where an intrastate conflict occurs are more likely to become involved, major powers are reported to be less active, while various nonstate actors such as ethnic kin and nongovernmental organizations are playing a greater role. This paper examines how various forms of outside assistance from external states and nonstate actors can influence the capabilities of both an insurgent group and a state that is hosting the domestic war. The cases considered are ethnopolitical rebellions that either began or reemerged after a dormant period during the 1980s (Cold War) and 1990s (post-Cold War). The regional scope is the Third World. Along with utilizing statistical techniques such as cross-tabulations, specific conflicts will also be used to illuminate the key findings. The early stages of a rebellion are focused on as this is a critical period for an ethnic group seeking to establish itself. In addition, research reveals that international management efforts are more effective when undertaken in the initial conflict phases. This study seeks to further our knowledge about the interrelationships between domestic and international factors and their potential impact on the course of intrastate wars. Further, there are few empirical studies that systematically analyze the ways and degree to which external state interventions have changed in the first post-Cold War decade.

**Kim, Nakjung** - Marx's Concept of Freedom as a Normative Foundation of Dialectic in Capital

My presentation of Marx's concept of freedom consists of three parts as follows: First of all, Marx tries to explain the origin of the commodity-fetishism by describing the process of the transformations of value into commodity and money. Because Marx's concept of freedom is embedded in the social character of labour-production and the overcoming of alienation, it reveals the reverse relationship between means and end in the alienated work. Thus, Marx's dialectics as a critical judgment of the reified social reality is based on his concept of freedom. Second, by comparing British political economists' understanding of human nature with K.Marx's, I will explain the reason why Marx criticizes Bentham's utilitarianism and its economic reductionism. According to Marx, utilitarianism is an attempt to explain the only type of reason that justifies preference for an alternative. He criticizes utilitarianism for the stupidity of amalgamating all the diverse relations of people into the one relation of usefulness. Moreover, this utilitarian notion of freedom is indifferent from the concept of freedom as species-being (Gattungswesen). In addition, by trying to reconciling the freedom within the process of production with the freedom without the production, he defines the concept of freedom as actualizing the all-round human. Lastly, I will define Marx's concept of freedom as the rational control of material product. I will reinterpret what Marx's claim that the process of material production is treated a production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan means in this neo-liberalistic political situation where the

principle of free market weakens public freedom and citizen's autonomous decision-making in the distribution of vital resources and essential services.

**King, Loren** - The Prescriptive Appeal of Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice assumptions are routinely challenged as at best overly simplistic, and at worst utterly mistaken and misleading. But in the rush to impune the explanatory utility of rational choice explanations, we may have overlooked a curious feature of these approaches: a central normative implication of rational choice axioms is the avoidance of exploitation. This aim should appeal to a diverse collection of political theorists: if we think exploitation is bad, then we should embrace at least some of the axioms of decision and game theory as maxims for action.

**Kingston, Rebecca** - Locke, Waldron and the Moral Status of Crooks

In this paper I provide an analysis of Jeremy Waldron's interpretation of Lockean jurisprudence of the Two Treatises in his recent book *Locke, God and Equality*. I focus in particular on Waldron's arguments about the moral status of the criminal in Locke and explore the impact of Locke's arguments in broader trends in jurisprudence in the European Enlightenment. I will argue that Waldron's attempt to portray Locke as an advocate of natural equality, even in the face of moral and criminal wrongdoing is wrong and that an understanding of Locke's text and its influence in context will shed light on a more plausible interpretation. I will show that the significance of Locke in the context of criminal jurisprudence is not a return to a basis of natural equality, but rather an argument for dehumanisation of the criminal classes as well as for more intensive transformation and control through the arts of law, discipline and education. The subtext of my argument is also an attempt to make the broader methodological point that intellectual context is important when we seek to decipher the meaning of political ideas, again in opposition to Waldron's position as discussed in various parts of his work. The paper is divided into three parts. In the first part I provide a recap of Waldron's argument regarding Lockean equality as it relates to criminals as discussed in his recent book. In the second part of the paper I will return to the text of Locke's Second Treatise to show in what ways Waldron's rendition of Locke with regards to criminals is problematic. In the final part of the paper I will show the legacy of Locke's arguments in Enlightenment criminal jurisprudence by exploring the reception of Locke's ideas in this matter in both England and France. I will show that Lockean ideas did not encourage more humane treatment of criminals.

**Kotar, Tamara** - Church-State and Education in Post-Communist Slovenia and Croatia

The political, social and economic transformations in post-communist polities touched all aspects of social life, including church-state relations. Post-communist Slovenia and Croatia have faced similar dilemmas in structuring church-state relations, particularly questions regarding the role of the Roman Catholic Church [RCC] in education. Both countries sought to establish themselves as liberal-democracies, however, Slovenia has been more successful than Croatia in this endeavor. An examination of church-state relations and educational reform can point to some of the reasons why political liberalization has advanced further in Slovenia than in Croatia in the decade after the fall of communism. This is only one indicator of political liberalization but it does point to the significantly different approaches to reform -- namely that the Slovenian approach to educational reform has been incremental, positive sum and practical, whereas the Croatian approach has been sudden, zero sum and ideological infused. One of the most important reform tasks in the first years after independence was the overhaul of the education system in Slovenia and Croatia. In both nations the RCC was eager to gain control and influence in education. The Croatian government followed a disjointed reform process with little consultation of experts. This process allowed the church become part of the education system with near-mandatory religious education controlled and taught by the church officials in public schools. Croatian education reform did not follow a comprehensive liberal program and has resulted in religious instruction controlled by the RCC. The RCC's influence continues to grow and the church is pushing to assert itself at the exclusion of other religions. With no reforms new church initiatives simply filter in under a Croatian patriotic banner. From the 1980s onward Slovenian politicians and educational experts pursued a more liberal process of education reform. The approach adopted in the 1990s was one of systematic changes made after stakeholders and experts were consulted and public debate held. This process resulted in an eight-year comprehensive reform package. The reform process consulted church experts but resulted in little church influence. Religion was taught in one class in one school but Catholicism was one of several religions that was introduced to schoolchildren.

**Kow, Simon** - Necessitating Justice: Hobbes on Free Will and Punishment

This paper addresses how Thomas Hobbes's conception of punishment is based on his denial of freedom of the will. When scholars have focussed on his theory of punishment, they have tended to consider punishment solely in relation to sovereignty. But underlying his theory of sovereignty is a materialist and mechanistic conception of nature which posits a naturalistic liberty as opposed to what Hobbes regarded as the spiritual doctrine of free will. Indeed, the question of the relation between freedom and causal necessity has implications for moral responsibility and thus raises the problem of how punishment for Hobbes can be both just and effective. Hobbes regarded free will as a seditious doctrine to serve priestly ambition at the expense of the civil sovereign. In works such as *Leviathan*, *De Corpore*, and Thomas White's *De Mundo Examined*, he argued that free will is "insignificant speech" and inconsistent with causal necessity and desire as he conceived it. In the debates with John Bramhall, this critique is linked to questions of moral responsibility, sin, and divine and human punishment. Thus, the denial of free will is a foundation of his corrective and deterrence model of punishment.

But this mechanistic conception of punishment also points to the limits of its efficacy in the commonwealth and the vital role of education. Therefore, when examined in relation to his critique of free will, the secularizing, rationalizing, and socializing tendencies of Hobbes's theory of punishment can be fully elucidated.

**Kukucha, Chris** - International Trade Regimes, Domestic Politics, and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy: Implications for Global Governance

During the last five decades Canada has demonstrated an ongoing commitment to international trade regimes, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). At the same time, however, it is also clear that Ottawa has pursued independent trade initiatives inconsistent with established regime norms. This paper will argue that this inconsistency is a result of both international and domestic pressures. At the global level, states cede sovereignty to international governance structures in an attempt to manage transnational economic relations. In Canada, this traditionally empowered a narrow range of domestic actors, such as the federal executive, a small number of bureaucratic departments, and specific sectoral interests. Over time, however, these agreements began focusing not only on non-tariff barriers, but also on areas of provincial and municipal jurisdiction, such as services, government procurement, investment, health and safety standards, agriculture, labour, and the environment. As a result, other non-traditional domestic institutional, sectoral, and societal actors began to mobilize in order to protect their interests. These international pressures, therefore, contributed to the emergence of new domestic political actors with an increased capacity to influence Canadian foreign trade policy. This is not to suggest that domestic politics did not have an impact on Canada's global trade relations in the past. Pressures from a wider range of interests related to a number of different issue areas, however, have reciprocally increased with the evolution of economic governance frameworks. This directly challenges basic neo-liberal institutional assumptions that require a hegemon to establish and maintain international regimes (although some organizations can survive the departure of a dominant state). This analysis will suggest that domestic politics and non-state actors can also have an impact on the creation, evolution, and possible survival of international governance structures. Therefore, unlike neo-liberal institutionalism, there is an emphasis on matters of system, process, and change that extend beyond statist institutional factors, while also incorporating both levels of analysis. In the case of Canada some evidence of this domestic influence exists in terms of, the increasing relevance of Parliament, non-traditional bureaucratic departments, the judiciary, provincial and municipal governments, new and evolving sectoral interests, civil society, and individuals. The result is a Canadian foreign trade policy that continues to place a high priority on international governance but with an equally significant commitment to specific areas of national interest. Canadian foreign trade policy is obviously influenced by systemic developments although it maintains a level of autonomy that gives it the capacity to choose what domestic interests will be protected, and whether or not multilateral, trilateral, or bilateral frameworks best achieve these goals.

**Kumar, Jayesh** - Parliamentary Elections and Ruling Parties: Evidence From India

In an election the probability that a ruling party wins the election and forms the government is affected by the electoral system that is, the rule for aggregating constituency wise results into a single outcome (i.e. forming the central government). We find the probability that a particular party wins the election from a constituency given that party has won the last election from that particular constituency, under the assumption that all candidates are equally likely (i.e. random selection) given that they are from the same party. The original goal of our work is to estimate the probability of winning by ruling party (i.e. the party which has won the last election from that constituency), irrespective of whether that party forms a coalition during election, formed the last government in center or was the part of the last central government in case of coalition government. In particular, we are not taking into account the effect of the central government's ruling, while we are emphasizing on the effect of constituency wise ruling and the results of that particular constituency. Finally we estimate the average probability of winning for all India's General elections from 1971 to 1999 under given electoral system, using Binary Choice Model.

**Ladner, Kiera** - 'Up the Creek Without a Paddle': Fishing for a New Constitutional Order

This paper will discuss issues concerning the interpretation and implementation of Aboriginal and treaty rights pertaining to fishing. Paper will emphasize the resulting constitutional struggles. Contemporary struggles such as who has jurisdiction over the salmon (federal, provincial or Indigenous governments) and the possibility of (re)creating the treaty order or treaty federalism. Paper will use Indigenist theory and decolonizing methodology to construct an analysis. In so doing, it will depart substantially from the traditional treatment of Indigenous politics within Canadian political science and more specifically, studies of Canadian constitutional politics.

**Lam, Carla** - Feminist Responses to the Disembodiment of New Reproductive Technologies, and the Future of Feminism

In this paper I explore the different forms of feminist discourse which have emerged in response to new reproductive technologies (NRTs) and analyze the notion of liberation which underlies each. Identifying three major categories: resistance feminism; embracing feminism; and feminism which is equivocal, I evaluate each on the basis of its ability to transcend patriarchal dualism in various guise. Ultimately, I propose strategic essentialism as the best solution to the thorny constructionism/essentialism feminist impasse which fuels feminist opposition regarding reproductive technology. My method of analysis is a history of ideas regarding birth/reproduction rooted in the western canon of political thought, as

well as Anglo-western feminist theory. In the larger work of which this presentation is a part, I draw on the radical, dialectical and materialist analysis of Mary O'Brien, modifying it to more adequately address the diversity of women's reproductive experiences. This paper, while not new in terms of its classification of feminist responses to NRTs, is theoretically significant because it attempts to bring the body/sex back into feminist analyses in a way that previous and contemporary work on embodiment fail to do. In my wider research, I am concerned to find a way for feminists to recognize the critical differences between women's reproductive experiences and lives, without denying them a powerful method of organizing based on legitimate commonalities. By assessing feminist political discourse on (new reproductive) technology, in broader context with the canon of western political thought, it is possible to resolve dilemmas rooted in patriarchal misconceptions of the "nature" of women and politics.

**Lamba, Rinku** - Religious Practices, Gender Equity, and the Role of the State: An Examination of the Views of Mahadev Govind Ranade and Pandita Ramabai

My paper will look at the normative and institutional/policy implications of the early nationalist demand for gender sensitive reform of Hindu social practices in colonial India. This paper is part of my larger doctoral study which intends to examine the conceptual resources available in the institutional and intellectual practices of colonial and post-colonial India, with a view to arriving at a principled position on the questions of who should reform the non-liberal practices of communities, and how that reform should take place. Despite the alien nature of the colonial government, some Hindu reformers invited that government to usher in socio-religious reform in the interest of gender equity. Admittedly, there were strains of nationalist thought that resisted (colonial) governmental intervention in practices that belonged ostensibly to the domain of the private (most of which have clear gender implications, whether it's the issue of widow remarriage, or the age of consent, or the abolition of sati). A preliminary survey of some of the demand for and legislation on reform of Hindu practices in nineteenth century colonial India displays the (perhaps unwitting) pursuit of an institutional arrangement which scholars like Ayelet Shachar have classified as joint governance. Shachar explains that joint governance envisions the practice of multiculturalism in a way that enhances the autonomy of distinct communities without denying members of those communities the opportunity of accessing legal-institutional tools necessary to provide more security to individuals within the group. In my paper I will examine the views of two religious-minded reformers of the nineteenth century, with the intent of culling out the values embedded in their demand that the state be an agent in the process of reforming a community's way of being. I'd like to concentrate on the ideas of Mahadev Govind Ranade (a moderate-conservative Hindu reformer), and Pandita Ramabai (a high caste Hindu woman who eventually converted to Christianity; her thought manifests a scathing critique of not only the patriarchal nature of some strands of Hinduism, but also of imperialism and colonialism). Both these thinkers considered it important for the state to participate actively in the reform of Hindu practices. What implications would such a view of state have for dealing with groups whose non-liberal practices are in tension with the demands of gender equality? Is a defensible position on state intervention in religious conceptions of the good available? Is it possible to gain insight into institutions of joint governance by probing into the practices of nineteenth century India? Is the only way of conceiving of state institutions that which considers them to produce a negatively homogenizing impact? Is it possible to envisage state institutions as the protectors of the rights of women members of religious communities? These are some of the questions I'd like to address in my paper. The aforementioned questions are significant not only for contemporary India which retains a regime of diverse personal laws instead of a uniform civil code, but also for multicultural polities which consist of individuals who are members of communities whose practices are not always consistent with notions of individual rights.

**Laponce, Jean** - Minority Languages and the Net

The following question will be examined: How does the Net favour minority languages and how it affects them negatively in terms of a) intra-language communication b) interlanguage competition. The prediction made by Pierre Favre, among others, that the increased use of the Net will reduce the world wide dominance of English will be examined critically on the basis of the evidence available to-date and on the basis of communication theory.

**Larose, Chalmers** - Targeting the global trading system: NGOs as agents of Transnational Civil Society

The globalization of capitalism has seen successive waves of market liberalization and privatization sweeping around the world. Globalizing trends have provided a set of issues for civil society, in general, and NGOs, in particular, to confront. Among them, trade liberalization has always been regarded as one of the driving engine behind the globalisation process. To a certain extent, activists NGOs are now largely regarded as the shock troops of civil society. For some, NGOs must be seen as global actors. They are agents or players of some influence (Matthews 1997; Hoghstetler et al.2000). On the other hand, the dynamics of trade negotiations have changed dramatically in the 1990s, particularly after conclusion of the Uruguay round negotiations and the creation of the World Trade Organisation. Hence the early 1990s saw a surge in interest for trade issues among civil society actors, particularly environmental advocates who became increasingly concerned by corporate challenges to regulation as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The concept of transnational civil society as such has attracted a lot of attention and raised a multitude of criticisms. It has come to be dominated by NGOs, even though other actors, such as political activists networking across borders and anti-globalisation movements, are playing an important role in this sphere. For the purpose of this paper, transnational civil society will be defined as « the set of institutions, organisations and behaviour situated between the state, the market and the family and that intervene in contentious politics beyond state boundaries. Among other things, the paper will attempt to

answer the following questions: Do NGOs, NGO-like organisations and civil society organisations play an increasingly vital role in democratic and democratising societies? Are NGOs agents of transnational civil society or actors in their own right in matters concerning trade at the global level? Given the breadth of transnational activism and protest across borders in today's political context, are NGOs empowered to derail or influence the global trading system that is being put forward under the premises of a neo-liberal free market ideology? The paper will explore the role and power of Northern NGOs and networks in countering, resisting, formulating and setting the global trade policy agenda, from the Uruguay Round negotiations to the Doha multilateral trade talks. We will particularly put emphasis on current issues arising out of the Doha Round and the negotiations for an anticipated Free Trade Area of the Americas in 2005. We will examine the extent to which NGOs strategies have remained uncontaminated by either the power of states or that of markets. The research strategy will be based on interviews with selected individuals and actors, content analysis of key documents and position papers, as well as literature review and empirical observations of groups' strategies and tactics related to global trade issues.

**Lasisi, Adewale** - Africa: Belonging and Isolation

A growing phenomenon in Africa today has seen to an increasing gender relations and growing political participation compared to what obtained in early post-independence Africa. However with these changes, a notable rooted existence of gender discrimination still persists, and made apparent by the continental culture and perception. Thus, a growing feministic concerns is bothered on the unfair perception of gender inferiority accrued to women in Africa political settings, and their consequent ostracising alienation from public and political occupancies and offices. The genesis of this in Africa stemmed directly from the dictates of African traditional culture feministic sub-serviency to men, male autocratic and authoritative inclination, and the general African perception that women are meant for the homes, occupying their traditional housewifeship and motherhood positions. Today, African traditions and persistent male authoritativeness, coupled with women's resignation to fate and traditions and a self-imposed inferiority, have spurned political gender discrimination in Africa to heights of social injustices and deprivation of rights, and thus hinder women's initiative for equality of rights, participation, and citizenship. Thus engendering a politically impaired gender relation in Africa. In submission, for Africa to structurally adapt to a gender expressive and participatory nation-states, re-engineer its gender discriminative structures, and institute a practicable gender tolerance and justice, equality of rights and citizenship, Africans most especially men must do away with its traditional perception of women, most part of the male dominance, and encourage women to their need for political participation and contribution to nation building for the good of one and all.

**Lawson, Jamie** - Pressurized Timber: The Policy and Political Economy of Stress as an Occupational Health and Safety Issue for Woodworkers in the Boreal Forest

Woodworkers throughout northern forests of the industrialized world experience their daily working lives as a continual negotiation with multiple hazards to their health and safety. The physical dangers of felling timber rapidly in a rugged, remote, and kaleidoscopic environment through the use of complex and heavy machinery are multiple. In some general ways, these dangers are self-evident to both the workers and the academic community, even as they are in rapid transformation because of technological and other change. But these physical dangers, often portrayed as irreducible, must be analyzed in relationship to the peculiar pressures placed upon these workers by the changing political-economic realities of their industry, and by the shifting institutional configurations affecting forestry in the political jurisdictions in which they work. Expressed as work-place stress, these additional pressures condition the physical dangers of woods work in ways that suggest both ergonomic and policy interventions. This paper reviews and analyzes the English- and French-language literature on these occupational health and safety policy issues from a political economy perspective, making specific reference to boreal and cool-temperate woods operations in advanced industrialized societies. Centred on these dangers as policy problems – indeed, as political problems -- the paper emphasizes the varieties of institutional form that condition both the problems and the solutions in occupational health and safety for the industry. It marks an extension of the existing forest industry research interests of the author through the specific focus on issues of occupational health and safety.

**Lazar, Nomi Claire** - Making Emergencies Safe for Democracy: Formal and Informal Power and Constraint Under States of Emergency

Political thinkers, from Locke and Rousseau through Schmitt and Pasquino, commonly hold that emergency powers shift government from the rule of law toward authoritarianism. My paper argues that conceptualising the problem in this dichotomous manner requires a falsely limited and solidified conception of power. Even under normal conditions, states are ruled by law only metaphorically, and even the most extreme constitutional emergency powers do not leave everything subject to a sovereign individual. Institutions confer formal powers, but there are many informal means of constraint and enablement. At stake theoretically is the usual assumption, drawn from Schmitt, of a radical shift between normal government and exceptional government, with correlative normative risks. At stake practically, those who would design or evaluate emergency powers aimed at safely optimising liberal democratic values under emergency conditions must contend with this more complex landscape of risk and possibility. I give an account of the central importance of the rule of law to liberal theory, which I argue is not intrinsic but derivative from more fundamental values. Speed and unpredictability lead theorists to hold that the rule of law must be mitigated under emergency conditions, which is

seemingly illiberal. But, a broader conception of power shows an alternative means of furthering the values underlying the rule of law which is anyway insufficient to preserve these values under emergency conditions. The rule of law is neither necessary nor sufficient. Because, historically, theorists have consistently relied on the trope of the Roman dictatorship to illustrate formal emergency authoritarianism, I use a careful account of the informal power mechanisms of this very institution to illustrate my argument. In theorizing emergency powers, we ignore informal power mechanisms at our peril.

#### **Le Bohec, Jacques** - Votes Le Pen, sondages et politiques d'immigration en France

Le thème de l'immigration est devenu un enjeu politique majeur en France depuis 1983. Depuis deux décennies, les gouvernements successifs, de « droite » et de « gauche », ont pris des mesures qui vont pour la plupart dans la direction d'une limitation du nombre d'entrées et de résidents ayant une nationalité étrangère. Des modifications législatives (loi sur la nationalité), des mesures administratives (préfectures, charters, prime au retour) et judiciaires (double peine), des affectations de moyens budgétaires (police) ont été décidées sur la base de l'idée que l'immigration était désormais un problème à résorber en tant que tel. Face à cette évolution notable de la vie politique en France, on peut se demander d'où vient cette orientation nouvelle. Il est d'autant plus nécessaire d'aborder cette question que le thème de l'immigration est souvent traité à part. On observe surtout ce trait parmi les hommes politiques, les savants et les associatifs ; les premiers l'ont transformé en cheval de bataille, les deuxièmes en classe d'objets à étudier, les troisièmes en cause à défendre et à promouvoir. Or, on peut se demander si ce n'est pas le prendre trop au sérieux, en oubliant de tenir compte des raisons pour lesquelles tous ces acteurs sociaux s'y intéressent. Il s'agit notamment de rappeler que ce thème ne serait jamais devenu un enjeu politique récurrent si le Front national, avec un slogan quasi unique entre 1975 et 1983 (« 1 millions de chômeurs = 1 millions d'immigrés (en trop) ») n'était pas parvenu à augmenter ses scores électoraux et à faire parler de lui dans les mass médias à diffusion nationale. Il convient en effet de mettre l'accent sur deux postulats rarement explicités et vérifiés : 1/ la présence d'immigrés en France engendre de réels problèmes qui incitent une partie des électeurs à opter en faveur du leader du Front national, Jean-Marie Le Pen, ou de ses affidés, dans le secret des isolements ; 2/ les électeurs de J.-M. Le Pen et consorts votent pour leur marque électorale parce qu'ils sont d'accord avec leur discours idéologique et programmatique. Tout laisse penser qu'il n'y a rien de cornélien dans ces deux affirmations ; elles rentrent en phase avec le lieu commun selon lequel voter revient à exprimer une opinion politique. Mais en réalité, rien ne va de soi : ce ne sont pas les électeurs vivant dans les quartiers où habitent le plus d'immigrés qui votent le plus en faveur du FN ; quand on leur demande de se justifier dans des entretiens semi-directifs, les électeurs évoquent souvent d'autres thèmes, voire aucun, ou alors expriment des réserves envers le candidat qu'ils ont préféré dans l'isoloir. Dans une large mesure, le « problème de l'immigration » est construit socialement et symboliquement parce que diverses catégories d'acteurs sociaux estiment que les deux postulats évoqués supra sont valides, ce qui a des conséquences telles que celles qui ont été évoquées liminairement (politiques publiques) ; il est notamment distingué de l'exode rural sur une base juridique alors que le phénomène est socialement similaire. C'est pourquoi on doit intégrer l'activité des médias, des politologues et des sondages, qui sont censés être étrangers aux scores électoraux du FN (extériorité présumée) au cœur de l'explication du phénomène Le Pen. Il est en effet indispensable de se pencher sur la manière dont les journalistes traitent du FN et de l'immigration, sur les explications et les méthodes des politologues, ainsi que sur les effets confirmatifs des sondages d'opinion (réalisés par des entreprises privées soumises à des contraintes commerciales) vis-à-vis des deux postulats sus-mentionnés.

#### **Lecours, André and Huelsemeyer, Axel** - The European Union and Sovereignist Politics in Québec: Who Forgot their Glasses?

Since the 1995 referendum, sovereignist Québec politicians at both the provincial and federal level have repeatedly made reference to the European Union (EU) as a template for managing Canada-Québec relations. The EU has been seen as providing the kind of sovereignty-partnership favored by the Parti Québécois (PQ) as well as the Bloc Québécois (BQ). Against this backdrop, the paper confronts the realities of EU politics with the traditional claims of the PQ about the political future of Québec. In doing so, it focuses on two dimensions of the European Union: sovereignty and partnership. On sovereignty, the paper investigates the EU as an external actor in its own right as well as selected domestic policy areas, therefore analyzing the extent to which the autonomy enjoyed by individual EU member states could realistically satisfy Québec separatists. On partnership, the paper concentrates most notably on the common market, the single currency and the primacy of European law over that of the member states, examining how such arrangements would translate into a Canada-Québec union as envisioned by the PQ.

#### **Lee, Jo-Anne and Bruce, Michael** - To 'Build a Better City': Women and Culturally Hybrid Grassroots Resistance To Slum Clearance in Vancouver

Scholars and analysts of urban studies in Canada have long recognized the significance of the battle against "slum clearance" in Vancouver's Strathcona neighborhood. However, the leadership role of ethnic minority women in this diverse, low-income community, and the unique role that they played in forging innovative culturally hybrid grassroots resistance has gone largely unrecognized. The outcomes of this instance of local civic participation spread much farther than the neighborhood, and served as a catalyst for change in the collective public reimagination of Vancouver's architectural, geophysical, social, political, economic and cultural life. We fill a serious lacunae in understanding Canadian urban policy formation by situating Strathcona's struggles with urban renewal policies within a broader context of modernist planning discourse. We suggest that existing accounts, which focus largely on race or ethnicity as determining

explanations (Anderson, 1991; Hasson and Ley, 1994; Lai, 1998), neglect both the strategic leadership of minority women in these struggles, and also the transformational effects on residents, and on the larger structures of government with which communities regularly engage. Extant accounts have also paid insufficient attention to the range of social, housing and urban policies that were influenced as a result of this specific struggle, nor have existing studies recognized local neighborhood initiatives as a type of democratic social movement. Our analysis also identifies a gap in the theoretical literature surrounding new social movements, pointing out that these models too often omit an examination of cultural factors in the formation and strategies of social movements. They fail to theorize the complex social locations of individual and collective actors, focusing instead on identifying the structural 'flashpoints' of social movements and looking narrowly on structures of political opportunity.

**Lee, Martha and Simms, Herb** - Gender and Conspiracy Theory: The Influence of Nesta Webster on the Modern American Right

Between 1916 and the late 1930s, British author and political activist Nesta Webster wrote twelve books, as well as a multitude of pamphlets and journal articles, which outlined her understanding of world politics. Her publications were best sellers, and reviewed in both academic and popular journals. Webster's writings effectively combined and popularized complex conspiracy theories and in so doing, provided a framework for political action. Webster's vast output would be but a modern curiosity, if not for the tremendous influence her work has on modern political life. She is, in many ways, a pivotal figure in the development of conspiracy theory as we know it today. Webster's work is used by Pat Robertson, in his discussion of the "new world order," by radical Islamists, in their discussions of the "Jewish conspiracy," and by the Militia and Patriot movements as evidence for the existence of a conspiracy that threatens American freedom. This paper will discuss Nesta Webster's life and publications, and her modern influence in both Great Britain and the United States. The widespread and diverse use of her theories suggests that common conspiratorial themes transcend traditional political discourse.

**Leo, Christopher and Andres, Todd** - Community Initiation of Welfare-to-work: An Evaluation

Cutbacks in social assistance have exacerbated the dislocations experienced by many as a result of the new economy. Since the abandonment of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), and the adoption of the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), welfare recipients have been subjected to cutbacks in available funds, and forced into mandatory employment programmes. The effectiveness of these mandatory programmes is debatable at best and a more constructive approach is modeled in two initiatives of the City of Winnipeg's Social Services Department. These initiatives test the utility of both local initiative in shaping the welfare system and a voluntary programme of welfare-to-work. Our study, based on government documents, interviews with officials and community representatives, and secondary sources, evaluates the Winnipeg initiatives, and compares the results of our findings with those of similar studies in Quebec. Our findings suggest that local initiative may offer an entrée to employment for people on social assistance that is considerably more constructive than welfare-to-work programmes usually are. Specifically, our findings are that results of the municipally initiated programme were very positive. A provincial takeover of social assistance appears to have resulted in a loss of these benefits. A subsequent provincial attempt to introduce its own brand of community initiative into the administration of welfare-to-work has so far produced mixed results.

**Leo, Christopher and August, Martine** - The Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative: Is it as flexible and responsive as it claims?

The traditional hierarchical structure of federalism often results in policies that do not meet the specific needs of Canadian communities. In an alternate approach, implicit in the terms of the Federal government's 1999 National Homelessness Initiative, the federal government sets broad policy objectives, and makes funding available in pursuit of them, but allows substantial scope for local determination of how those objectives are best met in each community. This approach resembles Tom Courchene's "federalism as process" and reflects a substantial literature on the growing economic and political importance of urban-centred regions. One component of the National Homelessness Initiative, the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI), appears to be operating in this way. The broad policy goal set in Ottawa is to alleviate homelessness. A community-written "Community Plan" guides funding priorities and programme goals are touted as being designated by the community through a consultation process. This paper looks at the SCPI programme as it has been operating in Winnipeg, and analyses how well it lives up to its promises of flexibility and responsiveness. Using government documents, interviews with officials and community leaders, and secondary sources, the paper shows that the programme in Winnipeg has fallen short of its promise. The mandate of the SCPI is too narrow, precluding the types of solutions that will actually work to alleviate homelessness in Winnipeg. The priorities identified by community members and stakeholders have been largely ignored, first in the creation of the "Community Plan", and then in deciding what programmes would receive funding. The study shows that the federal government recognizes in theory that local communities may be best placed to come up with solutions to their own problems, but also demonstrates that the federal government has in practice been reluctant to relinquish power.

**Levasseur, Karine, Paterson, Stephanie and Teplova, Tatyana** - Coming in from the Cold: New Right Movements and Social Movement Theory

Social movement theory produces a one-sided analysis by excluding right-wing groups from the scope of research. The authors argue that social movement theory must incorporate both left and right-leaning groups from both a theoretical and empirical perspective. Bringing the right-wing groups in from the cold is important from a theoretical perspective as the right and left are responding to the same forces of disintegration but with differing prescriptive solutions. From an empirical perspective, this broader picture is required to understand their influence on policies. The case study of the anti-abortion movement illustrates the importance of studying both the anti-abortion and the pro-choice movements for better understanding of how and why changes occur. Please note: this paper is not related to any of our dissertation topics.

**Levesque, Richard** - Pathologies of Rational Choice? a Mistaken Diagnosis

Green and Shapiro describe rational choice theories as making assumptions about individual motivations, and about human nature more generally. The predictive failings of these theories are then used to infer the weakness of these assumptions. But Green and Shapiro are misguided: these purported failings seem far less pathological if we instead understand rational choice theories as making assumptions about the sorts of objects on which rational subjects have the capacity to act. The importance of this distinction is illustrated through a comparison between an central argument in the spatial voting literature and an intuitive result in geometry.

**Lipson, Daniel** - The New Politics of Affirmative Action

Although the United States Supreme Court upheld the principles of race-based affirmative action in the June 2003 *Grutter v. Bollinger* case, the Court did so in a way that reflects the conservatism of affirmative action in American law, politics, and society. Whereas the debate over race-based affirmative action was originally between liberal civil rights proponents and conservative color-blind opponents, the Supreme Court decision became a referendum on the internal rift over affirmative action among conservatives. The conservative, color-blind interest groups understood this, framing themselves as the David who is up against the Goliath of the "diversity machine" in corporate, military, and government bureaucracies. Ultimately, the Supreme Court's majority accepted the framing of affirmative action as a pro-business and pro-military policy. In this paper, I explain the resilience and evolution of affirmative action in the United States as a function of the following trends: the diversity consensus, the reconstruction of race, and the new color-blind movement. I point to the rise of "affirmative action as we don't know it" (a.k.a. affirming-adversity policies), which refers to the rise of a distinct breed of affirmative action that eschews rigid point systems and embraces a holistic, qualitative method of proactively selecting socially and economically disadvantaged applicants. This paper draws from 37 interviews with university presidents, admissions directors and other officials, faculty committee members, legal counsels, regents, and student activists at flagship campuses in Wisconsin, California, and Texas. Ultimately, the new politics of affirmative action have produced the conservative rationales for entrenching the new breed of affirming-adversity policies into standard operating procedures of large American organizations. At the same time, the debate over affirmative action continues to siphon attention and scarce resources away from the very structural poverty-reduction policies that would be necessary to make affirmative action unnecessary in the next quarter century, as Justice O'Connor optimistically predicts will be the case.

**Lipson, Michael** - A Garbage Can Model of UN Peacekeeping

As the Cold War came to an end, UN peacekeeping changed dramatically. Traditional principles of peacekeeping were discarded, peacekeeping missions were deployed in the midst of ongoing civil conflicts, and the number of missions doubled in a few short years. Previous studies have explained this shift in terms of shifts in the global distribution of power, the nature of post-Cold War security threats, norms and ideas, and organizational behavior within the UN. This paper treats the post-Cold War transformation of peacekeeping as an agenda-setting problem, and employs a garbage can model of organizational choice to explain how peacekeeping came to be considered, in the context of the UN Security Council's agenda, an appropriate solution to problems for which it had previously not been. The UN fits the defining criteria of an organized anarchy, to which the garbage can model can be expected to apply: unclear preferences, opaque organizational processes, and fluid participation. Drawing on Kingdon's adaptation of the garbage can model, this paper explains changes in peacekeeping as the result of the linking by policy entrepreneurs of a solution stream (peacekeeping) to a problem stream (post-Cold War civil conflicts) in the context of a policy window created by the end of the Cold War. The paper will draw on UN documents, interviews with UN personnel, and secondary studies.

**Lister, Andrew** - Public Reason in Recent Sexual Orientation Jurisprudence

There has been a vigorous debate in recent political theory over the Rawlsian notion of public reason – the norm that citizens should not make political decisions based on ideals that will inevitably be the subject of deep reasonable disagreement. These controversial and hence non-public convictions may be unobjectionable as guides to personal, family, or religious life, but are alleged not to be legitimate grounds for common institutions and policies. The general idea of public reason is attractive, since it could provide the basis for political community under conditions of deep moral disagreement. It is not obvious, however, that we can draw the line between public and non-public reasons in a manner that could win broad assent from reasonable persons. The present paper addresses this question by investigating the ways that judges have tried to distinguish legitimate public purposes from sectarian, discriminatory purposes in recent sexual orientation cases. The paper compares the ways that Canadian and American courts have defined the notion of a



discriminatory purpose in the context of s.15, the 14th Amendment and state equal protection clauses, focusing on recent decisions on sodomy, anti-discrimination, and same-sex marriage. The paper assesses this jurisprudence from the standpoint of the ideal of public reason, but also assesses the ideal of public reason from the standpoint of legal experience with these concrete policy disputes. This paper is part of a larger project on moral pluralism, conflict, and compromise.

**Lochead, Karen** - The Political Development of Native Title in Canada and Australia: The Comprehensive Claims Policy vs The Native Title Act

The absence of common law recognition of native title prior to 1973 in Canada and prior to 1992 in Australia left Indigenous Peoples at a tremendous disadvantage. Unable to assert their continuing rights to land within the legal and political systems of their colonizers they could not effectively challenge or prevent the dispossession of their ancestral territories. Today, however, the Indigenous Peoples of Canada and Australia have the ability to assert claims to their ancestral territories within the legal and political institutions of their colonizers and defend against unlawful dispossession. How they do this, however, is largely dependent upon: (i) the judicial characterization of common law native title; and, (ii) the political response to the judicial recognition of native title. In my conference paper - "The Political Development of Native Title in Canada and Australia: The Comprehensive Claims Policy vs The Native Title Act" - I will analyze and compare the political responses of the Government of Canada and the Government of Australia to the judicial recognition of native title. The findings of this comparative analysis will reveal: (i) substantially different political reactions to the judicial recognition and definition of native title in Canada and Australia; (ii) substantially different native title claims processes in the two countries; and, substantially different possibilities for the successful assertion of native title claims by Canadian and Australia native title claimants. The respective reactions, processes and possibilities, it will be argued, are intimately connected and collectively attributable to the respective countries' recognition of and respect for indigenous rights to land during the early years of colonial settlement.

**Long, Doug** - Philosophy, Ideology and Rhetoric: discursive strategies in Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations

This paper offers a wholistic reading of the Wealth of Nations (WN), placing it in the context of Smith's other works, especially his striking early (1750s) essay on "The Principles which Lead and Direct Philosophical Inquiry", and identifying two rhetorical strategies which dominate the text of WN. The result is a new view of the nature and function of WN as a whole, and a new view of Smith's oeuvre as developing and applying an unique and important methodology of scientific and philosophical inquiry. In the early essay to which I referred above, Smith characterized both scientific and philosophical modes of inquiry (making no distinction between them) as strategic and rhetorical discursive structures. The object of inquiry, he said, was to 'sooth' the human imagination when it was distressed at the contradictions and rapid changes characteristic of dynamic commercial society. The goal of the philosopher, he argued in neo-stoic tones, was to restore the imagination to its 'natural and agreeable' state of 'composure'. By conventional standards, this is surely a rhetorical project, an employment of the art of persuasive speech, not a philosophical undertaking. Nowhere in this essay did Smith speak of truth as a goal of inquiry. WN is Smith's most famous I/Enquiry. It is a rhetorical work, shaped by two strategic goals. The simpler and more proximate of these was the ideological goal of supporting his contemporary 'free traders' in the partisan political battle against mercantilists that raged around 1776. Smith's friends, in their reception of WN, and the 20th century editors of the 1976 Glasgow edition of WN agree that this was an important strategic objective of the work. But more broadly WN was an attempt to orient individuals imaginatively in the new and turbulent form of society Smith and others called 'commercial society', to direct both rich and poor on a course of self-discipline and industry that would, in the best case scenario, reap great commercial benefits for all. Through the powerful metaphor of the "Invisible Hand", coupled with that of the "Impartial Spectator" developed earlier in Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments", Smith undertook to sooth and compose the imaginations of the inhabitants of nascent capitalist society, to show them its benefits and reconcile them to its costs. WN thus exhibits something more than narrow ideological partisanship, but certainly something less than a scientific or philosophical demonstration of the true nature of commercial society. It was, however, the first great attempt at orienting the modern imagination in a new context - that of 'market society'. This paper situates WN within the wider context that I have examined in my other published work on Smith. It also situates Smith's work in an innovative way within the broad context of modernity.

**Loewen, Peter and Fortin, Jessica** - Two Sides of the Same Coin? Measuring Public Support of and Opposition to Immigration in Canada.

The paper examines public opinion towards the restriction or expansion of immigration in Canada, using data from the 2000 Canadian Election Study (CES). The paper is largely modeled on Citrin, et al (1997)'s "Public Opinion Towards Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivations," though we make a methodological improvement that increases both the confidence of our results and our understanding of what drives not only opposition to immigration, but also support for more immigration. Our methodological improvement is simple. Rather than using an ordered probit, we choose to use a multinomial logit. Because our three choices are exhaustive, we do not have to consider the irrelevance of independent alternatives. Thus, we can harness the principal advantage of the multinomial logit; namely, the independent measurement of the effect of each variable on each outcome. Our model includes approximately 1200 respondents. As best possible, we follow the model of Citrin et al. and include a battery of individual demographic factors, riding level data of immigrants as a percentage of the population, and attitudinal factors. Our initial results find that economic insecurity,

negative feelings towards major immigrant groups, and negative retrospective economic evaluations are the principal factors causing opposition to immigration. This last significant result contradicts the American findings of Citrin et al. according to which personal economic circumstances play little role in opinion formation. In addition to challenging their main finding in regards to restriction, we generate a number of findings on the factors influencing support for increased immigration. Most importantly, we demonstrate that these factors are not entirely symmetrical with the factors influencing support for decrease in immigration levels. Indeed, we find that national economic evaluations have little effect on support for increased immigration. Furthermore, we find that ideological placements farther away from the centre (in either direction) positively predict support for increased immigration, net all other factors. Therefore our results demonstrate the value of employing a multinomial logit instead of an ordered probit in understanding public opinion towards immigration expansion or restriction. Finally, we apply this method to data from the 1997 CES, and generate similar findings.

**Maas, Willem** - The Rise and Decline of European Citizenship

Rights are ultimately only as secure as the political and institutional support they enjoy. The expansion of the rights of European citizenship is therefore reversible. The attempt to add a veneer of common European rights over well-established national rights based on dissimilar conceptions of the good life raises challenges. In examining the limits of European citizenship, I analyze ways in which it increases rather than decreases tension within the EU. I argue that there are risks to a common citizenship that require responses grounded in the comparative experience of managing conflict and difference. Though I ultimately believe that the growth of common European rights is not yet finished, I think it important to identify countervailing forces, which problematize the future of European citizenship.

**MacDonald, Fiona** - Restructuring Rights: Exploring the Implications of Privatization for Minority Group Rights

Within contemporary liberal democracies identity politics is often manifest in demands for autonomy through what has now come to be known as group-differentiated or minority rights. In response to this trend, I will explore in this paper the legal procedures and practices of some forms of minority group rights, and the extent to which while often 'empowering' minority groups on one level, they may simultaneously bring about unintended negative consequences on another level. Thus, I will examine to what extent minority rights, generally viewed as 'concessions' made by the state to meet the demands of minority groups (Kymlicka 1995, Taylor 1995) must be evaluated as part of a broader governmental strategy of neo-liberalism which is not simply about meeting the particular demands of minority groups but also about meeting the requirements of the contemporary governmental shift towards privatization within liberal democratic states. As such, particular manifestations of group rights are vulnerable to criticisms launched against practices of privatization which include a variety of policies designed to promote a stealth shifting of contentious issues out of the public sphere thereby limiting public debate and collective (i.e. state) responsibility (Cossman and Fudge 2002). While the positive effects of the recognition of minority group rights must not be discounted, I contend that there may be unforeseen and unintended implications and limitations to such an approach. These risks must be addressed if the hard-won rights-based initiatives are to meet the variant needs and objectives of the groups and individuals whom have advocated such recognition. This is an area within the multicultural debate that, until very recently, has been significantly overlooked. This paper is an attempt to explore some of the actual effects of group-differentiated policy. In order to make the analysis concrete and local (Carens 2001) I will examine the case of First Nations groups in Canada and their 'right' to autonomous child welfare services.

**MacLeod, Michael R.** - Global corporate social responsibility: Constructing a norm via financial actors and instruments?

Is there a norm of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in world politics? This paper examines the extent to which a norm – a set of expectations of appropriate behavior for an actor in international politics – of social responsibility is emerging for the conduct of business by multinational corporations (MNCs). The issue is approached by analyzing how various actors involved in global governance – states, international institutions, non-governmental organizations and MNCs themselves – have come to understand (and influence) the extra-legal obligations that such corporations have to the local and global communities in which they operate. Specifically, the paper investigates the extent to which major public and private financial institutions, i.e. commercial banks, development banks and export credit agencies, have propagated extra-legal labor, human rights and environmental standards and foisted them (directly and indirectly) upon multinational corporations. In doing so, the research here will "unpack" how various financially-related phenomena – such as socially responsible investment, social and environmental auditing, and guidelines such as the recently implemented "Equator Principles" for project financing, and so forth – are increasingly utilized elements of multi-level governance affecting global business activity. My preliminary argument is that despite apparent different institutionalizations of business-society relations across nation-states, and despite assertions that international corporate activity is largely reflective of the interests and actions of states, there is evidence of an emerging global governance of business that coalesces around common expectations of what constitutes proper behavior for multinational corporations.

**Magner, Michael** - Les organisations communistes de masse et la société civile après 1989 : les cas de la Pologne et de l'Hongrie.

Les sociétés civiles polonaise et hongroise sont d'habitude présentées comme des forces non négligeables dans la lutte contre le régime communiste. Cependant, dans les deux pays, les anciennes organisations de masse, certes

transformées, jouent aujourd'hui un rôle prépondérant au sein de ces mêmes sociétés civiles. Bien que leur nombre soit limité, elles y occupent une position importante à en juger par leurs moyens financiers, le nombre d'adhérents, de bénévoles et d'employés. En effet, ces organisations ont largement suivi le chemin tracé par les anciens partis communistes : changement au niveau de l'idéologie, conservation des liens personnelles entre les membres et, chose particulièrement importante pour les organisations de la société civile, préservation de la base matérielle. Bref, tout comme les partis jadis communistes, les organisations de masse ont su réussir dans les nouvelles conditions. Comment cela a-t-il été rendu possible et quels moyens leur permettent de rivaliser avec d'autres organisations de la société civile? Telles sont les questions principales que nous aborderons dans notre présentation. De plus, nous allons discuter, dans des termes plus généraux, la problématique de la conversion de la nomenklatura communiste en Europe Centrale. Sous le régime communiste, le leadership des organisations de masse faisait partie de la nomenklatura. Après 1989, non seulement ces organisations ont-elles bien réussi la période de transition, mais aussi leurs dirigeants ont connu une amélioration de leur situation financière par rapport aux années 1980. Cela permet d'examiner la circulation des anciennes élites de la nomenklatura dans le contexte de la transition postcommuniste.

**Malloy, Jonathan** - The Politics of Canadian Evangelical Christians

This paper will describe and analyze the political orientations and behaviour of evangelical Christians in Canadian politics, focusing particularly on their interaction with legislative, bureaucratic and judicial institutions. Although the political activities of evangelical or fundamentalist Christians is broadly familiar to Canadians and political scientists, surprisingly little sustained study has been made of them. In particular, we lack holistic studies of evangelicals as activists; most research has focused on their roles in specific policy areas or issues rather than broadly on their overall orientation, degree of organization, choice of tactics - and the diversities within them. As part of a broader ongoing study, the paper will provide a strong original overview of evangelical politics in Canada, with particular comparison to the United States. It will argue that differences in both the level and nature of evangelical activism can be significantly explained by institutional factors. The different systems of legislative-executive government in the two countries, along with differences in federal structures and political party systems, have all combined to create differences in political outlooks and behaviour. While not explaining all differences, the paper will argue that the institutional factor has not been sufficiently recognized in what is already a generally neglected area of study.

**Matthews, J. Scott** - The Political Foundations of Support for Same-Sex Marriage in Canada

Over the period bounded by the elections of the first and third majority governments of Jean Chrétien, Canadian support for gay marriage increased markedly. Whereas in 1993 the average Canadian was opposed to same-sex union, in 2000 the typical Canadian was essentially indifferent on the issue (Erickson and Matthews 2003). Why? Well-rehearsed sociological arguments concerning cross-generational value change (Inglehart 1997; Kitschelt 1994; Nevitte 1996) clearly can not make sense of so sizeable an opinion shift over so short a period of time. The glacial pace of sociological change would imply, at best, a gradual incline in support for gay marriage across the nineties. Yet the increase in support for same-sex union in Canada is better described as a sudden 'spike' than a gradual shift. Taking this finding as its point of departure, this paper will make the argument that opinion change on gay marriage in Canada has turned on the changing framing (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Zaller 1992) of gay marriage as an issue in elite discourse. Specifically, this paper will contend that support for gay marriage has increased as Canadians have been primed—by the media, political parties, and especially the courts (Hiebert 2002)—to think of the core liberal value of equal treatment in relation to gay marriage. The paper will proceed through analysis of the Canadian Election Studies of 1988, 1993, 1997, and 2000. Along with treatment of the central question of opinion change on gay marriage, the paper will also consider the impact of media attention, political sophistication and institutional confidence on the nature of the relationship between elite discourse and public opinion.

**Mawhinney, Michelle** - Time, Space and the Transcendental "I": the Kantian Self as Other

This paper will explore Kant's notion of the free self in light of a resurgence of interest in his moral philosophy - not just on the part of Rawlsian liberals, but also by critical theorists who are concerned with accommodating "difference" and protecting the freedoms of marginalized Others in contemporary Western cultures. I am not advocating a return to Kant, but neither do I believe that his "transcendental idealism" must be rectified in order to make his philosophy applicable to contemporary ethical dilemmas. It is in this very idealism that the value of Kant's approach lies; for it is premised on an understanding of an objective reality which we cannot know, but which has an indelible affect on subjective sources. The ethical implications of this understanding go beyond the categorical imperative, reflecting an unspoken respect for difference. This is reflected in the Kantian self, whose universality is rooted in finitude and specificity, a self which is also other.

**McArthur, Doug** - Policy Analysis in Provincial Governments: Problems and Trends

Provincial government policy development and decision systems have been subjected to two important influences historically. First, the doctrines of Cabinet and Ministerial responsibility for policy have had a large impact. Systems have emphasized support for a strong Ministerial and Cabinet role, with the Minister and in many cases Cabinet assumed to be involved in significant policy decisions. Policy advice has generally been concentrated in the departments or ministries,

and there has been limited emphasis placed on central agencies and specialized policy units. Second, policy problems have been seen as relatively accessible and easy to understand, with the result that policy systems have been relatively simple. The complexity of systems of committees and systems for due diligence and review has historically been lower at the provincial government level than at the federal level. Provincial governments have not however been immune to changing conditions and fashions over the past few years. The centralization of policy control in First Ministers offices, reflecting the growing dominance of the governing party leader in the Canadian parliamentary system, has impacted provincial governments just as it has the federal government. Professional ideas have played a part in ever increasing sophistication in deliberations and decision making, as has increased sophistication in the expectations of capital and financial markets. Ever more highly developed policy networks and an increased role for consultation have brought a new politics to policy development in many of the provinces. The 'New Public Management' ideas have also played a role in shaping policy systems over recent years. Today provincial governments are important innovators in the design and operation of policy systems. Notwithstanding these developments, the amount of external attention paid to policy processes and systems in provincial governments continues to be limited. Elected politicians other than Ministers tend to have little interest in such matters. An interest in good policy processes and systems is generally considered abstract, esoteric and derivative. There is a need for more research, criticism and debate about these matters. And new ways need to be explored to create incentives for innovation and design improvement.

**McBride, Stephen** - Internationalizing the State: Assessing the Impact of Adjudication of Trade Disputes

An emerging literature, rooted in international political economy and international law, interprets international economic agreements (IEAs) as having constitutional effect, rather than being merely technocratic trade deals. Thus there is growing recognition of the constitutional characteristics of agreements like NAFTA and the WTO. In essence rules and constitutions are being redesigned to establish and lock-in arrangements that render certain types of future political change that rely on the state's ability to regulate capital more difficult. Constitutions typically specify the role played by institutions: executive, legislative, administrative, and judicial, and establish norms, rights, and limits on government. Even institutionally minimalist IEAs like NAFTA do have institutions and of these the dispute settlement institutions performing a judicial or quasi-judicial function are the best developed. Increasingly it can be argued that their decisions are shaping limits on national governments and the norms by which they operate. For many this development is undemocratic and these bodies lack legitimacy. Yet, some argue that international economic organizations like the WTO or NAFTA derive legitimacy from the 'rule of law' characteristics of the quasi-judicial dispute settlement institutions. Through an analysis of the procedures and selected decisions of the NAFTA and WTO dispute settlement mechanisms this paper investigates the proposition that these bodies are serving to bring about a less democratic and more purely liberal society and critically evaluates their capacity to create new forms of legitimacy.

**McNamara, Michael** - Democratization and Decentralization: Unlocking Educational Reforms in Latin America

A major emphasis of scholars of Latin American politics has been the "centralist tradition" of the region. Yet, decentralization has become a key element of the political evolution of the Latin American state. Thus, a puzzle has emerged within the region that escapes the purview of the "centralist tradition"; namely, what drives decentralization in Latin America? The little research that has addressed this question, particularly that which focuses on "bottom-up" pressures, has been unable to explain transfers to new actors who lack any leverage or incentive to shape the decentralization project (potential, yet weak winners). In this paper, I examine four cases of educational decentralization in order to understand how decentralization is associated with the change of a regime. I find that democratization matters for the form and degree to which policy authorities and resources are decentralized. In educational decentralization projects (Chile and Nicaragua) that immediately follow democratization, I find a higher frequency of transfers to the municipal or school level (potential, yet weak winners). In cases not preceded by transition (Argentina and Mexico), I find projects that disburse authority and resources to strong winners. I then investigate the complex linkages between regime change and decentralization to explain this outcome. In contrast to hypotheses suggesting democratization opens up "bottom-up" pressures for decentralization, my cases show that decentralization to municipal or school levels was conceived "top-down" and enabled by the 'unlocking' of traditional bargaining positions resulting from transitions to democracy.

**McGrane, David** - The Birth of a Nationalist Social Democracy: The Origins of Social Democracy in Québec, 1900-1967

This paper will examine the emergence of social democracy in Québec from 1900 to 1967 using an intellectual history approach which focuses on the ideas of political actors as opposed to their organizational history. It will begin with a literature review of French literature on 'idéologies' in Québec as well as highlighting English Canadian contributions to this subject. It will then be argued that from 1900 to 1947 there were seven principal 'generators' of social democratic ideas in Québec: Ligue nationaliste, L'action Catholique, Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada (CTCC), L'Action libérale nationale (ALN), the Québec cooperative movement, Faculté des sciences sociales at Université Laval and Bloc Populaire Canadien. These seven 'generators' of social democratic ideas shared many common characteristics: critique of economic inequality, promotion of social welfare measures, Catholicism, Québécois nationalism, anti-imperialism, economic nationalism, anti-trust sentiment and corporatism. It will then be illustrated that the period from 1948 to 1967 saw the creation of a number of groups or modifications in the ideas of older groups which secularized the ideas of the seven original generators of social democratic ideas in Québec such as Refus Global, Cité Libre, Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) and Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN), Parti Pris, Parti Libéral du Québec

and Le Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN). Finally, the paper depicts how the Québécois feminist movement produced social democratic ideas throughout the period from 1900 to 1967. The overall argument will be that the ideas and activity of these various groups in 1900 to 1967 created the conditions for the emergence of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in 1967. Indeed, the PQ combined the ideas from these diverse locations to create an indigenous nationalist Québécois social democracy which was responsive to feminist issues. The paper will end by arguing that the examination of the origins of social democracy in Québec allows us to more fully understand the current project of social democracy in Québec and estimate its future trajectory within Québécois politics.

**McKenzie, Judith** - Balancing Individual, Community and Family Rights: The Implications of the Starson Decision on Canadian Mental Health Policy

In June 2003, the Supreme Court of Canada - in a split 6 to 3 decision - ruled that Professor Scott Starson had the 'capacity' to make an informed decision to refuse medication for his illness, bipolar affective disorder. Two lower Ontario courts had come to the same conclusion as the Supreme Court. All believed that the Ontario Review Board had erred in its decision when ruling that Starson was incapable of making this decision. The decision has sent shock waves into the psychiatric community and has disappointed family-based mental health organizations such as the Canadian Schizophrenia Society. Moreover, given the likelihood that Starson will remain confined quite possibly forever in a forensic unit, this decision has important implications for policy-makers. This paper will examine the evidence that was introduced by the various intervenors in this case and will identify the key issues as identified by the various jurists who heard the case. In addition, the paper will examine and analyze the decision in terms of the discourse of rights. In the end, the critical issue will be to determine whether or not individual rights of mental health consumers should supercede the rights of their families and the opinions of their doctors.

**McLeay, Elizabeth** - The Dynamics of Constitutional Change: the New Zealand Case

One way of conceptualising the politics of constitutional changes is to examine the characteristics of the issues themselves. For instance, take just one issue dimension: whether or not change is contested by opposition parties. Some changes are by their very nature contestable because they affect access to, and the exercise of, political power (electoral system change, for example). Other changes do not appear to alter power relationships, yet are also contested bitterly (changing a country's flag, for example). Still other changes are characterised by elite consensus (instituting an Ombudsman office). Some changes are imposed on political actors (by courts and electors) while other are instituted by them (radical public sector restructuring). The nature of the issues varies, as do the actors and interests involved and, also, the arenas in which key decisions are made. By adapting Theodore Lowi's original three-part typology of policy issues based on the assumption that different policies create different politics, and through introducing insights from institutionalist theory, I seek to further understanding of the varieties of constitutional change in liberal democratic states, the constraints on change and how it happens. New Zealand, which has undergone a range of constitutional reforms since the 1950s, and which has few formal obstacles to change, provides a useful case-study. This paper extends my recent research on two interlocking issues: New Zealand's adoption of a Mixed Member Proportional electoral system and its impact on the polity; and reform within the New Zealand Parliament.

**Mulhern, Celine** - Testing the Globalization Thesis: The Case of Public Education Reform in Ontario, 1990-2003

Proponents of the "globalization thesis" hold that liberal market economies are experiencing an era of neoliberal hegemony, wherein social democratic governance is constrained (with taxation and public expenditures increasingly perceived as unjustifiable impediments to economic competitiveness) and wherein neoliberal partisan regimes are free to enact policies that promote market liberalization. (Garrett, 1998) Seeking to test the "globalization thesis," this paper compares kindergarten to grade 12 education reform in Ontario by the Rae (1990-1995) and consecutive Harris - Eves governments (1995-2003). Controlling for jurisdiction and policy area allows for a clearer discernment of the impact, if any, of partisan ideology on social policy - in this case, public education policy. If ideologically relevant differences in Rae and Harris/Eves public school reform are revealed, then a turn toward neoliberal policies is not mechanistically pre-determined as the globalization thesis suggests, but is attributable in large part to the influence of the values guiding governments. My main argument is that the globalization thesis fails to predict the nature of education reform in Ontario during this period. While each government responded to globalization by implementing similar programmatic level change (by recourse to policy instruments such as the common curriculum, standardized school assessment, and education finance reform), the Rae government remained true to a welfare state purpose of public schools, whereas the Harris and Eves governments introduced paradigmatic change that sought to re-direct public schools away from the post-war welfare goals toward a market-oriented understanding of schools as educational service providers bereft of the equity-seeking agenda (both economic and humanistic) developed in the post-war era.

**Mullen, Stephanie** - Women in the Canadian Senate

Traditionally, the main institutional focus of academic research on Canada's Parliamentary institutions has been the House of Commons. Unfortunately, this research has not been replicated for the Senate. This scholarly deficit can be partly explained by the fact that the institution is often dismissed as impotent in effecting legislative change, a line of reasoning which generally presupposes that policy outcomes are the only measure of success for Senators, and in the

case of this research, women Senators. Although changes to policy may be the ultimate goal of the politically active feminist, feminist representation and advocacy at different levels of the policy debate are also crucial. In the past decade, Prime Minister Jean Chretien has appointed a record number of women to the Senate. The primary research question for this paper was whether the 'slow but steady' increase over the years in the number of female appointments to the Senate has impacted the debates and policy outputs of the institution. In an attempt to answer this question, three distinct areas of research were examined - namely, 1) the identity of women in the Senate; 2) feminist representation; and 3) feminist policy outputs. Qualitative methods were utilized in the form of interviews with a sample of both female and male Senators, and a content analysis of the Senate debates and select committee reports. This research presentation will focus on three preliminary results. At this stage of analysis, the results appear to confirm, firstly, that there is a gender effect in the Senate; however, length of appointment and region are also important variables. Secondly, the findings seem to demonstrate that women legislators in the Senate feel less constrained by partisanship and party discipline. The last finding to be discussed focuses on the increased climate of activism that has developed in recent years, as a reaction to the weak opposition in the House of Commons, and specifically women Senators' role within this activist climate.

**Munn, Jaimie** - The Lost Culture of Humanitarianism

The paper explores the problems which arise when the question of 'difference' is added to the mix on issues of 'identity' and the 'national'. In this piece I want to deepen and sharpen my analysis of concepts of culture through an examination of a specific current problem in IR: the issue of consistency in interventions. I explore the concepts of culture and focus on how these concepts emerge in the different ways we deal with intervention. Culture is not easily defined, nor is there a consensus among scholars or politicians as to what exactly the concept should include. It is hoped, here, to outline some of the broad-ranging debates which have gone on about culture within the discipline. The paper offers some insight into what the culture debate means to intervention and to provide some examples of how cultural meanings are formed in IR, maintained, and changed in humanitarian intervention. To do this, I focus specifically on non-governmental organisations which are active in the field.

**Murray, Heather L.** - The Rise of Urban Autonomy Movements in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of the Toronto and Winnipeg Cases

Canada is one of the most urbanized countries in the world with nearly 80% of its citizens living in urban areas. In fact, several provinces have dominant cities that contain up to half their population. In recent years, as they increasingly operate across international boundaries, a number of larger municipalities have come to view as unduly restrictive their subordinate political and constitutional status in their own province. As the future role of Canadian cities is debated, municipal and community charters are perceived by some as a way to respond to the sense of deprivation afoot in Canada that its cities need to have greater political and fiscal power. Looking to the American experience with home-rule and city charters, many political, business, and civil society leaders in Canada argue that these types of reform, while still quite rare in the Canadian context, can serve as a "way out" for cities grappling to attain greater municipal autonomy. This paper presents the initial findings of a larger research project that explores and evaluates the forces that are driving movements for greater urban autonomy in Canada. The paper will ask: 1) who is involved in these movements for municipal autonomy and why, and, 2) what factors explain the emergence of urban autonomy movements in Canada? It will also assess the ability of some of the urban politics literature, such as global cities, growth machines, and regime theory, to shed comparative light on how and why movements for urban autonomy arise in Canada. The paper is based on a qualitative analysis of data and information obtained from government and civil society publications and policy documents, websites, local and national media sources, and through interviews with local political and business leaders, municipal officials and civil servants, and relevant civil society and local interest group actors. This paper compares the key differences and similarities that exist behind movements for urban autonomy in Toronto and Winnipeg.

**Mychajlyszyn, Natalie** - From Adversaries to Partners: NATO and the States of the Former Soviet Union

This research focuses on the transformation of the relationship between the former republics of the Soviet Union, now independent states, and NATO from that of a distrustful, military rivalry to one in which joint military exercises and peacekeeping operations have been carried out, membership is sought or unique partnership arrangements are achieved. In doing so, it proposes an explanation based on the framework of strategic culture. More specifically, the research considers that to understand the process by which former adversaries become partners, it is important to examine the transference of values and beliefs about the use of force from one entity to the other in order to create a cultural foundation on which that partnership can function. In other words, the reliability and significance of any partnership between NATO and the states of the former Warsaw Pact depends on the diffusion of a common strategic culture. In following this argument, the research identifies the international and domestic conditions which promote partnerships among former adversaries as well as the significance of any variability among these conditions for the outcome. In its conclusion the research examines the implications of non-alliance partnerships (where partnerships are established, but formal membership is not forthcoming) for the future of defence alliances.

**Narozhana, Tanya** - HUMAN SECURITY VS POLITICIZED HUMANITARIANISM IN "FORGOTTEN" EMERGENCIES

In the turbulent 1990s, calls for enhanced integration of the notion of human security into the provision of humanitarian assistance became routinized. The convergence of aid and human security agendas, also known as 'securitization' of aid, reflected a growing realization that the provision of aid can be a leverage of conflict management. Security role played by humanitarian aid is a major concern of this presentation. The key argument is that despite human security rhetoric, 'securitization' of aid is closely locked into conventional paradigm of security shaped by Westphalian-type of mindset, straitjacketed by preoccupations with power and state security, rather than safety and well-being of ordinary people. This presentation will demonstrate that humanitarian emergencies in the societies where human security is hugely jeopardized in the absence of civil strife, and by extension, in the absence of serious implications for state integrity, have been traditionally marginalized. Specifically, it will take a closer look at the post-Chernobyl developments in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia to show that even in the absence of civil strife, humanitarian emergency affecting millions of lives unfolds in the highly contaminated zones, but it is largely unnoticed by the international donor community. I will argue that it is important to retain the broad sweep and definitional elasticity of the notion of human security in order to utilize this concept as a powerful rallying cry and a unifying agenda for action that can raise global awareness about horrific degradation of human condition in the territories affected by nuclear catastrophe and galvanize international action to respond in a strong and integrated way to what might become one of the biggest tragedies of the 21st century.

#### **Narozhna, Tanya** - WESTERN AID AND SOCIAL METAMORPHOSIS IN THE POST-SOCIALIST WORLD

For more than a decade, enormous resources were spent on trying to replicate Western-type (neo)liberal model in the post-socialist world. However, when applied in societies with distinct cultural, socio-economic and political characteristics, this model proved dramatically inadequate. To undertake a critical analysis of transitional processes and to demonstrate how aid has shaped contemporary developments in the region, this paper will conceptualize transition as a strategy implemented by Western donors. It will demonstrate that even though aid consultants often acknowledged the distinctiveness of post-socialist world, they did not envision any alternative aid model. Despite the fact that Marshall Plan ideas prevailed in the rhetoric of donors at the early stage of transition, the Third World models were actually implemented. The fusion of abstract Western model with the socialist reality will be analyzed from critical constructivist perspective. A key argument is that post-socialist reality represents a complex hybrid of old and new mentalities and habits. The modalities of political and economic trajectories traveled by former socialist countries barely resemble any recognizable stage in the development of capitalism and democracy in the West. The term 'transition' itself has been so eclectically cluttered with concepts, strategies, and prescriptions that it no longer adequately captures the social reality throughout the post-socialist world. What emerges on the ruins of the old regime is a new reality with its own imbalances, turbulence, and highly indeterminate consequences. It can be better described as a social metamorphosis – a complex process with no determinate destination and often no clear blueprint as to how this change should proceed.

#### **Nieguth, Tim** - State Territoriality and Canadian Responses to Ethnic Diversity

The literature on responses to ethnic diversity has paid relatively little attention to the significance of territoriality for shaping those responses. Mostly by default, it portrays state territoriality as an unproblematic given, as a neutral backdrop to social relations and political processes, and as the "normal" method for delineating political space. To the extent that this literature addresses issues of territory, it typically regards the latter as an object of political organization. From that perspective, the central question is the political division of concrete geographical spaces and the internal construction of territorially defined political spaces in response to ethnic diversity. In contrast, this paper proceeds from the assumption that state territoriality itself needs to be examined for its impact on ethnic diversity. State territoriality shapes conceptions of social reality, political aspirations and political means, and has had appreciable power effects on ethnic groups. The paper discusses the implications of state territoriality for different responses to ethnic diversity by exploring some of the historical approaches taken by the Canadian state towards minority groups, relying on secondary sources for this purpose. By way of conclusion, the paper considers alternative, non-territorial approaches to ethnic self-government, drawing specifically on the work of Ebin Kristan, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer. The paper reflects the author's ongoing research on the implications of territory for institutional responses to ethnic diversity. It builds on previous work by the author regarding the state and ethnic diversity as well as non-territorial methods of organizing political space.

#### **Nikolenyi, Csaba** - The Politics of Government Stability in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

Since their Velvet Divorce, two national legislatures have completed their terms in the sovereign successor states of the former Czechoslovakia. Despite a number of similarities in their institutional features, such as the electoral system and the format of the party system, the two national legislatures have provided quite different environments for government stability. Whereas the first post-Divorce Czech coalition government collapsed shortly after a year in office, the minority government formed by the Social Democrats (CSSD) after the 1998 polls proved to be remarkably stable. In stark contrast, both Slovak coalition cabinets, the formation of which followed the 1994 and 1998 general elections respectively, survived in office for their full term. This paper will seek an explanation for the different experience of the two states with government stability. This paper builds on earlier research that has identified the utility of cooperative game theory in explaining cabinet stability in the post-communist legislatures of Central European states. While cooperative game theory has been widely used in coalition research; it has its analytical and theoretical shortcomings. This paper will adopt a non-cooperative game theoretic perspective in order to specify the ways in which dominant and central players have stabilized, or not, the equilibrium government, once it has been formed, in the two states.

**Nikolenyi, Csaba** - Why Have Prime Ministers Managed to Survive the Instability of Coalition Governments in Post-Communist Hungary

This paper attempts to provide a consistent explanation for the different degrees of government stability in the three legislatures of post-communist Hungary (1990-94, 1994-98, and 1998-2002). The stories of the three governments provide an interesting and important puzzle that begs an explanation: although there have been considerable changes in all three governments both in terms of the party-wise composition of the governing coalition as well as the allocation of portfolios among the coalition partners, these changes always stopped short of resulting in the replacement of the Prime Minister. The paper will suggest that conventional institution-free explanations of cabinet stability can only provide a partial explanation for the dependent variable. These explanations have highlighted the importance of variables such as the number of and the distribution of parliamentary weight among the members of the governing coalition and the degree of ideological dispersion among the coalition partners. Although such variables may explain why some governing coalitions are more durable than others, they cannot explain why and when instability will result in the removal of the Prime Minister. The working hypothesis of the paper is that the constitutional requirement of a constructive vote of no-confidence to remove the head of government has played an important role in stabilizing the position of Hungarian Prime Ministers.

**Nossal, Kim Richard and Brock, Kathy** - Implementing the Voluntary Sector Accord: The Cases of Canadian Heritage and Foreign Affairs

In December 2001, the federal government and the voluntary sector in Canada signed an agreement that was intended to strengthen the relationship between the two sectors and establish common values, commitments and principles intended to govern the relationship in the future. The Accord Between the Government of Canada and the Voluntary Sector was accompanied by a Code of Good Practice on Policy Dialogue and by a Code of Good Practice on Funding. Together, the three documents were intended to establish a new framework for the inclusion of voluntary sector organizations in the political decision-making process. While a number of scholars have explored the origins of the Accord, to date no assessment of the impact of the changes on government has been undertaken. How effective have these framework agreements been in changing the way the Canadian government does business? This paper will assess the degree to which the commitments, principles and values embraced by the Accord and implemented by the Codes have penetrated government and are resulting in changed policy behaviour. The paper will examine how the Accord and the Codes have been received in two federal government departments, the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, to assess the impact of the proposed changes. The two departments were selected because the former was seen as a champion of the Accord and is tasked with the responsibility of implementing it through the Codes; the latter was widely viewed as reluctant to embrace the concept of an Accord.

**Nunes da Costa, Martha** - Redefining Individuality - Questioning the Boundaries of Politics and Culture

My paper has as starting-point the framework established by three authors - Kant, Adorno and Foucault - and their commitment with the Enlightenment project of human emancipation. My first assumption is that individuality as an ideal is still to be accomplished, and that this accomplishment becomes harder due to a confused understanding promoted by political ideologies (for example, under the claim of 'individualism' that characterizes liberal democratic societies) and contradicted by cultural practices (such as exposed by Adorno's concept of culture industry). Without falling in a too extensive exegetical work, I want to analyze the relationship between politics and culture and how the individual is situated (or not) in the process. For this I will propose a set of basic characteristics of individuality (which will allow us to analytically distinguish it from labels such as individualism). Second, I will develop my reflection on the link between Adorno's culture industry and Foucault's disciplinary society, with the introduction of a new hypothesis or model of explanation that I will call 'surveillance culture'. Third, once the link between them is established, I will finish with a reflection on the link(s) between the artist as a producer of culture and as a political being. Although the critical and more pessimistic tone (of Adorno) and a problematic refusal of metaphysics (of Foucault) that makes individual autonomy an ideal difficult to reach, one recognizes in both authors an account for the intimate link between artistic creation and political reform. The role of creation will bring light upon the theoretical bridge (and practical interdependence) between the two spheres of politics and culture, represented in the figure of the individual. My subject of research on the conditions of possibility for individuality, through an articulation between politics and culture is crucial today not only for theoretical but also practical purposes. With new forms of technology and an apparent proliferation of cultural forms of expression, the ideal of Enlightenment seems to be far from being reached. A critical reflection on the matter becomes imperative, if one is to find and create new forms of (political) action and (cultural) identity.

**Denise, O'Connor** - Contesting Expertise: The Case of Home Care under the Harris Conservatives

Using the example of home care services in Ontario between 1995-2003, this paper argues that the role of expertise or knowledge in the delivery of health or social services has become the site of a power struggle among the actors engaged in funding, organizing and delivering these services. There are two aspects to this struggle: the first entails control over who defines the work, or whose expertise shapes it? In this case, there is a disconnect between what health care professionals or policy experts and decision-makers value in service delivery. While health care professionals valued continuity of care, a component of emotional support for clients, and collaboration among providers, decision-makers valued cost containment and competition among providers. Belkin argues that there has been a shift in power from experts to technocrats (1997). The second struggle focuses on policy feedback or the reflexivity of actors organized in a



network. There is an assumption implicit in scholarly writing that social learning is a normal characteristic of the policy process and that policy networks are reflexive by definition (Hall 1993; Jessop 1998). This assumes an open and rational exchange of information among the actors. However, in this case, significant problems associated with the delivery of services were systematically disregarded by government. This research suggests that governments contracting with autonomous agencies to provide services on their behalf must rethink the ways in which they construct evaluation criteria. This paper emerges from the author's thesis work comparing home care delivery in Ontario and England. Belkin, G. S. (1997). "The Technocratic Wish: Making Sense and Finding Power in the 'Managed' Marketplace." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 22(2): 509-532. Hall, P. (1993). "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." *Comparative Politics* April: 275-296. Jessop, B. (1998). The rise of governance and the risk of failure: the case of economic development. *Social Indicators Research*. UNESCO, UNESCO. 43 N 1-12.

#### **O'Connor, Derry** - Public Opinion, Public Choice, and Critical Theory

**Towards a New Institutional Approach to the Study of Political Communication Abstract:** This paper looks to answer three major questions in a review of the relevant literature on the subject: What definitions of the term public opinion are most commonly used by Political Scientists? How do writers in the Public Choice tradition conceptualise public opinion? What theoretical elements might Public Choice theorists draw from Critical Communications Scholars in order to render a more complete scholarly understanding of how Public Opinion shapes Social Choice? The first section of this paper discusses the contours of the debate over the definition of public opinion. Particularly insightful is the dichotomous distinction between public opinion as a manifest entity and public opinion as a latent entity (Noelle-Neumann, 1995). In the second part of the paper we present a discussion of public opinion from a Public Choice perspective. While public opinion is most often thought of as having a manifest function, there is nothing in Public Choice to suggest that a discussion of public opinion has to be limited to expressions of mass and activated opinions. In fact through the study of how institutions shape social choice, Public Choice allows room for an expanded theory of public opinion formation that includes the role of the media. Like Critical Theory, Public Choice can even offer a strong critic of how public opinion is often used as a rhetorical construction to refer to the "popular will" in actual democracies, when in fact it is doubtful that any such entity as the "popular will" even exists (Riker, 1980; McLean, 1987; Dryzek, 1992; Knight & Johnson, 1999). Preliminary References: Dryzek, John S. 1992. "How Far is It from Virginia and Rochester to Frankfurt? Public Choice as Critical Theory." *British Journal of Political Science* 22 (4): 397-417. Knight, Jack & James Johnson. 1999. "Inquiry into Democracy; What might a Pragmatist Make of Rational Choice Theories?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (2): 566-589. McLean, Iain. 1987. *Public Choice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. 1995. "Public Opinion and Rationality." In *Public Opinion and The Communication of Consent* : 33-53, ed. Theodore L. Glasser & Charles T. Salmon. New York: The Guilford Press. Riker, William. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *The American Political Science Review* 74(2) : 432-446.

#### **Oliver, Rebecca** - The Legacy of Equality: Documenting and Understanding Changes in Wage Inequality in Advanced Industrial Democracies

Across advanced industrialized countries there are important differences in the degree of wage inequality. Despite the increase in wage inequality in almost all countries, the rate and scope of these increases has varied a great deal across countries. While certain countries are rapidly moving toward a much less equal distribution of wages, others are only experiencing small and gradual changes. Past work has shown that countries with centralized bargaining institutions tend to have lower levels of inequality (Wallerstein 1999; Pontusson, Rueda et al. 2002) and that countries known as social market economies are less likely to undergo major increases in the level of wage inequality (Rueda and Pontusson 2000). In spite of these findings, there are important differences in the trajectory of wage inequality among social market economies, and even among countries with centralized bargaining. These differing trajectories can be better explained by looking at some of the finer details of wage-bargaining institutions. In light of results from extensive field work in Italy and Sweden, this paper contends that: (a) the presence of wage indexation practices, (b) wage scales, and (c) the type of confederal grouping - the way in which union members are grouped into confederations, either by ideological/religious affiliation or by occupational-type are critical factors in explaining whether or not a country will experience change in the distribution of wages. This paper evaluates the explanatory value of these three variables across 18 advanced industrialized democracies through a pooled cross-section time-series analysis using new updated data from Luxembourg Income Study (LIS 1980-2001) and the OECD (OECD 2002). The main idea guiding this research is that in order to understand the sources of stability and change in the level of wage inequality in a given country, we need to look carefully at several specific aspects of bargaining institutions (i.e. the fundamental structures and procedures by which employers, labor unions and, occasionally, governments, negotiate wages and other conditions of employment.) In particular, this paper hypothesizes that two factors are critical. First, entrenched procedures guiding the specifications of wages and wage increases (wage scales and wage indexation) deserve attention because these practices frame the ways in which debates about the distribution of wages occur. Second, the composition of groups participating in these decisions, (the type of confederal groupings) needs to be examined as this has a critical impact on the nature, or even on the presence, of debates on distributional questions and therefore on the outcome of these debates. This work aims to increase our knowledge about the specific causal effects of existing institutions and structures on the level of wage inequality by paying close attention to some of the finer points of wage bargaining, not captured by existing aggregate categories or measures. REFERENCES LIS (1980-2001). "Various datasets from the Luxembourg Income Study ([www.lisproject.org](http://www.lisproject.org))." OECD

(2002). "Unpublished data set." Pontusson, J., D. Rueda, et al. (2002). "Comparative Political Economy of Wage Distribution: The Role of Partisanship and Labour Market Institutions." *British Journal of Political Science* 32: 281-308. Rueda, D. and J. Pontusson (2000). "Wage Inequality and Varieties of Capitalism." *World Politics* 52: 350-83. Wallerstein, M. (1999). "Wage-Setting Institutions and Pay Inequality in Advanced Industrial Societies." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(3): pp 649-680.

**Orchard, Phil** - Weak States as a Cause of Ethnic Conflict

The state often plays an ambiguous role when it comes to the creation and prevention of ethnic conflict. Systemic explanations of ethnic conflict assume two key prerequisites for ethnic conflict to emerge: First, that ethnic groups reside in close proximity, and second, that the authorities must be too weak to keep groups from fighting and too weak to ensure the security of individual groups. Posen, for example, suggests that once weak states can no longer fully protect their own populations, a form of anarchy exists within the state and individual ethnic groups not only have to provide for their own defense but also worry about whether or not neighboring ethnic groups pose security threats. However, such explanations remove any form of agency from the state itself, apart from its own weakness as an indirect causal factor. I will argue, rather, that in situations of ethnic conflict, the state itself may play two key roles: By actively commencing ethnic hostilities or by choosing to avoid intervening in situations of ethnic conflict. As an example of the first, I will examine the direct role that the Barre regime in Somalia played in attacking differing tribal groups and in lowering the overall individual security of the tribal groups between 1981 and 1990. As an example of the second, I will examine the failure of the Indonesian government to respond in any meaningful way to widespread ethnic conflicts in several regions of the country between 1998 and 2001.

**Orsini, Michael** - From Compensation to Reparations: Viewing Tainted Blood Recipients as Victims of Cultural Injustice

There is a burgeoning literature on the politics of reparations for historical injustices, ranging from claims made on behalf of victims of slavery to Aborigines in residential schools to Chinese-Canadians who had to endure the "head tax". This paper asks whether people with hemophilia who contracted HIV and/or Hepatitis C through the blood system should be viewed as victims of cultural injustice. The dominant approach to understanding the claims made on behalf of tainted blood recipients has been the narrow frame of compensation for medical injury. Blood recipients, it is argued, were the unwitting victims of a system that placed a premium on cost-savings over patient safety. They were not singled out because of their membership in a particular community. During the public inquiry into the tainted blood scandal, witnesses testified that they felt singled out as a 'disposable population' who, by virtue of their reliance on blood or blood products, were quite likely already infected anyway. Giving contaminated blood to members of a community who were presumed to be infected made sound economic sense. As members of a tight-knit community who often refer to each other as blood brothers (hemophilia almost always affects men), people with hemophilia have been stigmatized and subjected to schoolyard taunts from classmates who viewed them as sissies because they had special medical needs. Using Nancy Fraser's "redistribution-recognition dilemma" as a launching pad for this discussion, I argue that the inarticulation of recognition claims to remedy cultural injustice simplified the state's response to those people with hemophilia who were infected.

**Ostberg, Cynthia L. and Wetstein, Matt** - Equality Cases and the Attitudinal Model in the Supreme Court of Canada

Few quantitative studies have examined the relevance of the attitudinal model of decision making in the Supreme Court of Canada. This paper will explore the extent to which the liberal or conservative leanings of justices influence the decisions they reach, while controlling for the factual circumstances of the cases. The paper will rely on logistic regression techniques to examine the relative impact of these variables in post-Charter fundamental freedoms decisions of the justices (1984-2001). The paper's significance rests in its effort to demonstrate the relevance of the attitudinal model of judicial decision making in a setting beyond the U.S. Supreme Court. The paper continues a line of inquiry that we have explored regarding the importance of ideological attitudes in the decisions of Canadian Supreme Court justices.

**Paquin, Jonathan** - The United States, Secessionist Movements and Stability

Specialists of international relations have recently developed numerous competing arguments to explain why third states intervene in secessionist conflicts (Saideman, 2001; Carment, James, and Rowlands, 1997; Ganguly, 1997; Heraclides, 1990). However, analysts neglected two crucial elements in their assessment of third state intervention. First, they do not consider the issue of the international recognition of secession. Yet, politico-diplomatic recognition is arguably the ultimate level of third state intervention in intrastate conflicts, since it often causes state creation and disintegration (Young, 1994; Heraclides, 1991; Horowitz, 1985). Second, scholars neglect the crucial issue of third states relative power. Yet, an act of recognition issued by a great power has a greater impact on the process of secession, than has the same recognition granted by a weaker state. Great powers have enough power and influence to make secession a fait accompli. They can significantly increase the credibility of secession regardless of the qualitative value and merits of the case. By keeping that in mind, the central purpose of this article is straightforward. It is to produce empirical generalizations about the political process leading the United States, which is the sole remaining superpower, to extend politico-diplomatic recognition to secessionist entities. In doing so, this research will shed some light on the U.S. policy towards secession and will help to predict its reaction towards future secessionist attempts. To arrive at empirical generalizations, three cases of U.S.

recognition are investigated. The secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971, and of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia in 1991. These are all cases of unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) recognized by the U.S. against the will of predecessor states in non-colonial contexts. This research demonstrates that the United States initially opposes secession. However, once other foreign powers begin to extend recognition, secession becomes inevitable and leads the United States to recognize the *fait accompli*. Moreover, this study indicates that the U.S. Congress plays an important role in the political process and that the U.S. conditions for recognition have greatly evolved from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era.

**Parkin, Andrew and Bernard, Gina** - Attitudes Towards the Political Community: An Exploration of Differences Between Men and Women Age 18-34.

A fuller understanding of youth engagement and participation in the political process calls for a more comprehensive study of the political values of this generation, and insight as to how young people view political institutions and the political community. To date, most of the research in this area has focused on a comparison of attitudes across age groups (young versus old). This has revealed strong differences among age groups in political participation. However, recent survey data has shown that there are significant differences in opinion between young adult men and women in Canada surrounding concepts of Canadian identity, attachment to political community, political alienation, and political values (e.g. tolerance and diversity.) Data concerning such gender gaps need to be systematically collected and analyzed. This paper proposes to take this step, providing a starting point towards understanding how these different values and attitudes among men and women may affect the quantity and quality of political participation of young Canadians. The goal of this research is to advance the study of youth participation in the political system by developing a more nuanced picture of attitudes of youth towards politics, and to raise questions as to how gender differences may be.

**Pickup, Mark** - Economic Performance and Electoral Accountability

The Economy, Public Opinion and Voting in Canada, 1954-2002 I examine how Canadian federal governments have been held responsible by the electorate for the performance of the economy from 1954 to 2002. Due to statistical inadequacy and a failure to account for economic and political context, this task has to date confounded experts. I utilise state-space modeling, estimated using Bayesian analysis, to model the dynamics of public opinion over time. I also use multilevel modelling of the individual vote decision, incorporating both aggregate and cross-sectional data pooled over time. These tools are employed in a four step analysis of the impact of economic performance on: 1) individual level assessments of the economy and government, 2) aggregate level government popularity, 3) individual vote decisions, and 4) electoral outcomes. I examine and extend theories on how the individual citizen's assessment of the economy and government is shaped by information received through direct experience and through media coverage. I also examine and extend theories on how the individual citizen's assessment of the government and how public opinion (the aggregation of individual assessments) are shaped by economic and political contextual factors. I consider how such contextual factors combine with public opinion and the media to structure how individual government assessments are translated into individual vote choices. Determining how different segments of the electorate respond differently to varying aspects of the economy, I demonstrate how individual vote choices aggregate into electoral outcomes. In all, I am able to assess how effectively the voice of the electorate, expressed as public opinion and ultimately, electoral outcomes, acts as a mechanism of accountability on government and I am able to determine what contextual factors have helped or hindered this mechanism.

**Pinkoski, Marc** - Decoding the Organized Society Test for Aboriginal Rights Litigation: Racism By Another Name

Marc Pinkoski will look at questions revolving around the history of the organised society test in Aboriginal rights cases -- particularly through the US Indian Claims Commission and the anthropological expert testimony on the nature of indigenous societies. This thinking has had an effect on the emancipation of First Nations Peoples in Canada, particularly through the use of expert anthropological witnesses in litigation concerning indigenous rights. As Aboriginal and treaty rights claims are litigated, plaintiffs and defendants marshal experts in the often problematic canon of anthropological and legal theory constructing models of the kinds of societies are considered to be sufficiently organized to attract the protection of legal and political rights for their existence. This paper will expose the assumptions of these models, and show how their use is problematic for indigenous emancipation from colonialism.

**Pirani, Pietro** - From Economic Sanctions to Military Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia (1990-1995): A Comparison of Domestic Impact on Foreign Policy-Making in France, Germany and Italy

Important precedents, such as the Gulf War and the US intervention in Haiti, have shown that economic sanctions can be integrated or replaced by the use of force. However, although scholars have widely analyzed the decision-making process regarding the implementation of sanctions, very little has been said about the second phase, that is, when countries turn to the use of force. Scholars in fact seem unable to fully explain why some countries, belonging to the sanctions coalition, decide to escalate to more aggressive tools of influence, while the other partners are unwilling or unable to be militarily engaged. The purpose of this study is to establish which factors influence their decision to move from sanctions to more muscular tools of influence. Examining French, German and Italian foreign policy during the crisis of the former Yugoslavia (1990-1995), the paper will try to explain why German, French and Italian policies were similar on the

implementation of economic sanctions but different on the following military intervention. This will be achieved by evaluating three conceptual frameworks, which reflect different approaches to international relations theory: a neorealist approach, an institutionalist approach and a political cultural approach. The paper concludes that the political cultural approach, by stressing the importance of values and beliefs, offers the most accountable explanation for the passage from economic sanctions to military intervention.

**Plaw, Avery** - Prince Hal: Shakespeare's Critique of Machiavelli

Over 400 years after its composition, Henry V, the fourth play in Shakespeare's eight-play English history cycle, remains astonishingly popular and controversial. The play's continuing resonance with the public is attested, for example, by the unprecedented critical and commercial success of Kenneth Branagh's Oscar-Winning 1989 film adaptation. Meanwhile, a debate continues to rage over whether Shakespeare presents Henry as (in the Chorus' words) "the model of all Christian Kings," or as a ruthless Machiavellian pretender who prosecutes an unjust war in order to promote unity at home and to obscure his own illegitimacy. Both sides of this debate find strong evidence in Shakespeare's text. In this essay, I argue that both opposed characterizations of Henry are accurate but radically incomplete. Henry succeeds in establishing himself as a great crusading English King in the mold of Richard Lionheart, and in temporarily re-unifying a terribly fractionalized England, precisely because he is an astonishingly able and ruthless Machiavellian manipulator. Much of the dramatic force of the play emanates from this unresolved tension between Henry's image and his practice. Shakespeare, in essence, presents Henry as a sort of Picture of Dorian Gray: while his public appearance becomes increasingly glorious, his inner moral self becomes continually more scarred and desolate, until it finally disappears. This development exemplifies one of the central themes of the English histories: stagecraft is essential to successful politics, but it cannot substitute, however skillfully deployed, for political legitimacy over the long term. The human strain of continual performance is simply too great, even for the most gifted prince. Shakespeare thus illuminates the flaw at the heart of Machiavelli's art of princely politics, which aspires to create legitimacy through the continual exercise of political virtue. Shakespeare illustrates that Machiavelli imposes a psychologically unrealistic performative burden of moral duality on the prince.

**Poirier, Christian** - The Management of Ethnic Diversity and Comparative City Governance

It is clearly recognized today that Canadian cities are more and more multicultural. This process of the cultural diversification of the Canadian population is, in large part, the direct result of immigration policies from the federal and provincial governments. These two levels of government have also developed, over time, specific policies and models that attempt to deal with issues of integration and the management of difference. However, we know relatively little about the roles played by municipalities in this area. We propose to examine these questions by comparing the experiences of Montreal, Ottawa and Vancouver. Three main dimensions are examined: the formulation and implementation of public policies (in terms of discourse and programs/activities), the issues linked to governance (administrative and political structures, relations with citizen and groups), and the relationships with other levels of government. We will then be able to reflect on some of the larger issues raised by this study, notably questions about the role of the city as a political actor and about the space for policy initiative that exists at the local level in the Canadian political system.

**Pond, David** - REWRITING THE RULES OF THE GAME: THE COMMON SENSE REVOLUTION AND ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE

This paper explores how a characteristic feature of the modern welfare state -- a developed system of administrative justice -- can become the terrain for neo-conservative restructuring. Across a wide range of policy areas, Ontario governments have relied on the arm's length, quasi-judicial tribunal to deliver administrative justice. In a province where the interventionist traditions of progressive conservatism created an extensive regulatory state, the right of appeal to open and accessible tribunals embodied a vision of social citizenship compatible with a variety of partisan and interest group loyalties. This changed dramatically when the Harris Conservatives were elected in 1995. They entered office equipped with an analysis which argued that process threatened to impede the neo-conservative project: during the "ten lost years" of 1985-1995, the protracted decision-making processes of the provincial state had been exploited by "special interest groups" to their own advantage, at the expense of the general good. The Conservatives embraced a strategy of influencing the outcomes of tribunal decision-making, without formally compromising the tribunals' quasi-judicial independence, by rewriting the "rules of the game" - the procedures under which tribunals operated. The Conservatives aggressively re-structured many tribunals' decision-making processes, for example by shortening the timelines for decisions and appeals, and narrowing the grounds for appeal. They recognized that in the heyday of the provincial welfare state, interest groups had become skilful at exploiting decision-making procedures to access the public goods tribunals have at their disposal. By narrowing procedural access to tribunals, the government could achieve by indirect means the Common Sense Revolution's goal of protecting the public treasury from importuning special interest groups. The paper will illustrate this thesis through a close analysis of a sample of the province's most important tribunals, including the Social Assistance Review Board/Social Benefits Tribunal, the Environmental Review Tribunal, the Ontario Rental Housing Tribunal, and the Ontario Municipal Board.

**Pushkar, Pushkar** - Religious Parties in India and Pakistan: The Contrasting Political Fortunes of the BJP and the Jama'at-Islami

Despite the progressive secularization of society, religion and religious parties continue to play a significant role in many countries. This paper will attempt to answer two questions: 1) Why are some religious parties more successful than others in coming to power? 2) Are moderate religious parties more successful than extremist parties or vice versa? The first part of the paper will provide an overview of religious parties across the world. In the second part, the paper will focus on a Hindu party—the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in India—and an Islamic Party—the Jama'at-I Islami in Pakistan. Both parties have participated in the democratic process and both exhibit moderate as well as extremist tendencies. While the BJP has been successful in coming to power, it has met with stubborn resistance in its attempt to make India a Hindu state. In contrast, the Jama'at-I Islami has failed to come to power but played a key role in the Islamization of Pakistan. The following possible explanations are proposed to account for the success/failure of the BJP and the Jama'at-I Islami: a) the degree of religiosity/secularism in society; 2) the nature of the democratic consensus; c) moderation/extremism and party competition. The conclusion will discuss the relevance of the findings with reference to other religious parties, including the Islamic Justice and Development Party in Turkey and the Chilean Christian Democratic Party.

**Raney, Tracey** - Political Identities in Canada: The Role of Political Institutions

The paper examines what forces shape political identities in Canada. It uses quantitative data taken from several surveys including the 2001 Building the New West Survey, CRIC's New Canada 2003 and the Elections Canada 2003 survey to explore political identifications at the sub-national, national, and supranational levels. Drawing comparisons to an analysis of the determinants of political identity in the European Union, the paper argues that national political institutions continue to play a crucial role in shaping political identities. The paper draws from the literature on identities from the field of social psychology to develop a more theoretically nuanced understanding of political identities in the Canadian context. The social psychology literature offers tools that cast new light on how identities are formed. It suggests that identities tend to overlap with one another and that the more 'real' a group appears, the more strongly an individual will identify with it. The role that political institutions play in concretizing the 'realness' of identities is of particular interest to political scientists. The findings in the paper support these hypotheses. In Canada, political identities are multiple and also mirror the institutional structures of the Canadian political system; meaning identities are federalized as Canadian citizens hold allegiances and loyalties to both the sub-national and national units of government.

**Rankin, Pauline L.** - Mainstreaming Gender in a Chilly Climate: The Case of Women and Labour Market Reform in Russia

Recent economic and political reforms in Russia have affected women's participation in the paid labour force significantly. In the post-transition years, earnings gaps between women and men widened dramatically while social welfare benefits contracted. Accompanying these changes has been a redefinition of gender roles that has entrenched rigid stereotypes about gender relations in both the public and private spheres. The results of these developments include the progressive deterioration and vulnerability of Russian women's overall social, economic and political position and, more specifically, disproportionate levels and duration of unemployment among women. This paper reports on the outcomes of a four-year, Canadian international development project on Women and Labour Market Reform in Russia that has applied gender analysis in an integrative manner to generate comprehensive strategies to combat gender inequities in the current Russian labour market. In particular, the paper documents the novel initiatives undertaken to build horizontal institutional linkages among various labour market actors including the Ministry of Labour, trade unions and NGOs in order to develop effective gender-sensitive policies and craft a Russian Gender Strategy. More broadly, the paper interrogates the opportunities and constraints associated with using western tools of 'gender mainstreaming' in a post-Soviet society and evaluates the potential for realizing substantive equality measures for Russian women in the labour market using transplanted gender mainstreaming models. The paper argues for context-specific gender mainstreaming strategies that simultaneously address the economic, political and social roots of gender inequities in transition economies.

**Rao, Govind** - Practicing Comparative Political Economy

McMichael's 'Incorporated Comparison' and a Critique of the Cornell School This paper examines methodological and normative questions that arise in a research project in comparative political economy. In comparative social research the analysis may proceed at one level (i.e. unit of analysis or data unit) and the explanation be made at another level (i.e. level of analysis or explanatory unit) (Ragin, 1987:8). Two questions will be discussed in the paper: 1) How do we proceed when the level of analysis is not the nation-state but at the space of flows between social formations? and, 2) How do we study nation-states as units of analysis and regions in the world economy when state boundaries may have changed numerous times in the last century? I explore some of the solutions suggested by Philip McMichael (1990) for the comparative method that propose viewing nation-states as "partial institutions of a broader, singular, global economy" (1990: 390). This paper will provide a discussion of the novel methodological approach that McMichael terms 'incorporated comparison'. The paper will further argue for the utility of a Marxist comparative political economy using examples drawn from my research project comparing Canada and Austria. The method and assumptions of comparative theorists such as Peter Hall and Peter Katzenstein, and the institutionalist approach found in the Cornell Studies in Political Economy will be critiqued. Works Cited McMichael, Philip (1990). "Incorporating Comparison Within a World-

Historical Perspective: An Alternative Comparative Method," *American Sociological Review*, 55:3. Ragin, C. (1987). *The Comparative Method : moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

**Rao, Govind** - *The National Question in Canadian Development: Towards a Political Economy of Canadian Nationalism* Canada has always been cleaved by a split between civic nationalist conceptions of nationalism based on territory, citizenship, and shared values, and an ethnic (or imperial) nationalism based on common culture, language, and heritage. This inherited condition has separated Canada from other advanced capitalist states in that it lacked an 'integral nationalism' in which "state sovereignty is synonymous with single cultural, ethnic, and linguistic nationality"(Whitaker, 1979:49). The way in which the Canadian state attempted to overcome this challenge was very relevant for the development strategy chosen to overcome backwardness. This paper will engage literature within the NCPE on industrialization, national identity and nationalism to build on key explanations (Laxer, 1989; Resnick, 1990) in an attempt to theorize from a more stable basis in political economy to understand the "official" content and basis of the Canadian identity. One explanation for the 'dependent' nature and content of contemporary Canadian nationalism is found in the need to attract foreign investment during the period of the National Policy. The impact of foreign investment on Canadian culture and national identity has long been a theme in Canadian political economy. This paper aims to make the links between what is going on in the economic sphere and developments at the level of state ideology more explicit, and is part of a larger research project on Canada's integration into the United States. Resnick, Philip (1990). "English Canada and Quebec: State vs. Nation," *The Masks of Proteus: Canadian Reflections on the State* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's) Laxer, Gordon (1989). *Open for Business: The Roots of Foreign Ownership in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Whitaker, Reg (1977). "Images of the State in Canada," in Panitch, ed., *The Canadian State*. Toronto: UofT Press.

**Roberge, Ian** - *La réforme du secteur financier canadien: nouvelle réalité domestique et mondiale - nouveaux défis* Les problématiques environnementales, celles du crime organisé, ainsi que la surveillance des marchés financiers requièrent des interventions aux niveaux local, national, et international. On peut qualifier cette expérience d'internationalisation des politiques publiques. En politique publique et en relations internationales, aucune des théories existantes n'explique cette expérience de façon satisfaisante. Dans cette communication, nous exposerons une théorie de la gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux. De quelle façon cette théorie peut-elle nous aider à mieux comprendre l'internationalisation des politiques publiques? Quels sont les effets de l'existence des régimes de gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux sur les processus de prises de décisions nationales? Nous utiliserons, comme exemple, la loi C8 portant sur les réformes de la législation du secteur financier au Canada. Nous démontrerons que par l'entremise de la gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux, les acteurs non-gouvernementaux jouent un rôle de plus en plus importants dans l'élaboration des politiques publiques. Nous ferons la démonstration que la loi C8 est le résultat d'un ultime compromis entre les institutions financières, les groupes de consommateurs et le gouvernement. Le rôle accru du secteur privé dans l'élaboration des politiques origine en grande partie d'une réalité, ce sont ces acteurs qui possèdent les connaissances et les ressources nécessaires pour mener à terme un changement de politique. En d'autres mots, l'internationalisation des politiques publiques et la création de système de gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux qui en résultent ouvrent la porte à des changements importants dans l'élaboration des politiques nationales au Canada.

**Robinson, Andrew M.** - *Multi-level Governance, Federalism, and International Human Rights Regimes: Assessing the Impact on Canadian Sovereignty*

Douglas Brown defines multi-level governance as "the condition of power and authority being shared in institutional relationships. These relationships are established in law (constitutional, international or other), in which the scope of public policy and the mechanisms of policy-making extend beyond the sovereignty of nation-states, and is shared within nation-states." (Brown, 2002, 1) To share power and authority is, to some extent, to weaken sovereignty. But, one might reasonably ask, is this the case with international human rights regimes? Compared to trade and environmental treaties, human rights treaties lack strong means of enforcement, and thus, appear to pose relatively weak threats to sovereignty. Violations of trade treaties can be punished by countervailing duties. Violations of environmental agreements can encourage other parties to not keep their commitments, and thus subject everyone to environmental degradation. Violations of human rights treaties carry no similar penalties. This paper will assess whether it is reasonable to say that international human rights regimes are actually affecting the sovereignty of states that participate in them. To do so, it will review some of the major issues with respect to the impact that international human rights regimes, in the form of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Human Rights Committee, are having on federal states. Among the issues that will be addressed are the status of these treaties and committees in international law, especially their means of enforcement; their effect, if any, on the conduct of intergovernmental relations (especially on the balance of power between central and regional governments); and the impact of the courts, especially with respect to treaties which have been ratified, but not incorporated. Special focus will be placed on the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the experience of Canada and Australia, which I am studying with the assistance of a SSHRC research grant under the Federalism and Federations program. Douglas M. Brown. "Aspects of Multilevel Governance in Australia and Canada." paper presented at the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations conference, "Globalization, Multilevel Governance and Democracy: Continental, Comparative and Global Perspectives" May 3-4, 2002.

**Robinson, P. Stuart** - The Spatial and Temporal Innovations of Urban Communitarian Initiatives: The Gated Neighbourhood, the Squat Café and the Anarchist Street-Party

Novel 'private initiatives' to take control of social space are part of a 'post-statist' trend, not in the sense of a direct institutional challenge to the state but of a challenge to the state-ist order of a simple political division between sovereign territories. This is a consequence of the growing economic and social breach of national boundaries having enhanced the relative power of both corporate and state-executive actors. More generally, such a 'breach' has generated synergistic networks that entail both novel opportunities and novel vulnerabilities, evidenced in the appearance of social-political enclaves with novel spatial and temporal characteristics. Spatially, these are conspicuously local and urban but also global (or "glocal") as in globally networked. Temporally, they are transitory and yet embryonically 'immortal' in attempting to institutionalise local and episodic communitarian practices. All such initiatives are postmodern but in two distinct ways. On the one hand, corporate and government elites compromise the freedom of the (assumed to be) rational individual (and his or her associated institutions including, in some instances, the modern state), once assumed to be the motor of human progress. On the other, urban social movements reject institutions and social practices (associated with both capitalism and the state) perceived to have stifled individual autonomy and freedom. These claims are supported by the evidence gleaned from primary sources (ethno-graphic interviews and participant observation in Britain and Norway) and contribute to an important theoretical enquiry into the dynamics behind and political significance of so-called 'new social movements', as well as the role of globalisation and its impact on the state as an institution.

**Rouillard, Christian** - Modernisation de la gestion publique, réingénierie et redéfinition du modèle québécois : sur la pertinence d'une théorie critique de la gouvernance

Plus de quarante ans après le début de la Révolution tranquille, on retrouve aujourd'hui un nombre croissant de discours qui remettent en question l'acuité du modèle québécois et l'héritage politico-administratif de la Révolution tranquille. Essentiellement réduit à la construction de l'État providence et de la dynamique bureaucratique qui s'y conjugue, cet héritage est victime de nombreuses critiques dont le principal dénominateur commun tient à l'accent sur la lourdeur administrative de l'État québécois, le caractère dirigiste de son rapport à la société civile, ainsi que son incapacité à actualiser ses modes de fonctionnement. L'État québécois contemporain, victime de blocages institutionnels et de rigidités organisationnelles, serait en quelque sorte frappé du sceau de l'anachronisme et sa modernisation passerait, d'un côté, par la substitution de la logique managérielle à la logique bureaucratique et, de l'autre côté, par la substitution du modèle partenarial (économie sociale) au modèle de l'économie publique mixte (État providence). Les dimensions interne (modernisation administrative) et externe (reconfiguration des réseaux de politiques) de la gouvernance québécoise sont donc interpellées par cette volonté partagée de réinventer l'État québécois. Renvoyant spécifiquement à la mise en œuvre de la Loi sur l'administration publique (2000), ainsi qu'à celle encore embryonnaire, mais fortement polémique, de la réingénierie du nouveau gouvernement libéral, la modernisation de la gestion publique québécoise n'est pas qu'un exercice managériel de réorganisation interne de l'État : elle comporte aussi, par-delà la recherche d'efficacité au niveau de la prestation des services, une dimension tacite de circonscription de la capacité d'intervention et de régulation de l'État. Soucieuse de conjuguer les dimensions interne et externe de la gouvernance, cette communication insiste sur ce que les innovations managérielles privilégiées pour transformer le fonctionnement interne de l'État influencent directement sa capacité et son autonomie, entraînant ainsi des conséquences sur la diversification et la complexification des réseaux de politiques. S'inscrivant au sein du courant de la théorie critique des études managérielles, cette communication vise les objectifs suivants : 1) développer, dans le cas québécois, une compréhension théorique et empirique de la dynamique qui lie la dimension interne de la gouvernance (modernisation de la gestion publique) à sa dimension externe (reconfiguration des réseaux de politiques publiques), afin d'éclairer la réflexion sur l'héritage politico-administratif de la Révolution tranquille; 2) évaluer les facteurs de tensions et de blocages managériels liés à la modernisation de la gestion publique dans le contexte plus large de la gouvernance et de la redéfinition de l'État contemporain (stratège, partenaire ou autre); 3) construire un projet d'émancipation collective qui favorise la participation des gestionnaires et non gestionnaires aux réformes administratives, notamment à la lumière du renouvellement des fonctions publiques dans les prochaines années. À cette fin, le pluralisme méthodologique est privilégié. Il renvoie plus particulièrement aux méthodes suivantes : 1) des analyses de discours, soit une analyse textuelle de triple herméneutique des documents internes et des cadres de gestion (niveaux macro, méso et micro); 2) des entretiens de recherche non directifs mitigés des acteurs politico-administratifs stratégiques eu égard à élaboration des cadres de gestion et des lois structurantes. Enfin, la thématique de cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre des activités de recherche menées en équipe par les quatre co-auteurs (subvention FQRSC 2003-2006).

**Rounce, Andrea** - Political Actors' Perceptions of Public Opinion: Assessing the Impact of Opinion on Decision-Making  
When looking at the relationship between public opinion and public policy decisions, we tend to focus on quantitative work that examines the correlations between policy decisions and opinion expressed through surveys or polls (Petry, 1999; Wlezian & Soroka, 2002; Brooks, 1985 & 1987; Page & Shapiro, 1983). Public opinion assessment using quantitative survey techniques has become virtually synonymous with the concept of public opinion, essentially eliminating discussion about other avenues used by the public to express opinion such as letters to the editor, letters written to elected officials, and coffee row discussions. However, what we are not fully able to understand from this type of approach is whether or not (and under which conditions) political actors making public policy decisions listen to the public (however it may be defined) when making decisions. One way to attempt to answer this question, and to further our understanding of the

relationship(s) between public policy and public opinion, is to examine the views of the political actors themselves. How do those involved in the policy-making process, including elected officials, high-ranking civil servants, legislative staff, media, and members of interest groups, understand public opinion? Does this understanding impact the influence that opinion may have on decision-making? During the 1990s, Ontario's policies around student loans and tuition fees seemed to diverge from what the public wanted to see in such policies, as measured by publicly-available polling data (Gallup Omnibus Poll, Pollara Ontario Perspective, Pollara National Perspectives, OISE/UofT's Public Attitudes Towards Education Surveys, among others). These two policy cases will provide a focus for research examining how political actors define public opinion, whether or not they take heed of it (in whatever form) when making decisions around these particular Ontario policy issues, and ultimately how they see the role of the public in decision-making. By interviewing key informants and assessing the results, we will form a clearer understanding of what public opinion means to public decision-makers and how they assess its importance, thus building on the literature around democratic responsiveness (Wlezian & Soroka, 2002; Brooks, 1985; Herbst, 1998; Sharp, 1999).

**Rubenson, Daniel** - Community Heterogeneity and Political Participation in American Cities

This paper analyses the effects of racial diversity on political participation in American cities. A number of recent studies argue that political participation will be lower in more diverse areas (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Costa and Kahn 2003). In contrast to these and others, the paper argues that incentives for participation are greatly reduced by homogeneity. It is argued that heterogeneous places are characterized by more conflict over resources and more mobilized groups, leading to higher levels of political participation. First, I provide evidence in support of a group conflict theory of racial attitudes. Second, I test the implications of this theory for political engagement in American cities with varying degrees of racial diversity. In order to test this argument I use data from the 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey. Respondents to the survey were matched with data on their place of residence from a number of sources, creating a unique dataset of close to 15,000 respondents nested in 690 cities. Because of the hierarchical nature of the data, I employ multilevel modeling techniques in the analysis. Preliminary results indicate that racial diversity is overall negatively correlated with participation; that is, the more diverse a place one lives in, the less likely it is that one will take political action. However, specifying a model where the individual effect of race is allowed to vary randomly across cities uncovers different results which remain "hidden" by the more crude specification of previous models. In this model, racial heterogeneity becomes a strong predictor of participation for members of minority groups while the participation of whites remains negatively related to diversity. The paper aims to make several contributions to the literature. First, by using multilevel modeling – a method not widely applied in political science research – the study is able to tease out interactions between individual race and the racial environment previously undetected. Second, with a few exceptions, past work in this area has tended to concentrate on black-white race relations and voting; this paper broadens to focus to include other racial groups as well non-electoral forms of political participation. Finally, the paper provides evidence of the consequences of group conflict motives for citizen engagement in politics.

**Salter, Liora** - Policy making by Deliberation: The Public Side of Royal Commissions

Whatever their other contributions, Royal Commissions are thought to further public debate through their hearings and reports, but do they? Is the profile of their public participation changing, and if so, what is the import of the change? The paper examines several policy-making Royal Commissions (and a few tribunals, for comparison) to determine how the "public" is and has been conceived of and dealt with.

**Salter, Mark D.** - The Canadian Passport: An International History

Following initial research completed at the Public Records Archive in England for "Rights of Passage: The passport in international relations" , I will present a new history of the Canadian passport. This kind of material history has the benefit of illustrating a number of important issues: the definition of identity, the governmentality of public administration, the move away from British rule, and the evolution of the international mobility regime after the First World War. The Canadian passport played a crucial role in the assertion of Canadian identity and independence from Britain. The Canadian passport has also been implicated in recent events – such as the attempted terror attacks of Ahmed Ressam, the use of Canadian identities by the Mossad, and the shoring of American Homeland Security. Very little has been written about this important subject. The history of the Canadian passport provides an excellent insight into the fields of nationalism, public administration, inter/national security, and techniques of governance. Working from a basis in archival material and contemporary policy studies, this article will contribute to the field, as no such history has been written.

**Sampert, Shannon** - The Song Remains the Same: How English Canada's National Newspapers Continue Rape Myths and Stereotypes

Using content analysis, I look at the depiction of sexual assault crimes in Canada's national English-Canadian newspapers: the Globe and Mail and the National Post. I argue that through the agenda setting and framing abilities of the press, the national newspapers continue to depict sexual assault in stereotypical terms. These myths ignore the reality of sexual assault crime and its prevalence and may serve as a potential factor in women's likelihood to report the crime to police.



**Sawer, Marian** - Populism and Public Choice: The Construction of Women as a Special Interest

Populism has been reshaping public discourse in the 1990s. Australia and Canada exemplify both the longevity of rural populism and the impact of new variants of the 'us and them' frame. Thanks in part to the addition of new class theory and the public choice-inspired concept of 'special interests', today's populism is directed less against the banks and international financiers and more against the welfare state and its supporters. The divide around which political emotion is mobilised is not between labour and capital, but between taxpayers and business on one side and regulators and redistributors on the other. In both Australia and Canada market populism constructs feminists as on the wrong side of this divide, among the elite that does well out of equality. Feminists and femocrats promote victimhood and dependency while shoring up their own privileged public sector positions. In public choice terms they are classical rent-seekers, trying to achieve better returns through the state than they can achieve through the market. The attribution of contempt, on the other hand, is part of the semantic grammar of populism; in this case it serves to delegitimise feminist and other equality projects. The discursive shift whereby equality seeking is constructed as an elite interest, contrary to the interests and aspirations of the mainstream, represents a profound change in what can be said and what can be done in public policy. This paper compares the nature of this discursive shift in Australia and Canada, its genealogy, transmission and policy impact.

**Sawer, Marian** - When Women Support Women: EMILY's List and the Substantive Representation of Women

EMILY's List was founded in Australia in 1996 with the aim of increasing women's substantive as well as descriptive representation in parliament. It has certainly helped increase the descriptive representation of women in parliament, through its role as an organised pressure group within and beside the Labor Party and its mentoring and other support for endorsed candidates. But its support for candidates is conditional on track record and commitment to substantive issues of concern to women such as work/family issues. This paper will explore, through Hansard analysis and in other ways, how successful EMILY's List has been in contributing to the substantive representation of women in Australian parliaments.

**Sayers, Anthony** - Urbanstyle: The Local Politics of Cabinet

In *Parties, Candidates and Constituency Campaigns in Canadian Elections*, (UBC Press, 1999), I suggest that urban ridings are disproportionately likely to be represented by cabinet ministers when compared with either suburban or rural constituencies. This paper will explore and test this claim. The first section reprises and amends earlier arguments for differential outcomes in the sorts of candidates that are likely to be successful in urban, suburban and rural ridings. These include differences in the election issue agenda in these ridings, variations in the style of campaigning, the impact of media on local contests and the role of non-local party strategists in constituency campaigns. The analytical section uses data from the past 5 elections to assess whether there are significant and predictable differences in the nature of campaigns and in the probability that an MP selected at random from each category of riding will be a member of cabinet. If proven, predictable differences in the career paths of MPs from various types of ridings buttress the broader argument regarding the importance of local conditions and effects for understanding the nature of politics, campaigns and elections in Canada. It also has implications for public policy and other aspects of governance, as it suggests issues and attitudes associated with one or other category of riding may disproportionately influence cabinet deliberations.

**Scala, Francesca** - Advice, Advocacy and Policy Analysis: Feminist Researchers and the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies

Reproductive technologies have become one of the most contentious issues facing governments in Europe and North America. In Canada, the most vocal critics of these technologies have been feminist researchers and organizations. In the 1980s, several feminist academics and activists formed the Canadian Coalition for a Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies to lobby the federal government to appoint an inquiry into the social and ethical implications of these technologies on Canadian society and on woman in particular. In 1989, the federal government in Canada appointed the Royal Commission On New Reproductive Technologies. The Commission recruited several self-described feminists to participate in its research program. This paper examines feminists' engagement with the Canadian state in the production of policy-relevant knowledge on the issue of reproductive technologies. It explores the challenges faced by these feminist researchers in reconciling their role as advocates for women's health with the bureaucratic demands for 'objectivity' and impartial policy advice. The paper argues that while individual feminist researchers saw themselves as independent researchers or academics advancing a feminist perspective on the issue of reproductive technologies, Commissioners and top senior officials regarded them as advocates for 'special interest' groups. Moreover, while feminists sought to participate in the development of policy recommendations, Commissioners and upper management saw this 'political' exercise as their own exclusive domain. The paper also contends that this conflict is typical of what Alain Cairns views as the tension between academic values and bureaucratic values in a royal commission. While researchers and analysts wanted to engage in an open debate and introduce new areas of inquiry, upper management, including the Commissioners, were more concerned with administrative issues, including respecting hierarchical organisation of authority, the specialisation of duties, and the maximisation of technical and organisational efficiency.

**Scotto, Thomas J. and Kornberg, Allan** - Dueling or Dual Partisans: Federal-Provincial Partisan Identifications in Ontario 1997-2000

In the late 1990's, the Liberal Party dominated federal politics in Ontario whereas the Harris Conservatives held solid majorities in the Ontario legislature. Using cross-sectional data from the Ontario respondents to the 1997 and 2000 Canadian National Election Studies and the entire 1999 Ontario Provincial Election Study, we contend that this condition was in great part a function of split partisan identifications among Ontario voters. In contrast to numerous studies which focus on the instabilities of partisan identifications (c.f. LeDuc et al 1984; Clarke and Stewart 1987; Uslander 1990), we argue and provide supporting evidence that the partisan identities of Ontario voters were in part grounded in their ideological positions. Many voters chose to identify with the federal Liberals because of the party's perceived skillful handling of the divisive but salient issues of national unity. Identification with the provincial Tories was rooted in a fiscally oriented neo-conservatism skeptical of state intervention in the economy rather than in traditional social conservatism and hostility toward Quebec and "outgroups." The fact that there is an ideological basis to split partisanship should caution scholars from conflating split-identification with weak or unstable partisanship. Moreover, the components of federal and provincial partisanship are the similar irrespective of whether the data were generated during a federal or provincial election. The rise in popularity of fiscal conservatism at the provincial level and the fact that the components of partisanship do not vary with electoral context may signal a period of more stable partisanship in Canada's largest province.

**Sezer, Devrim** - Gadamer's Hermeneutics: Some Political Implications of His Thought

This paper explores the political implications of the tension between tradition and dialogue in Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics. The premise of the paper is this: Gadamer's account of human existence challenges two very influential modes of thinking within contemporary political philosophy, which are exemplified, arguably at their best, in Martin Heidegger's early thought and Jurgen Habermas's project of communicative action. In contemporary political philosophy the Enlightenment heritage has been interpreted in such a way that tradition has come to be conceived as inevitably opposed to the ideals of Enlightenment, and that the extension of one as a major constitutive element in social and political affairs, implies the retraction of the other. However, this paper attempts to conceive the problem of tradition in a more articulated context, suggesting that Gadamer's work offers a useful corrective both to Habermas's project and to the relativistic implications of Heidegger's early thought. By drawing on Gadamer's work, with particular emphasis upon his notion of the fusion of horizons, as well as on the work of thinkers such as Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre, this paper attempts to articulate a hermeneutical, dialogical interpretation of tradition, which suggests that Gadamer's thought acknowledges that living traditions are the site of ongoing debates, internal revisions and critical turns, and that the notion of a closed horizon that is supposed to enclose a culture is an abstraction. In so doing, it goes beyond the caricaturised account of tradition that is bandied about both in modernist thought and in the conservative outlook.

**Shaw, Keith** - The Shores of Saint-Pierre: Rousseau, Deep Ecology, and the Perils of Transformative Politics

Deep ecologists never explicitly invoke Rousseau, but their philosophy nonetheless mirrors his with striking fidelity. Indeed, one could argue for Rousseau as something of a "proto-deep ecologist"; his experience of oneness with nature on the shores of Saint-Pierre reveals profound ecocentric sentiment. But I argue deep ecologists fear the totalitarian directions Rousseau's thought takes, even though their own movement displays similar tendencies, for precisely the same reasons. The political journey from an innocent state of nature to the tyranny of On the Social Contract is, if not inevitable, at least a difficult path to avoid. If deep ecologists wish to safely navigate through the Scylla of anarchy and Charybdis of despotism, they would do well to engage Rousseau as clarifying their central problems, and take up his cross of looking for solutions. Advocates of deep ecology tend to get a free pass on their political program; critics consider it too radical to merit serious discussion. This paper tries to force politics to the foreground by requiring deep ecologists to confront the problems and potentialities of their kindred spirit in the political philosophy canon. Confronting and bypassing some of Rousseau's more pressing troubles allows for the possibility of a free and equal society that also respects the moral sanctity of non-human life. "The Shores of Saint-Pierre" is therefore tied into my larger project of harmonizing the often conflicting claims of liberty and sustainability.

**Sigurdson, Richard** - Justice Accused: Democracy and the Attack on Canada's Judiciary

Since becoming part of Canada's constitution in 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms has been a focus of a wide-ranging debate about Canadian democracy. One aspect of this debate centres around the role of judges in the post-Charter world. It is widely believed that the Charter has thrust unelected judges into the realm of politics, empowering them to review and nullify the policies and decisions of democratically accountable decision-makers. As a result of this "new" role, Canada's judiciary has become a lightning rod for a variety of criticisms of contemporary political values and attitudes, especially involving the appropriate moral and social responses to pressing social and political problems. While the Canadian public has registered little concern about the credibility of the judicial system, various academics, journalists, interest group representatives, and politicians have launched a concerted attack on the judiciary. The criticism has at times been so intense that judges have begun to rethink the tradition of judicial silence, some even taking the extraordinary step of responding publically to certain criticisms of judicial decision-making. In this paper, I wish to examine the phenomenon of judicial criticism by placing it in a larger context of social and political discourse in Canada, including the backlash against the so-called "rights revolution." My hypothesis is that Charter decisions show less of a pattern of the

bold assertion of judicial power in the policy process than they do demonstrate a traditional function of the judiciary: namely, the courts serving as a barometer of contemporary social mores. It is precisely an opposition to these social mores, moreover, that motivates much of the attack on the judiciary.

**Sing, Birinder Pal** - Rise of the Sikh Militancy: An Appraisal of the Economic Factor

This paper examines the rise of militancy in Punjab (1978-1992) that cost the country tremendous loss of men and material. The militancy spilled across international borders over to Britain, the USA and Canada where Sikhs constitute a sizable ethnic minority. They were actively engaged in what Anderson calls 'distant nationalism'. Militancy has been characterized differently. The Congress government labeled it as separatist. The BJP called it an anti-Hindu, anti-national movement. The Communists decried it as fundamentalist. But the Akalis and the militants refuted such characterization. They claimed fighting for their rights, for freedom of belief, expression and action. They had a distinct goal, a clear self-perception and a 'professed' logic of violence. Section I: It spells out the political economic perspective of the Sikh militants articulated in their booklets, handouts and press releases. The centralization of politics and administration had made Punjab into an 'internal colony' of India. Agriculture is no longer profitable and industrial development is minimal. Section II: It pertains to the economists' analyses of the development policy of Indian government and continuing contradictions between agriculture and industry. The Punjab agriculture is afflicted with diminishing returns. The middle and small peasantry is getting marginalized. Terms of trade between Punjab and other states are adverse etc. Conclusion: Juxtaposing arguments in I and II reveals that issues raised by the Sikh militants are no mere political rhetoric but authentic, duly corroborated and legitimized by the observations of the economists. Had the government appreciated their stance and cared for the scientific findings of the economists, the violent conflict could be avoided.

**Skogstad, Grace** - What Makes Institutions Resilient?: Orderly Marketing in Canadian Agriculture

Why are some institutions able to withstand formidable pressures for change and others are not? This paper tackles this question by examining the resilience of the Canadian Wheat Board, an institution whose monopoly to export Canadian wheat and barley has been under attack over the past decade and more. Under bombardment, the Wheat Board has been reformed but in a manner that is consistent with its core policy instruments (including its export monopoly) and policy goals. To explain the resilience of the Wheat Board, the paper draws on insights from historical institutionalist accounts of institutional stability and change. These accounts direct attention to the feedback effects of an institution's ideational and material foundations, illustrating how they affect the durability of an institution as it interacts and intersects with ongoing political processes. The account of policy resilience presented in the paper adds to these insights by conceptualizing policy resilience to be a function of an institution's material and ideational foundations, pivotal political actors' ideas and goals, and the impact of intersecting and unanticipated developments that ricochet to affect an institution's evolution. The paper draws on public documents and interviews with key political actors to develop the concept of policy resilience and to demonstrate its applicability to the Canadian Wheat Board's development. The paper is derived from and extends the author's long-standing interest in the institutions and processes of agricultural policy development in Canada.

**Smith, Charles** - Gone By the Board? Analysing Current Trends in Canadian Labour Policy

In the fall of 2003, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) held a special state of the unions conference in order to address the current condition of organized labour in Canada. At the event it was argued by many trade unionists and academics that the current level of unionization was unsustainable in the present phase of economic neo-liberalism. Indeed, the CLC has determined that the Canadian labour movement must organize between 150 000 and 200 000 workers a year just to maintain current levels of unionization, to say nothing of expanding the percentage of workers who could benefit from unionization. Generally, there was agreement amongst trade unionists that the changing macro-economic environment is posing a real problem for the expansion of collective bargaining rights to non-unionized workers, especially in the service sector. Ultimately, the move away from an industrial based economy and the demand by an increasingly mobile capital for a flexible labour market has left organized labour noticeably on the defensive. In turn, the restructuring of the federal and provincial labour codes throughout the 1990s has also aided in labour's inability to adequately challenge the ascendancy of neo-liberalism. These events have left many inside and outside the labour movement seeking to explain what the proper role of the state is in organizing new workers into unions. Yet, despite universal recognition that the federal and provincial governments have been openly hostile to union organizing in the past two decades, the role of the administrative institutions which decipher labour relations legislation has largely gone unstudied by political scientists. In this regard, despite radical changes to the public administration of government throughout the 1980s and 1990s, it is important to ask if the quasi-judicial roles of public regulators at labour relations boards are themselves participating in this new form of market restructuring, specifically through the interpretation of new statutes and the solving of industrial disputes involving state policies of union organizing, unfair labour practices, and the determination of new bargaining units. As a way to address this little studied area of labour policy, my paper will examine the changing regime of labour regulation arising from the post-war period and the macro-economic turn towards neo-liberalism in the late 1980s. It will ask how the institutions designed to regulate labour have been affected by this economic and political change. Ultimately, it will seek to examine the current role of state institutions (labour tribunals, etc) in the formation and organization of unions. As a case study, it will analyze the labour relations boards in Ontario and in British Columbia, both of whom have undergone radical changes in economic and political development throughout the 1990s.

**Smith, Heather** - Canada in Decline, Again? An Examination of the Post-9/11 Panic Over Canada's Place in the World  
This paper begins with a survey of some of the current articles and volumes articulating concerns about Canada's decline. Many of the most anxious expressions about Canada's decline have been found, for example, in recent volumes of the Canada Among Nations, CD Howe commentaries and a Policy Options collection from February 2003. After the examination of the arguments a series of questions will be posed. Is this debate new? Is it just another variation of the role and status debate? What constitutes decline? Is it simply political panic or can we really argue that Canada is somehow in decline and is that decline determined by our relationship with the US or other factors? Who benefits from the perception of decline? What are the proposed solutions to halt or limit the decline? And finally, what are the implications for who we study and how we study Canadian foreign policy if we get caught up in the decline debate? It is simply a legitimization of a realist vision of the world and who and what is silenced as a result? Ultimately, it will be argued that while the debate is important to some (policymakers, diplomats and academics) it provides a very narrow optic for the understanding of Canada's role in the world. The decline debate is a little overblown and causes us to ask the "wrong" questions.

**Smith, Peter (Jay)** - The World Social Forum: Globalization and Trans-national Social Movements  
The World Social Forum (WSF) as a process, event, and open political space is one of the most important manifestations of an emerging trans-national civil society. Created to move beyond resistance to neo-liberal corporate globalization to posing alternatives ("Another World is Possible") the WSF has grown rapidly since its first meeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001. Regional social forums have sprouted up around the world and this year the WSF moves to Mumbai, India. Based on participant observation at three social forums (WSF 2003, 2004, European Social Forum, 2003) and as a co-organizer of the first Alberta Social Forum in October 2003, this paper critically assesses three closely inter-related aspects of the WSF as a: 1. Network of networks; 2. New form of politics, "a (re)invention of the political" (Beck); 3. Form of civic public space. Theoretically, the first aspect is informed by the work of Keck and Sikkink on trans-national advocacy networks and, particularly, Manuel Castells on the networked society, information and communications technologies, and changing concepts of space and time. The second aspect examines the WSF as a phenomenon in which politics increasingly becomes part of the space of flows occurring outside and beyond the state, de-centred and dispersed across time and space. Finally, I examine the WSF as a de-territorialized form of public, political space drawing upon the work of such theorists as Hannah Arendt.

**Schmitz, Joelle** - Promoting Commonwealth 'Contagion'  
Canadian trade is at a critical crossroads in its evolution, one which will ultimately affect prosperity, security, resource management, integration, even global hegemony. With relatively stagnant interprovincial trade growth, a regressing US/Canadian trade relationship, and stalled external initiatives, research is now imperative. It is even more crucial from varied intergovernmental perspectives throughout a rapidly integrating world. The Canadian context thus presents an extraordinarily compelling case not in just its own importance and immediacy but as an opportunity to refine a recently developed and universally-applicable trade paradigm: managed mutual recognition. My proposal is based upon two synergistic pursuits: first, in an applied sense, how to best reduce internal and external regulatory barriers to Canadian trade via repeatable process. Second, in a theoretical sense, through the excellent empirical case study of Canada, to further develop the paradigm (based upon retroactive analogies of success within the EU and US) into a proactive tool of trade liberation which may then be strategically exploited throughout the globe. Functionally, the proposal requires an analysis of: (1) opportunities for integration, given the unique challenges of the Canadian geopolitical terrain, (2) the confidence building and institutional restructuring suggested by the ex ante "managed" element of the paradigm and (3) the intrinsic historical, social and cultural elements of Canada's nation-state that would otherwise impede negotiational progress if overlooked, undervalued, or misunderstood. The study will focus upon obstacles and infrastructure at the provincial level, as a prerequisite to both external liberalization and its long-term theoretical value, as based upon microcosm.

**Soennecken, Dagmar** - Justice Served? Legal Aid and Access to the Courts for Refugees in a Comparative Context  
Some scholars argue that domestic courts have grown to become the key protective institution for immigrant aliens in Europe because it has been the courts who have tended to open or strengthen rather than deny or curtail access to rights traditionally only granted to citizens. This position assumes however, that these immigrant aliens - refugee claimants in particular - have access to the courts in the first place. In light of rising security concerns, numerous interdiction policies and limited legal aid, this paper discusses the changing relationship of refugee claimants to domestic courts in two very different national contexts - Germany, a top refugee receiving country in Europe and Canada, historically known for its generous refugee policy. In particular, this paper will contrast their different delivery models for legal aid, one with heavy NGO involvement (Germany) and one which heavily relies on government funds (Canada). How do these differences impact on the ability of refugee claimants to access the courts and what role do historic and institutional legacies play in explaining the difference we observe?

**Speers, Kimberley** - Performance Measurement in the Government of Alberta: Propaganda or Truth?  
Since bureaucracies were formed and governments established, the pursuit to better manage, plan, implement, measure, and evaluate has been constant. While constant, there have been considerable shifts in emphasis and values throughout

the history of public sector management in Canada. While many of the traditional structures and processes remain in use to manage government, many jurisdictions have recently adopted other means of managing with the specific intent to improve performance and accountability. In the Government of Alberta, performance measurement was an integral component of the establishment of business plans in 1993 and in a wider scope, to improve accountability between civil servants and elected officials and between the government and citizens. Much has been written about how to develop and report performance measures but little has been written from a critical analysis perspective. For example, has performance measurement improved accountability? Relatedly, has performance measurement improved the ability of government to manage? Finally, are the measures being used methodologically sound? These are some of the questions I asked of politicians and civil servants in the Government of Alberta in my research. I will attempt to relay the main findings of my research and argue that performance measurement has both strengths and weaknesses in relation to management, accountability, and methodology.

**Spronk, Susan J.** - Struggles Against Commodification: Dependency, Globalization, and Lessons from Bolivia

This paper presents case studies from Bolivia, where social movements have successfully mobilized to prevent the sale of water and gas to transnational corporations. It is argued that these struggles against the commodification of natural resources are a prime example of how global forces are mediated by local struggles, revealing the limits of neo-liberalism's global reach. My methodological approach stands in contrast to globalization and dependency theory, which have both been rightfully criticized for their tendency to focus on the global level at the expense of the local, which in turn, excises social agency and class struggle from the analysis. Focusing on the literature within development sociology, the paper argues that the recent debates which have ensued about globalization theory bear strong resemblance to earlier debates in the literature on development and underdevelopment in the Third World. Similar to the dependency model, globalization theory is inadequate with respect to the units of analysis it takes as most significant in understanding the mechanisms by which underdevelopment actually takes place. Second, globalization theory is similarly weak in analyzing social agency and its role in determining the characteristics of broad historical transitions from one form of society to another. Taking the local struggles against commodification as an entry point, this paper argues that the study of 'globalization' entails the study of class formation at both the local and global scales, which provides a more relational view of the power dynamics that underpin the contemporary process of economic integration and resistance to it.

**Stan, Lavinia** - Between Moscow and Bucharest: The Bessarabian Metropolitanate

As other former Soviet republics, the independent Moldova finds itself in the curious position of having two Orthodox Churches with different histories, leadership structures and allegiances but one declared constituency active on its territory. The Metropolitanate of Chisinau and All Moldova is part of the Russian Orthodox Church, conducts services in the Russian language, observes the Russian calendar, and has its leaders appointed by the Patriarch Alexy II in Moscow. By contrast, the Bessarabian Metropolitanate is part of the Romanian Orthodox Church, conducts services in Romanian, observes the new calendar, and has its leaders appointed by the Patriarch Teoctist in Bucharest. The paper explores the Moldovan authorities' refusal to recognize the Bessarabian Metropolitanate on grounds that an Orthodox Church (the Metropolitanate of Chisinau and All Moldova) was already recognized in the republic and could address the spiritual needs of both the Romanian majority and the Russian-speaking minority, and the Bessarabian Metropolitanate's quest for recognition through local courts and the European Court of Human Rights. The paper investigates the political and religious reasons for the constant support authorities have given to the Russian Orthodox Church, examines the ECHR ruling and its implementation, and narrates the continuous battle for the souls pitting Moscow against Bucharest.

**Staring, Scott** - George Grant and the Problem of Internationalism

Internationalism is to the modern Canadian political landscape what snow is to its physical landscape. It is practically the medium that we exist in, central not only to the nation's foreign policy, but also to the attitudes and opinions of ordinary Canadian citizens. As is often the case, with the ideas that circulate most closely around us, it is difficult for us to gain a critical perspective on the internationalist project. While there has been much academic writing either impugning or endorsing Canada's internationalist politics, little attempt has been made to understand just what internationalism is at its deepest level. Even the strongest criticisms today generally do not move outside of the most deep-seated assumptions underlying internationalism. Most notably, the "realist" attack on the "idealism" of the internationalist cause does not extend beyond the question of political means. On the more fundamental question of what political ends are worth pursuing, realists and idealists are more or less at one. Ultimately, both find their orientation within a framework bound by modern liberal assumptions. One notable attempt to move beyond these assumptions can be found in the writing of the philosopher George Grant. Within the contemporary Canadian context, Grant, more than any other thinker, turned the question of political ends into a topic of philosophical reflection. In my paper, "George Grant and the Problem of Internationalism," I will make the argument that a re-examination of Grant's thought is an important first step if we are to assess our present internationalist trajectory with a clear-headed awareness of the fundamental political possibilities before us. My work on Grant and the question of internationalism forms a part of a larger research project examining the challenges confronting Canadian political thought in a post-Cold War international order.

**Steeke, Jackie** - LIBERAL VERSUS REPUBLICAN NOTIONS OF LIBERTY: Marital "Surnaming" and Equal Citizenship for Women in Canada and Quebec

The idea that women and their offspring are the property of the male 'head of the household' is not only considered obsolete in industrialized countries of the 21st century, but moreover, it smacks of an ideology of patriarchal familism that is counterintuitive to the individualistic notions of citizenship which have captured the minds of most liberal/social democracies, including Canada and Quebec. In this paper, I will explore the traditions of liberalism and republicanism (Petit, 1997) to assess the utility of each political theory with respect to promoting and protecting the citizenship rights and liberties of women. In particular, I will compare and contrast each tradition's notion of "liberty" within the context of marital naming policies in Canada and Quebec. Building on Ann Cudd's (1994) rejection of a policy option that tolerates oppression by choice, I will identify the ways in which the liberal notion of "liberty as non-interference" as reflected in English-speaking Canada's legal framework of choice, merely perpetuates women's oppression by masking the socio-economic inequalities that coerce women into abdicating their last names in order to conform with the accepted roles of wife and mother. I will argue that the republican notion of "liberty as non-domination", which may be equated with the Quebec model of birth name permanence, serves as the more useful definition of liberty in the context of feminist commitments to the elimination of women's subjugation within the family, and the assertion of their right to full citizenship, both in spirit and in name.

**Stephenson, Laura** - Good-bye Charlie Brown: Social Policy Change in the Mulroney and Chrétien Governments

Over the past 20 years Canadian social policy has significantly changed. Responding to increased international exposure, the governments of Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien trimmed the social budget and enhanced the competitiveness of the country's firms. There are two things to note about these changes: first, the Liberal Chrétien continued the agenda begun by the Conservative Mulroney; and second, the more conservative PCs enacted less social policy retrenchment than the more socially-minded Liberals. This paper addresses these issues by analyzing the social policy choices of the Mulroney and Chrétien governments. Using a simple maximization model, I show that the speed, depth and range of policy choices were guided by the desire of both governments to maintain political capital in the face of pressure for economic change. This paper enhances our understanding of social policy-making by demonstrating how electoral concerns influence the trade-off between economic and social issues. I argue that re-election concerns play a role by influencing the government's sensitivity to opposition, which in turn changes the calculation of how much social change can be sustained without irreparably damaging electoral prospects. This study complements my work on the compatibility of market capitalism and welfare policies by providing the much-needed link of government choice. Creating a welfare state that supports a market-based economy does not happen instantaneously; the policy choices of politicians determine the extent of the complementarities.

**Storms, Daniel** - POSSESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM AND THE DOMESTIC LIBERAL ROOTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY

Criticisms of realism and liberalism, traditionally the two dominant fields within international relations (IR) and international political economy (IPE) theory, have been widespread for the past two decades. What unites these critical theorists is their claim that IR/IPE theory is both ahistorical and decontextualised. What is missing from this critical account is a sustained historical examination of liberal ontology at the domestic level and how it relates to current mainstream IR/IPE theory construction. This paper will provide an overview of the basic assumptions, goals and insights of C.B.

Macpherson's possessive individualist model and its relevance to the study of international politics. Its main hypothesis is that Macpherson's critique of the possessive individualist core of liberalism is equally valid at an international level of analysis because assumptions about the role of the individual, the state, and human nature within IR/IPE theory have been ontologically transferred to the international level in possessive individualist terms. The possessive individualist ethos is an identity that imbues intersubjective norms and values upon individuals, institutions and states. Through social iteration, states have embodied these liberal norms, values, and identities that entrench competition, hierarchy and inequality. This paper aims to make the domestic-international link explicit as it is the same basic ontology that most mainstream scholars draw from. IR/IPE theory, which draws its core assumptions from this liberal discourse, therefore benefits from including Macphersonian insights because again insufficient attention has been paid to the historical and ideological development of the liberal worldview and its effects upon the conceptualisation of international politics. This seemingly all-pervasive worldview inhibits potential alternatives due to its invisible, embedded nature. This leads to a discussion of the model's potential applicability in furthering a critical research programme of other areas of liberal capitalist modernity.

**Stritch, Andrew** - Interests, Institutions and Social Learning: The Origins of Workers' Compensation in Quebec

This paper seeks to explain the genesis of the first component of Quebec's welfare state in 1909. Besides being precocious, workers' compensation is also interesting because it embodied an important change in liberal jurisprudence -- from a system of employer liability based on individual fault to a system of compensation regardless of fault. The paper argues that Quebec's first Workmen's Compensation Act can only be understood in terms of the interaction of three factors that are more commonly seen as alternatives in the theoretical literature on policy development. The first is the differential impact of societal forces in which the interests of capital predominated over those of labour. The second involves a statist dimension where the institutional autonomy of the legal process and jury system in employer liability

cases started to cause problems for capital accumulation. And third, the acceptance of the new idea of workers' compensation depended on a widespread process of social learning by both state and societal actors. Methodologically, the paper is based on archival research and other contemporaneous documentation from state agencies, commissions, business and labour organizations, legal records, legislative records, journalistic reports and legislation from other jurisdictions. Theoretically, it is located within a growing body of literature that seeks to go beyond one-dimensional explanations of policy development and to integrate analyses of institutions, ideas and interests into a wider framework. The paper is related to my earlier research interests in business-government relations, public policy and more contemporary aspects of workers' compensation.

**Studlar, Donley T.** - Tobacco Control in the Federations of Canada, Australia, and the United States: Lateral, Top-Down, or Bubble-Up Policy Diffusion?

There are three research traditions in the study of comparative state/provincial public policies in Canada, Australia, and the United States. State/provincial policy innovation and diffusion literature discusses how policies are adopted and spread from one jurisdiction to another. A second approach considers federal-state/provincial interactions, especially of a top-down nature, often involving federal mandates and incentives for states and provinces to take particular policy actions. A third, little-explored option focusses on "bottom-up" lesson drawing from the states/provinces to the federal government. More generally, Canada is considered the most decentralized federalism of these three, with Australia the most centralized, and the United States somewhere between them. What are the variations in the content and processes of adoption within a similar general type of policy among these three federal countries? Tobacco control, a recent policy on which all three countries have been active over the past four decades, provides just such a test. Through documentary research and interviews with policymakers in all three countries which I have conducted in recent years (Studlar, 2002), this paper will examine comparatively the content and processes of adopting tobacco control policy in these three countries, focussing on the role of the provinces/states and how they interact both with each other and with the federal government. The conclusion will address the issue of the relative weight of the three theories of state/provincial policy diffusion noted earlier as well as the implications of tobacco control policy for the comparative study of federalism. Studlar, Donley T. 2002. Tobacco Control: Comparative Politics in the United States and Canada. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

**Stucliffe, John B.** - Local Government in Scotland After Devolution: The Lessons from Canada

This paper critically compares the place and power of local government in Scotland with that of local government in Canada, with a specific focus on Ontario. The position of local government in Scotland has changed over the last five years as part of the broader political changes that have followed devolution. Political control over Scottish local government has been devolved to the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Executive. As a result, Scottish local authorities are now located in a more complex multi-level political system that includes the Scottish, UK and European levels of government. One research agenda has aimed at determining whether this change will positively or adversely affect local authorities. In particular, studies have sought to determine whether local authorities will play an active role in Scottish politics following devolution. This paper addresses this question by using local authorities in Ontario as a point of comparison. The paper first seeks to demonstrate the utility of this comparison by examining the structural position of local government in Scotland and Ontario. It is argued that although there are differences in the two local government systems, there are also sufficient similarities to make a comparative study useful. The paper then attempts to determine what the example of Ontario suggests about the Scottish context and the likely future role of Scottish local government. The conclusion reached is that devolution will not by itself result in a more significant role for Scottish local government. The Ontario example indicates that much depends upon the willingness of the senior levels of government to include local authorities as legitimate partners in policy-making.

**Tabachnick, David** - The Politics and Philosophy of Therapeutic Cloning

While there has been a great amount of scientific research on cloning and genetic engineering and scholarship on bioethics, relatively little work has been done on clearly defining the way politics and government should deal with new biotechnology introduction. In this paper, I will clarify the philosophical-political issues related to therapeutic cloning. Recent efforts to address the philosophical-political issues linked to therapeutic cloning have come up short. For example, government reports in both the United States and in Canada clearly list the many ethical and social problems with reproductive cloning including issues dealing with freedom, dignity and identity. However, recommendations on the practice of therapeutic cloning focus solely on the treatment of embryos. In turn, both the American and Canadian governments have no clear statement of ethics or policy on therapeutic cloning itself only one aspect of its practice. This is a major flaw in both the American and Canadian guidelines that will lead to inadequate cloning legislation. This paper highlights and amends this error. It provides policy recommendations, contribute to the ongoing debate on cloning as well as fill a void in the literature.

**Tan, Netina** - COERCION AND GOVERNANCE: A STUDY OF THE MILITARY REGIME IN BURMA

Muthiah Alagappa in his recent study on the declining political role of the military states that, "coercion cannot form the indefinite basis for governance and authoritarian or military rule is untenable in the long run". However, more than four

decades of military rule in Burma contradicts and raises questions on the tenacity of military rule. In an age when the military is in a retreat from civil authority in Asia, the continuing presence and command of the military regime in Burma seem anomalous. What are the reasons for the Burma military regime's (Tatmadaw) anomaly and longevity in governance? This paper attempts to answer this question by analyzing the scope and jurisdiction of the military participation and control in governance in Burma/Myanmar since 1988. Based on Muthiah Alagappa's theory on the political role of the military and conceptual model on coercion and governance, this study will evaluate and assess the scope and jurisdiction of the Tatmadaw in political governance. This paper intends to reveal some of the strategies of control adopted by the regime that have led the people to act in ways that foster the continuity of military rule in Burma. By focusing on the use and forms of state coercion by the Burmese military regime, the findings are expected to generate new insights on the reasons for Tatmadaw's longevity and prospects for democracy in Burma. The study of Burmese politics and social life has traditionally been shrouded under a veil of secrecy. As a result of tight state control on government data and strict censorship laws, Burmese studies have largely been inaccessible to international scholars. As Alagappa reminds us, "explanatory frameworks...should incorporate both structure and agency and their recursive interaction." This paper will thus attempt to apply an integrated approach; one which considers both the agent, normative and material structures on the current Burmese political system. Thus far, the limited scholarship on the civil-military relations in Burma has largely focused solely on either agents or structures. While the focus on agency is helpful in explaining a particular key development, e.g. Aung San Suu Kyi's role in 1989-90 demonstrations or military coup d'état led by General Ne Win in 1962, however, the long term viability of the military intervention hinges on the country's normative and material structures, such as ideological hegemony of core political beliefs or the force structure of the Tatmadaw. Academic scholars on Burmese politics such as Andrew Selth and Robert Taylor have been successful in applying a Statist approach in analyzing the longevity and impact of the Burmese armed forces. However, while concerns with structure highlight the quality of military profession, the extent of military intervention in politics and weaknesses of governmental institutions, human agency is also equally important in Burmese politics. The Tatmadaw is the largest repository of the means of state coercion in Burma. This study hopes to contribute to the current scholarship of Burmese studies by applying a more integrated approach to consider both the agent and structures which influence the dynamics of the civil-military relations in Burma. By evaluating the scope and jurisdiction of the Burmese military in governance, the new research findings are expected to provide a more nuanced assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the military regime in Burma. This paper proposal is part of my on-going Master research thesis dissertation conducted in University of Regina, Political Science Department. It is expected to complete by end of year 2003 or early 2004.

**Teghtsoonian, Kathy** - Disparate Fates in Challenging Times: Women's Policy Agencies under Governments of the Right in New Zealand and British Columbia

Abstract: This paper presents a comparative analysis of the very different approaches to existing women's policy agencies adopted by governments of the right returned to office in New Zealand (in 1990) and in the province of British Columbia (in 2001). The two cases are similar in that a free-standing women's Ministry headed by a Minister with a seat in Cabinet had been established in each government several years earlier by the previous administration. However, the return to office of the party of the right had radically different institutional consequences in the two contexts. In New Zealand, the Ministry of Women's Affairs remained structurally intact, while in British Columbia, the Ministry of Women's Equality has been eliminated and replaced with a women's policy agency that constitutes just one component of a newly-established Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services. The paper explores the contribution of a number of ideological, institutional and political variables (e.g., locally specific features of neoliberal ideology; general features of neoliberalism; institutional features of each Ministry and its mandate; institutional features of the wider governmental context; the relative vitality of the women's movement in each context) to these contrasting institutional outcomes. It also presents an assessment of the consequences of the disparate fates of the two Ministries. This analysis will provide the basis for tentative conclusions regarding the factors which appear to support, and those which appear to undermine, the institutional integrity and political resources of women's policy agencies in challenging political times. These conclusions will contribute to the theoretical and empirical literatures on women's policy agencies, neoliberalism, and feminist engagement with the state in the industrialized west.

**Tellier, Geneviève** - Economic Conditions and Canadian Provincial Government Popularity

Some Preliminary Empirical Evidences The economic voting hypothesis (which postulates that voters hold their government responsible of the state of the economy and consequently will reward or punish it accordingly – by supporting it or not) has been the subject of many studies over the last decades. The case of Canada is no exception: several studies have tried to discover if economic conditions influence government popularity (as measure by opinion polls or official vote results). Overall, empirical findings seem to give support to the hypothesis. However, conclusions reach until now are disappointing in some respects. The bulk of the studies have been concern with the analysis of the economic voting hypothesis at the federal level: none has attempted to verify if it can also be used to explain government popularity at the provincial level (except a few studies that have looked into the case of Québec alone). But levels of popularity have been found to have important effects on provincial public outcomes (for instance on provincial public spending as my previous research has demonstrated). For this reason, it should be analysed. The objective of our presentation is to provide some preliminary empirical evidence about the economic voting hypothesis in Canadian provinces. The methodology used will be to estimate statistically a popularity function, where the independent variable is the level of popularity of provincial



governments (as measured by opinion polls conducted by Pollara and Environics) and the independent variables a set of macroeconomic provincial indicators. The analysis will cover the 1981-2000 period.

#### **Tossutti, Liviana** - YOUTH VOLUNTARISM AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT IN CANADA

Despite the spate of empirical studies arguing that societies with a vibrant tradition of voluntarism enjoy relatively high levels of economic prosperity, and robust rates of immigrant electoral turnout, political interest and institutional trust, there is no consensus on Toquevillian arguments that voluntarism is of crucial importance for the democratic strength of a society. Van Deth's analysis of West European data found that interest in politics and opinions about its personal and overall saliency were only weakly related to membership in social movement and political organizations, with membership in social welfare organizations linked to a decline in the perceived saliency of politics. American research on participation in high school and college-level community service programs has found little evidence suggesting that it promotes civic behaviour such as voting, contacting elected officials and involvement in community affairs. Debates about the links between voluntarism and political involvement should be of interest to those concerned by the growing marginalization of Canadian youths from 'formal' political activities such as voting, running for office and party membership. Through an analysis of Statistics Canada's 2000 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP), I will compare the participation rates of 15-34-year-old Canadians in three varieties of voluntarism identified by Putnam and Goss. After identifying whether youths are less inclined to volunteer than older Canadians, the study will assess the political relevancy of voluntarism by identifying which form, if any, stimulates youth participation in formal political activities such as turnout in federal, provincial and municipal elections, political organization membership, and attentiveness to current affairs. This proposal constitutes part of my ongoing research program on voluntarism in Canada's minority cultural communities, and more specifically, on the participation modes of young newcomers.

#### **Tremblay, Manon** - WOMEN'S SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM: A Comparison of Australia, Canada and New Zealand

Several studies, conducted at different times and in different places, have shown that female politicians feel they have a responsibility to represent women. The notion of surrogate representation may help to explain this phenomenon: it refers to "representation by a representative with whom one has no electoral relationship." (Mansbridge 1998: 10) It is as if the political context had no bearing on the way female politicians have come to view their relationship with the female population; notwithstanding the rules they have to follow, female politicians seem to have taken upon themselves the task of representing women. However, since electoral systems generate their own interpretations of political representation, it is legitimate to suggest that political women involved in the various electoral systems will look differently upon their role as women's representatives. This paper intends to compare the perceptions of women elected in the Australian House of Representatives and Senate, the Canadian House of Commons, and the New Zealand House of Representatives in terms of how they conceive of their role of women's political representation. More specifically, it examines how the electoral system may impact upon these perceptions. The countries considered offer a large array of electoral formulas: single and multimember constituencies, majority (alternative vote and first-past-the-post) systems and proportional representation. It appears that despite the diversity in electoral formulas, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand political women see themselves as women's surrogate representatives. The consequences of this reality point to some interesting conclusions regarding women's representation.

#### **Uckardesler, Emre** - Contemporary Social Democracy and Social Citizenship: Is There a Third Way in Citizenship?

One of the most noted developments of the late 1990s was the rise of social-democratic parties to government in Europe. Considerable attention was focused on this because they succeeded in winning elections after long-lasting neo-liberal governments which restructured their economies and public policies in line with the ideology of the new right and towards the "necessities" of globalization. Obviously, welfare state and a particular understanding of social citizenship associated with it were some of the first areas of neo-liberal policy-change. Therefore, most of the attention to new social democratic parties of Europe was on how they would respond to neo-liberal restructuring. This paper discusses the contemporary social democratic agenda with respect to social citizenship. This, before all, means an investigation of moral stance of social democracy concerning the consequences of capitalism and globalization, but more importantly, the ascribed place of social citizenship in dealing with them. Second, this paper examines which models of social citizenship contemporary social democratic thought developed in theory and implemented in government. In this respect, not only accounts of Giddens, Esping-Andersen, Hutton, Gray or Etzioni with respect to social citizenship will be discussed, but also programs and policies of British Labour Party, German social democrats and French socialists will also be examined. Particular attention will be devoted to the notion of "community" since in the re-orientation of social democracy, communitarianism has played a significant and largely deteriorating role. The basic motive of the paper is to comprehend the transformation of the idea of social citizenship within a certain political imagination (and political movement) that was once among the vanguards of this notion.

#### **Valle, Carla** - Theories of Institutions and the Politics of Culture

I advance the position that considerable promise for the study of politics lies in bridging cultural approaches based on discourse analysis and semiotics with neo-institutional approaches such as organizational analysis in sociology and

historical institutionalism in political science. In general, the two broad camps have not been engaging one another. I argue that they offer important solutions to one another's limitations. Institutionalisms of various stripes suffer from simplistic or under-theorized "micro-foundations" due to, most notably, over-simplified notions of constructionism, over-reliance on rational-choice theory, or over-reliance on cognitive psychological mechanisms. Culture/discourse theory suffers from "macro-implications" that are either over-fluid, over-rigid or under-specified due to insufficient attention being paid to materiality and its networks as interlocutors in the emergence of meaning and action. Due to these weaknesses, both camps offer incomplete theories of cultural and institutional change. Institutional theories remain limited to retrospective explanation and discourse theories have trouble distinguishing the possible from the merely imaginable. The frontier I wish to advance can be depicted as a semiotics that includes things, or, alternatively, as an institutionalism that situates organizations into heterogeneous dialogic processes. I find useful pointers towards this direction in Norbert Wiley's notion of emergent levels, which I modify using insights from Bruno Latour's thinking on regimes of enunciation. I will propose examples of analysis by re-elaborating research by others and by drawing from my own field-work. This presentation builds on my dissertation which examines the cultural, organizational and political adjustments of social organizations with a religious affiliation in post-war Italy.

**Verrelli, Nadia** - Reviewing Theories of Judicial Review

Since the entrenchment of the Charter, mainstream Canadian scholarship has shifted away from studying the role of the judiciary vis-à-vis the shape and understanding of Canadian federalism. Instead, Canadian political scientists and legal scholars have focused upon the impact of judicial review and the power of the judiciary in the post Charter era. More specifically, they have centered their studies on the legitimacy of judicial interpretation. That is, does the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) engage in a principled approach when reaching decisions regarding the division of powers? While this is a worthwhile endeavour, it does not offer insight into how the SCC conceptualizes federalism and how it uses this conceptualization as an analytical tool when deciding cases dealing with the powers of the two levels of government. In this paper, I want to look at the theories of judicial review put forth by Hogg, Beatty and Swinton, and argue that though these three theorists present great starting points for understanding the thought process of the SCC when deciding federalism cases, they neglect to account for, in any meaningful manner, the socio-political element as an important variable in case rulings. Hogg, Swinton and Beatty, in looking at federalism analysis hypothesize a two-step approach in which judges engage when deciding the constitutionality of a challenged law or government action. The similarities of each of these three theorists rest in that all three classify federalism analysis by, step one, judges focus on the impugned law or government action, and step two, judges focus on the Constitution. Differences do however exist, mainly on how judges analyze and give meaning to the Constitution and the impugned law or government action. It is this difference along with the lack of acknowledgement that socio-political factors play a role in the decision making process, a point raised by Andree Lajoie in her look at judicial review, that will be examined closely in this paper. From this analysis, we will then be able to construct a theory which recognizes the subjectivity of judicial review; not only do socio-political factors play a role in judges' thought process and in the end, their decisions, but the SCC also constructs the nature of Canadian federalism and uses this conceptualization as an analytical tool in deciding cases dealing with, but not limited to, federal – provincial powers.

**Vickers, Jill** - Gendering the Hyphen: Women's Agency & Gender Scripts in the Making & Re-making of Nation-States  
Feminist political scientists invest much analytic work in understanding how states maintain hierarchical gender arrangements. They pay far less attention to the nations attached to modern states, despite Anthony Smith's observation that "if any phenomena are truly global, then it must be the nation and nationalism" (National Identity:143) Like the universalist liberal and left theories about "the state" on which they draw, feminists either ignore the particularity of nations; or, more recently, they demonize nationalism as "bad for women", while ignoring the space for political agency women have created in many nation-state making projects. My goal in this paper is two-fold. Theoretically I will build on Margaret Canovan's insight that in those rare cases when nationhood is successful they generate "powerful political communities" which legitimate state action by "generating collective power" and storing it "like a battery" (Nationhood and Political Theory:70). While other kinds of communities like religions have this capacity, Canovan observes that only the "fusion of the political and the familial" which nationhood represents can securely legitimize state power as "ours"; or the many cases where state power is oppressive, provide the basis to resist it as "not our way". Unlike Anderson, I theorize "imagined communities" which engage women in the private sphere because nationhood necessarily performs the work of mediation through gender scripts, thus potentially, creating space for women's political agency. My second goal is to explore changes in gender scripts and women's agency in ten concrete cases of nation-state making and restructuring. While not ignoring the violence women experience in some nationalist projects, these cases illustrate instances of expansion of women's political agency through the work of mediation. The cases include: Azerbaijan, Canada/Quebec, Finland, Germany, Greece, India, Spain, Tonga.

**Vlaicu, Sorina O.** - Health Information Privacy: Policy Formulation and Implementation in Canada and the United States  
Traditionally disempowered in their interaction with the health care system, patients have recently witnessed how the privacy of their most sensitive information is endangered by technological advances (electronic health records) and the increase in the number of health providers and businesses ready to trade their diagnostic and treatment information for a profit. Health privacy policy is important not only because of the damaging effects of inappropriate disclosure, but also

because it revives long-standing controversies such as the prevalence of individual rights over group interests, trust in government, and the degree of governmental involvement in protecting citizens' rights and regulating businesses. Both Canada and the United States offer a complex health privacy framework resulting from legal precedent, state/province laws and regulations, and federal legislation. While building on a similar federal organization, global context and technologically-advanced infrastructure, the two nations have chosen different paths to health privacy protections, with major variations in policy formulation and implementation. This paper represents an innovative look at health privacy protections and establishes the basis for further inquiry into the role of political culture and public opinion in policy formulation and implementation. Specifically, it attempts to: establish sources of health privacy protection in Canada and the U.S.; analyze policy formulation processes using a modified Kingdonian framework, and study the influence of interest groups in policy implementation; explore the role of political culture in defining policy options; assess the degree of citizen political participation; and propose an issue-specific survey instrument on the need for and the best approach to protecting health information. The methodology employed is primarily qualitative and brings together a variety of rich data sources: legislative summaries, interest group positions, media coverage data (five major Canadian and three major American newspapers), and opinion polls.

**Way, Laura** - Recruitment and Retention Challenges of a Resource-Dependent Regional Centre: A Case Study of Prince George, British Columbia

While there is a large body of literature examining migration patterns of resource dependent communities, their primary focus has been on small communities, particularly single industry towns. This paper adds to the body of literature by conducting a case study of a larger resource-dependent regional centre. With their larger populations, government and other regional services, and their ability to afford amenities, these regional centres have many urban characteristics that are not possible for their smaller rural neighbours. Although urban, they are different from similar size communities that are located in a suburban metropolis. This is largely due to their interconnectedness with their rural neighbours, their long physical distance from another community of a similar size, and their heavy reliance on a single industry. This paper examines the case of Prince George, British Columbia. The 1990s saw a "maturing" of the city with the addition of institutions like the University of Northern British Columbia. Despite this, Prince George continues to have difficulty in attracting and retaining skilled professionals in a variety of fields. To discover what community factors influences an individual's decision to relocate and remain in Prince George, I conducted qualitative surveys with both new residents and human resource managers. Throughout the research process, this project involved collaboration with a local committee. This is important issue for both local government and its citizens as the inability to attract skilled workers can severely hamper the overall community development. As such, this project contributes to my overall research interest on how communities can enhance the quality of life for their residents.

**Widdowson, Frances** - Inventing Nationhood: The Political Economy of Aboriginal Self-Determination in the Context of Quebec Separatism

Today it is common to see comparisons between aboriginal groups' claims to self-determination and those of Quebec's. It is argued that both have this right because they are oppressed nationalities with threatened cultures. Although this argument justifies secession from the Canadian state, a complicating factor is that aboriginal groups in Quebec contend that they should have the option of remaining in Canada if the province separates. What has yet to be examined in these comparisons, however, is the fundamental differences between the aboriginal and Quebec movements. Separatism in Quebec grew out of capitalist developments, while aboriginal groups became marginalized as the fur trade declined. Consequently, the Quebec nation consists of millions of people participating in a productive economy regulated by a territorial state apparatus, in contrast to the native population, which is dispersed in isolated kinship groupings largely dependent upon federal transfers. It is, therefore, misleading to refer to aboriginal groups as "nations", since they are unable to assert sovereignty in the modern context. This paper will trace the political and economic roots of these two fundamentally different and contradictory claims to self-determination. It will be argued that aboriginal claims to self-determination are legalistic and practically unfeasible because of the small, unproductive and kinship-oriented character of aboriginal societies. A Quebec nation-state, on the other hand, is a viable objective if the province chooses to seek independence. The threat of Quebec separatism to the integrity of the Canadian state, however, has led several governments to encourage aboriginal "nationalism" in Quebec so as to thwart the province's quest for independence.

**Williams, David** - The impact of the Canada Health Act on the Institutional Arrangements in Canadian Health Policy Healthcare has become one of the most important issues in Canadian society. In fact in the last federal election, healthcare was the most important issue to Canadians. This poses an interesting question. How did a policy area that is the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces become the most contentious issue in the 2000 federal election? The Canada Health Act institutionalized the informal arrangements in Canadian health policy, "locking in" an institutional arrangement that has profoundly impacted Canadian health policy. This paper will try to explain how healthcare went from being a public policy to a national icon by examining the institutionalization of the Canada Health Act (CHA) in Canadian society. In 1984, the federal government passed the Canada Health Act. This act set out five principles that govern the delivery of healthcare in Canada. The act at the time was a bit of an anomaly, as in many of the other western democracies national health systems were being attacked by welfare state retrenchment. Canada, however, did not follow the international trend. The Canada Health Act represents a third order change in Canadian Health policy. It represents a fundamental

change in institutional structure surrounding health policy. The CHA represents the federal government's attempt to institutionalize a role for itself in health policy, by maximizing its use of the spending power. The federal spending power, and the willingness of the federal government to use it, plays an important role in the analysis of this paper. Before the introduction of the Canada Health Act, the provinces were largely independent in the area of health policy. The provinces were constrained by their constitutional limits on taxation, and the federal government was largely constrained due to the fact that they did not have formal jurisdiction over health policy. However, one of the goals of the federal government was nation building, partially to be accomplished through the development of national social policy, and in order to do this they had to have control over how the money was spent. The federal government, attempted to, and succeeded in changing the institutional structure. The CHA removed the old structure and "locked in" a new institutional arrangement, where the federal government was the dominant player. The provinces were now constrained, not only financially, but also by the federal government through the CHA. The federal government was now essentially only constrained by themselves, and the limits on that they placed on their own spending. The CHA, not the constitution sets out the federal-provincial framework through which all subsequent health policy has been arranged. The Canada Health Act, 1984, officially moves healthcare to the national stage. The CHA has laid out the institutional framework in Canadian society, and it determines who has standing and what they can do. All of Canadian health policy must be made through this framework, which allows the federal government to use healthcare as part of its nation building agenda. This paper will show, how the Canada Health Act, through policy learning, changed the institutional relationships in health policy. It is the institutionalization of health policy that has led to its' anointed status within Canada. This paper will also examine the effects of reduced federal funding will have the institutional arrangement within healthcare.

**Wilson, Kumanan** - Understanding the Impact of Intergovernmental Relations on Public Health: Lessons from Reform Initiatives in the Blood System and Health Surveillance

Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) has brought the attention of policy makers to the importance of effective intergovernmental relations in public health. However, the current literature lacks a methodology for characterizing and evaluating the different forms of federalism that exist in public health. This paper provides such a conceptual framework, based on previous work by Lazar and McIntosh. Using data obtained from previous analyses (including tapes-transcribed interviews and access to information requests), we apply the framework to the case of blood safety and then draw comparisons with health surveillance. Our analysis demonstrates some of the particular intergovernmental challenges of public health reform, such as recognizing the importance of both local and supranational governments, managing externalities and spillovers and protecting against the emergence of unfunded mandates. We conclude that collaborative approaches to federalism in public health are useful in developing broad plans for reform. However, the federal government may have to act in more hierarchical ways, either through tied funding or legislation, to ensure that such reforms are implemented in a timely manner. We also draw conclusions on the merits and drawbacks of the proposed public health reforms put forward by the SARS Committee and make recommendations on how the Canadian public health system could manage some of the governance challenges that will be associated with these reforms.

**Wilton, Shauna** - Re-Thinking Sweden's 'Women-Friendly' Welfare State

This paper examines the concept of the 'women-friendly' welfare state in Sweden in light of cuts to the welfare state and social spending during the 1990s. In particular, it explores the differences in experiences between immigrant women in Sweden and Swedish women in general. While the Swedish model has achieved some of the highest levels of gender equality in the world, immigrant women tend to be more dependent on the state and are often the most vulnerable members of society. A comparative approach to understanding how 'friendly' the women-friendly welfare state is allows for a more complex understanding of the barriers to women's equality that exist in Sweden. It also allows us to move away from viewing women as a homogenous category with shared goals and concerns, towards a more intersectional approach. The Swedish model for gender equality is one aspired to by feminists in many other western countries. The understanding that full citizenship for women was achievable through women's political participation combined with participation in the work force led to the creation of a variety of state programs aimed at removing barriers to women's political and economic participation in society. This paper asks the following questions: have cuts to the welfare state affected this model of gender equality? Does this model work equally well for women in all groups in Swedish society? Finally, this paper argues that a re-thinking of the concepts of equality underpinning the women-friendly welfare state is necessary in order to incorporate issues of diversity and difference among women in Sweden.

**Wolinetz, Steven B.** - Classifying Party Systems: Where Have All the Typologies Gone?

The paper examines the ways in which students of parties classify party systems. Most typologies which we use (e.g Dahl, Blondel, Sartori) were developed in the 1960s, and few new typologies have been developed or mooted since then. Most students of parties rely on Sartori's 1976 typology, which distinguishes among one party dominant systems, two party systems, moderate pluralism, and extreme multipartyism. However, parties and party systems have changed considerably since then. As Mair has pointed out, there are fewer and fewer current instances of pure two party competition and none of polarized pluralism. Instead, party systems in most liberal democracies fit into the increasingly crowded category, moderate pluralism. The dearth of new typologies reflects the success of the Sartori's scheme and the availability of indices such as Laakso and Taagepera's Effective Number of Political Parties, which can be used to assess the impact of electoral laws. However useful the Effective Number of Electoral Parties (ENEP) or its legislative variant,

Effective Number of Parliamentary Parties (ENPP), might be for correlation and regression, the index blurs key features of party systems B the ways in which parties regularly interact with each other and has minimal heuristic value. Newer typologies, such as Mair's distinction between open and closed systems of competition (see Mair, 1996; 2002) or Siaroff's extension of Blondel's classification, exist, but have yet to gain significant attention. The paper argues that a new typology can be developed, following Sartori's approach. The first criterion is the number of relevant parties: there is considerable difference between limited multipartyism (with three to five relevant parties) and extended multipartyism (with six to eight or more relevant parties). In addition to number, we can differentiate party systems according to degrees of polarization, particularly whether competition is unipolar or centripetal, bipolar, or multipolar, and according to the presence or absence of clustering B whether parties regularly ally with each other in permanent or semi-permanent electoral alliances. The paper draws on contemporary European party systems, particularly the Dutch, French, Italian, German and Austrian to develop and elaborate the new typology. The paper is based on ongoing research and teaching about party systems in liberal democracies.

**Woons, Marc** - Democracy and Bounded Subjectivity: Northern Identity, its Land, People, and Myths

Attempts to define the north traditionally have been done by physical geographers who note climatic conditions and its effects on human settlement. More recently, social scientists have pitted a northern, indigenous, and homeland identity of the north versus a southern, exogenous, and frontier mentality. These two approaches exemplify extremes: geographers with a focus on the land and social scientists as a homeland based on myth. I will argue that both are important, but that a third element must be added: proximity. This is not only a physical proximity to the north, but a social proximity to those cultural traits that are northern. This empirical component will be combined with a more normative section that deals with how this culture should be represented democratically, if at all. In this regard, it seeks to see if there is clout to claims by those who call for more political representation in the north and for northerners in larger units such as provincially and federally. This leads to issues of recognition, a universal identity versus particular identities, and the practical issues such debates entail. The aim of this is less to decide what ought to be done, but to show what could be done, and under what justification.

**Wright, Joanne** - Locke's Notes on Midwifery: Perspectives on Seventeenth-century Reproductive Care and the Emergence of the Sentimental Family

Feminist political theory has had a long-standing and justifiable interest in the private as an essential but marginalized domain in liberal society. Identifying Locke as the modern founder of the liberal public/private dichotomy, feminist interpreters have deconstructed his discussion of the family—its internal relationships and its connections to the state and notions of property. This paper enhances the feminist interpretations of Locke by examining his writings on the subject of midwifery and connecting them to changing conceptions of the familial private realm. Locke is most known for his innovations in the areas of political thought, epistemology, and educational theory, and is much less known for his intellectual and practical forays into the field of medicine. However, not only was Locke a practicing physician, trained both at Oxford and informally throughout his career by the British and Dutch medical and scientific élite, he also wrote, and gave advice on, the subject of midwifery. To the extent that Locke scholars and medical historians consider Locke's medical career at all, they completely overlook his thoughts on midwifery. And yet, these notes are micro-histories, not just of the ideas and practices surrounding midwifery care, but the roles and meanings attached to maternity, infancy and the private realm in the late seventeenth-century. I contend that Locke's midwifery notes offer insight into two important turn-of-the-century developments: 1) the shift away from the exclusive use of female midwives and toward male midwifery care and medical professionalization and, 2) the evolution of conceptions of the family, from the pre-sentimental notion based on natural hierarchy to the fully sentimentalized patriarchal family centered around maternal duty and obligation to children. This paper is part of a larger research effort to recover fully Locke's midwifery writings from his medical commonplace books and from his correspondence. As such, it builds upon the early work of Kenneth Dewhurst, Locke's primary medical biographer, who published a small excerpt of Locke's midwifery notes in 1954. There are no existing analyses of these notes. My initial findings will be published in the forthcoming volume edited by Nancy Hirschmann and Kirstie McClure entitled *Feminist Interpretations of Locke* (Penn State University Press).

**Wylie, Lana** - Latin American States and the International Criminal Court: Repercussions for Relations with Canada and the United States

This paper reviews Latin American responses to the controversy over the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Though most Latin American states have expressed support for the Court and most have signed the treaty, a number have not ratified it. It examines American and Canadian efforts to sway the countries of the hemisphere and compares reactions of Latin American countries to this pressure. It investigates how Latin American states viewed Canada's campaign in support of the ICC and examines the extent of Canadian influence with respect to decisions regarding the ICC in the region. It then looks at the American effort to oppose the creation and ratification of the ICC as well as American pressure to obtain bi-lateral agreements in order to exempt US officials from prosecution by the ICC under Article 98 of the Rome Statute. The Bush administration has threatened economic sanctions such as the termination of military aid if countries do not comply with US demands. Lastly, this paper makes predictions about the effect of these campaigns on U.S.-Latin American and Canadian- Latin American relations.

**Zizic, Bojana** - The Internet's Role in Political Activism: Kingston Case Study

Richard Davis in his book *The Web of Politics* argues that internet use reinforces political participation of traditional political activists, giving them quick, cheap and effective ways of communication and participation in political affairs. On the other hand, many theorists, such as Wayne Rash and Pippa Norris, claim that the internet predominantly reinforces political participation of non-traditional, as well as marginalized groups and organizations. However, the extent to which the internet helps strengthen political participation of either traditional or non-traditional activists remains blurred in this literature. My hypothesis is that internet use is capable of reinforcing political participation of those people who are interested and engaged in political affairs, including both traditional and non-traditional political activists. I demonstrate in my study that the degree to which the internet is able to reinforce political engagement does not depend on the nature of the group (as the literature on the internet and political participation claims) as much as it depends on the enthusiasm of its leadership. In fact, the smaller the group and the more enthusiastic its leadership, the greater contribution to political engagement the internet makes. To prove my hypothesis, I have conducted a Kingston case study in which I examine internet use and its implications for political activism of both traditional political parties, and non-traditional social movements. I conducted numerous in-depth interviews with executives from the Liberal Party, the Canadian Alliance, the NDP, the Green Party and the Progressive Conservative Party. I also interviewed leaders and spokespersons from different social movements, such as Amnesty International, Kingston Pesticide Reduction Group, The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) and Queen's Project on International Development (QPID). In addition to interviews, I also use content analysis as part of my methodology to examine the web sites of these organizations. Lastly, the paper examines the prospect of internet activism for democracy. It provides recommendations for efficient ways in which the internet can be used for the promotion of citizen engagement.