

2003 ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS 2003

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen and Garber, Judith - Immigration and the Construction of the Urban

This paper will comparatively examine how immigration, racialized immigrants and urban space are constructed in state and popular discourses in Canada and the United States since 1990. At one level contemporary immigration is profoundly and perhaps inevitably an urban phenomenon. At a global level, many of the world's migrants come from big cities. In addition, immigrants have tended to settle in urban centres in countries of the industrialized North. Thus, the 2000 United States Census and the 2001 Canadian Census both revealed that immigrants gravitate to major metropolitan areas. In the case of Canada, eighty-one percent of new immigrants settle in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver; in the United States, thirty percent settle in New York and Los Angeles alone. Yet, state and media discussions of immigration register a marked concern with the distribution and potential re-distribution of immigrants. For example, the Canadian media has paid considerable attention to a proposal by the Minister of Immigration and Citizenship Canada, Denis Coderre, to provide incentives to prospective immigrants so that they will settle in smaller towns and rural areas. In the United States, there are two dimensions to the current geography of immigration evident in media presentations of Census data. Whereas a number of the large Rustbelt cities that had been losing population since the 1970s saw population gains largely attributable to immigration, at the same time there are dramatically increased numbers of Hispanic and Asian immigrants settling in small towns, rural areas, and suburbs. We argue that the relationship between immigration and urbanity is not an "empirical fact" but is continually constructed by state and popular actors with the consequence that immigrants are construed in the terms of human capital rather than human rights, citizenship rights, or social equality. This paper will make use of secondary as well as primary sources. Primary sources include: Census data and definitions; government policies and statements of politicians; and print media accounts. This work challenges the prevailing spatial definitions in much of the theoretical and empirical work on immigration and cities in disciplines like geography and sociology by foregrounding the inherently political character of space. This paper builds on the published work of Yasmeen Abu-Laban in the areas on citizenship theory, immigration, and race and ethnicity, and the published work of Judith A. Garber in the areas of urban politics and space.

Ajzenstat, Janet - Liberty, Loyalty, and Identity in the Canadian Founding

The paper reviews arguments in the colonial parliaments from 1864 to 1873. On the issue of national "identity," the legislators discuss two matters of perennial interest to Canadians. The first is political: would Confederation destroy the sturdy independence of the individual colonies, leaving them vulnerable to assimilation to the American way of life? The second lies squarely in the realm of political philosophy: does "identity" determine politics and institutions, or do institutions shape identity?

Alonso-Donate, Gaston - In the Shadows of the State: Immigrant Incorporation in Global Cities

Over the last thirty years the economies and populations of a number of US cities have undergone a series of rapid transformations. As these cities have become regional financial and commercial centers in the new global economic order, they have experienced an increase in the migration of non-whites from abroad as well as an increase in the flight of white residents. As a result of these transformations, struggles over political power, economic opportunities, and governmental resources in these cities are increasingly between non-white immigrants and native born minorities rather than between whites and African Americans. It has thus become crucial that practitioners and students of urban politics understand the factors that impact the relative economic and political position of non-white immigrants and native born minorities living in these global cities. This paper draws on four years of extensive fieldwork research in Miami-Dade County, Florida, United States, to compare the relative economic incorporation of the region's African American, Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Haitian communities. The findings of the study challenge contemporary arguments that focus on groups' relative work ethic and/or levels of social capital to explain groups' relative economic position. Instead, the findings point to the crucial role the state intentionally or unintentionally plays in facilitating the successful economic incorporation of certain groups and hindering the successful incorporation of other groups. Promoting the successful economic incorporation of immigrant and native born minority populations living in global cities, the paper concludes, requires government investment in programs of economic empowerment similar to programs made available by the US government to Cuban immigrants, but not available to the other groups. Such programs are crucial to ensure the economic vitality of global cities whose economies and populations have undergone the rapid transformations described above. In bringing the state to the center of the analysis, the paper argues for the need to disaggregate "the state" in order to understand the complex and often contradictory ways federal and local actors and agencies in the United States interact. Particular attention is paid to understanding the ways federal policies constrain the choices available to local communities and in turn the ways those communities impact the federal policy-making process.

Altamirano, Isabel - Disposable Culture? The Puebla-Panama Plan and the Alaska and Northwestern Canada Pipeline Economic mega projects designed from the core of political and economic power and oriented to exploit natural resources such as oil and natural gas, among other resources, are challenging Indigenous peoples. Strategic natural resources are found in many Aboriginal territories, which are becoming the targets of such projects. These communities see the implementation of these projects either as a way to overcome poverty and marginalization or as a way to erode the

traditional economy and the way of life. Does the need for jobs mean to give up traditional cultures? Does self-government represent an alternative to accommodate both preservation of culture and creation of jobs? These are the questions that I will address in this paper. In North America, in the name of development, projects such as the Alaska-Mackenzie Valley pipe line and the Plan Puebla Panama are challenging Indigenous peoples by pushing them to adopt development projects designed according to external needs and by creating divisions among them. After have signed land claims, those communities who opposed the Mackenzie Valley pipe line twenty-five years ago (when it was first envisioned) are now among its supporters by openly favouring the creation of jobs even if that means to transform their cultural practices. On the other hand, those communities that have not signed land claims remain sceptical about the project in the name of preserving culture and traditional ways of life. Similarly, in Southern Mexico many Indigenous communities are opposing the Plan Puebla Panama because it is a model of development that excludes them by ignoring their collective rights and by transforming their traditional way of life without their consent. To Indigenous people, the recognition of self-government is a way to preserve their culture and their traditional territories but also to have access to the exploitation of their natural resources. This paper will rely on the case study method to compare the challenges Aboriginal peoples in North America face regarding the implementation of the two regional mega projects. It is in this field that this paper will make a contribution to the discipline of comparative political science, since comparisons on Aboriginal issues in North America are practically non-existent.

Anderson, Bruce - The Legal Rhetoric of Judicial Politics

Of course, for political scientists the idea that judges have a political role is not new. For years, introductory texts have portrayed the judiciary as a political institution. And today many political scientists believe that the courts have too much power over public policy. By contrast, for the past 25 years Canadian and American legal scholars have worked to convince their colleagues that law is politics. More recently, Canadian legal scholars have framed this insight in terms of power relations based on differences in gender, race, ability & sexual orientation and have identified the role of law in constructing, legitimizing, and even transforming the status quo. Canadian judges have even acknowledged a political dimension in decision-making. Not only has the Supreme Court recognized that their decisions must take account of the societal context, but they have said that judges should draw on their own personal experiences. Further, the Supreme Court of Canada has explicitly acknowledged its role in making public policy. On the other hand, in judicial decisions that obviously have a large political dimension judges somehow have managed to define the boundary between law and politics and still see themselves as handling only legal issues, not political issues. Just how they do this is very interesting and very unsettling. By drawing on the field of rhetoric I will explain how they control and exclude important political issues in cases such as the Quebec reference and R v Bernard (NB logging), thereby maintaining the status quo and stifling the call for creative solutions to very complex problems.

Bahador, Babak - The CNN Effect on Western Foreign Policy before the Kosovo Intervention

It is often claimed that television images move foreign policy. I have set out to assess the validity of this claim by studying the prelude to the Kosovo conflict in great depth and the West's reaction to television images from this conflict. From February 1998 (when the first major clash took place between the KLA and Yugoslav authorities) to March 1999 (when the West intervened militarily), I tracked every story on Kosovo by CNN, CBS, NBC and ABC television news. I also tracked every press release/statement (over 200) on Kosovo by 6 major Western government institutions (the State Department, Department of Defence, White House, NATO, EU and Contact Group). For each of these government releases/statements, I measured three factors: the framing of issues, the assignment of blame and the propensity for military intervention. Over a timeline of 15 months, I measured the volume of television coverage to the quantity and quality of government reaction. All my findings are presented in clear and concise graphical format. In general, my findings reveal: 1) Correlation between television coverage of the conflict and government foreign policy activity 2) Disproportionate reactions by Western governments each time a major televised conflict/massacre occurred versus non-televised ones 3) Clearly distinguishable shifts in Western policy towards intervention in the immediate aftermath of these televised conflict/massacres and little or no shift when events were not televised The role of television images in impacting foreign policy continues to grow in importance as the US weighs future military operations. This study, which goes into unprecedented depth on a particular case study, is therefore not only instructive for gaining deeper insights into that intervention, but also vital for understanding the importance of this often-underestimated influencer of foreign policy in future wars.

Bakan, Abigail B. and Kobayashi, Audrey - Backlash Against Employment Equity: The BC Experience

While Canada has one of the most comprehensive federal employment equity laws internationally, the provincial governments regarding this policy tell a very different story. While many provinces have some form of equity policy regarding women and/or people with disabilities, employment equity legislation that compels employers to demonstrate pro-active redress for systemic discrimination comparable to the federal legislation is minimal. The federal context is grounded on the stated reality of systemic discrimination against four designated groups in the Canadian population: women, visible minorities, Aboriginal peoples, and persons with disabilities. The Employment Equity Act (1996), replaced the previous Act (1986), following a process of public consultation and policy review. Notably, the revised Act strengthened the previous commitment to legislating against systemic discrimination in the workplace, and increased mechanisms for audits and enforcement. This pattern contrasts sharply with the presence of an ideological and legislative

backlash against employment equity legislation at the level of provincial governments. The Ontario example of backlash against employment equity legislation has been the subject of an extensive research project directed by the authors. Now, it appears that BC may follow suit. In this paper, we intend to explore the politics of backlash against employment equity legislation as it is unfolding since the recent election of the BC Liberal government under Premier Gordon Campbell. This study will comprise one part of an extensive research agenda, currently funded by SSHRCC, on the politics of backlash regarding systemic discrimination and means of legal redress. The BC context is notable as it is the only province to our knowledge that has enacted, and maintained, not only employment equity policy but legislation specifically addressing systemic discrimination as it has been experienced by the four designated groups identified at the federal level. The Public Service Act Directive on Employment Equity was enacted in 1994 under the NDP. The Act is not as comprehensive in scope as the previous legislation enacted in Ontario under Bob Rae's NDP government, and repealed by the first Ontario Progressive Conservative government under Mike Harris, as it applies only to the public service. However, the law includes a mandatory reporting process and regular audits under the direction of the Equity and Diversity Branch of the Public Service Employee Relations Commission (PSERC). Prior to extensive cutbacks in the public service under the new Liberal government, the employment equity program included 34 full time employees committed to enactment of the legislation, and an extensive voluntary training program. The BC Liberals have now given indication that pay equity policy will be reviewed, and new "merit employment" legislation will be introduced. The suggestion of an explicit challenge to the principles of employment equity are currently being put forward. Our previous research on the ideological and discursive premises on which the politics of backlash are based indicates the significance of the debates in BC for a wider equity agenda. There is a growing literature on the politics of employment equity policy in Canada, of which our recent publications are a part. We intend to expand our analysis of the politics of backlash to the BC case. Methodologically, original field data from interviews with various stakeholders regarding BC employment equity legislation, including public sector civil servants, equity advocates in the women's, anti-racist, Aboriginal and disabled rights movements, and labour unions, will be a central part of the study. Also, we are conducting an extensive media review and policy analysis in the BC context regarding employment equity. We also hope to extend the comparative relevance of the paper, by suggesting similarities and differences between the BC and Ontario case studies regarding the rise and/or fall of employment equity legislation.

Banda, Maria and Clarkson, Stephen - How to Compare Asymmetries: Canada and Mexico as Peripheries to the Hegemon

The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement that came into effect on January 1, 1989 constitutionalized Canada's hitherto largely informal relationship with the United States, which had used the bilateral negotiations to impose new disciplines on its northern neighbour. CUFTA's broadening into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on January 1, 1994 reordered and constitutionalized Mexico's American relationship. Before NAFTA, the intellectual value of comparing Canada with Mexico had appeared very limited. Each shared geographical space in North America. Each had evolved as a European settler society superimposed on aboriginal populations. But where one country belonged to the rich First World, the other belonged unmistakably to the poor Third World. In retrospect the development paths chosen by their governing elites bore some resemblance with their common emphasis on import substitution industrialization, a development model that fell out of favour in the early 1980s in each state's capital. But this commonality was overwhelmed by the differences between their cultures, their political systems, and their relationship with their common American neighbour. The powerful new commonality of being governed by NAFTA and the WTO, reopens the question of their comparability. As different as their cultures and political economies may be, the impact on these two North American peripheries of two common sets of economic rules suggests considerable potential for interesting comparative analysis. The novel reality of continental and global governance puts Ottawa and Mexico City in a similar situation vis-à-vis their neighbour, the continental – and global – hegemon. Building on a very small existing comparative literature, the authors' reflections about the direction that future comparative research should take will present a meta-analysis in two phases. 1. Canada and Mexico as dependent variables: The differential impact on these two North American peripheries of their external constitutions will be examined in terms of the changes wrought by NAFTA and the WTO on their policies, institutions, and political cultures. At the economic level, the relative impact of the transnationalization of production systems and capital markets on each economy will also be appraised. 2. Mexico and Canada as independent variables: Having a middle rank in the global hierarchy of power, Mexico and Canada are international subjects as well as objects. The strategies, tactics, and policies of the two countries will be compared both in dealing with the United States and in projecting their power abroad and in developing supportive relationships including with the other North American peripheral state. More than a simple listing of similarities and differences, this paper aspires to develop hypotheses that should generate a deeper understanding of each country's relationship with the United States than what could be generated by the separate study of each asymmetrical relationship. And in better comprehending North America's periphery, we should also better understand its hegemon.

Barney, Darin - The Vanishing Table, or, Community in a World That is No World

This paper investigates the possibility of community under modern conditions of "wordlessness," displacement and disburdenment, conditions recently materialized in, and accelerated by, digital information and communication technologies. It proceeds from the premise that human social relations (not to mention individual human souls) always depend for much of their character on the material conditions in which they arise and subsist. As Albert Borgmann has

written: "There is in every case a symmetry between human life and its setting." The questions this paper seeks to explore are, then, what setting does digital technology provide for human social life? and, particularly, to what constructions of community does this material setting lend itself most readily? The paper engineers an encounter between two literatures. The first comprises a body of philosophical writing that locates the phenomenon of worldlessness (i.e., time-space displacement, deracination, disburdenment) in the progress of modern technology generally; the second is the growing social science literature examining the character and dynamics of digitally-mediated community practices and forms. The paper begins with a theoretical exegesis of aspects of the work of four thinkers—Harold Innis, Martin Heidegger, Hannah Arendt and Albert Borgmann—who have made thoughtful contributions to our understanding of the technological phenomenon gathered here as worldlessness. It then proceeds to reflect upon recent empirical accounts of digitally-mediated community, in light of the philosophical questions raised by these thinkers. At this point, the discussion turns to the question of the prospects for community under conditions in which co-inhabitation of a common world of things has been eclipsed by various forms of technologically-mediated communication. The paper concludes by arguing that digital technology, as it is elaborated in the context of contemporary liberal capitalism, provides a material setting in which community is likely to thrive only in a particular, truncated form: as a market infrastructure for the convenient exchange of valued resources between networked individuals. Ultimately I argue that, under the auspices of digital technology, communication conspires more readily with commodity than it does with community. This paper is a substantially revised version of one presented while I was Hixon-Riggs Visiting Professor of Science, Technology and Society at Harvey Mudd College (2002). It follows a previous paper (now in press) on the moral consequences of virtual community, and extends some of the rudimentary work on virtual community presented in my book, *Prometheus Wired: The Hope for Democracy in the Age of Network Technology* (UBC/Chicago, 2000).

Barry, Donald - Managing Canada-U.S. Relations in the Post 9-11 Era

The rapid pace of Canadian-American economic integration since the entry into force of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1989 combined with the security implications of the September 11th terrorist attacks upon the United States have brought the management of the relationship into sharp focus. The most important challenge facing Canadian decision-makers is how to respond to the new security environment while ensuring the uninterrupted flow of commerce across the Canada-U.S. border. Many observers have argued that Canada and the U.S. should bind themselves closer together through a strengthened partnership arrangement. The most explicit version calls upon Ottawa to strike a "strategic bargain" with Washington that would see Canada support U.S. objectives on "border security, immigration and defence" in return for enhanced access to the American market through "a customs union or common market arrangement." The strategic bargain approach is not new. It represents an extension and formalization of the "partnership paradigm" that provided the basis for the management of Canada-U.S. relations from the early post-war years until the late 1960s. Conceived of as a partnership generated by the Soviet threat, the relationship was managed by government elites, who held compatible world views, were in firm control of their own governmental processes, and were in a position to sustain trade-offs that were critical to the stability of the relationship. The U.S. gave Canada favourable economic treatment in return for Canada's willingness to maintain an open investment climate and provide support for continental and North Atlantic defence. The paper traces the history of the partnership paradigm in Canada-U.S. relations in the post-war era and examines its contemporary relevance for the conduct of the relationship. It argues that the erosion of the conditions sustaining the partnership approach, institutional changes on both sides of the border, and the proliferation of actors and issues in Canada-U.S. relations challenge the capacity of government elites to manage the trade-offs central to the partnership approach and render the paradigm ineffective as a basis for managing the relationship. The paper argues that to the extent possible Canada's relations with the U.S. should take place within a framework of rules within which issues are dealt with on the basis of agreed standards. It also argues that Ottawa should engage U.S. policy-makers at an early stage when decisions affecting the relationship are made, and that it provide the resources to meet whatever obligations it agrees to assume. But it should avoid open-ended arrangements with the U.S. that can lead to exaggerated expectations of policy concurrence and future bilateral irritants.

Bazowski, Raymond - Federalism, Civil Rights and the Rise of Jurocracy

Contemporary academic literature on the judiciary tends to focus on how civil rights jurisprudence has worked to transform the courts by encouraging judges to develop decidedly more activist ambitions than they hitherto may have entertained. In what has now become a standard version of judicial scholarship, it is contended that courts, armed with an ever more robust sense of civil rights, have set the agenda in many policy fields, sometimes defying or subverting legislatures in the process. In the heroic rendering of this story, courts are represented as progressive forces; in the manichaean variant, they are portrayed as usurpers of democracy. Of course there are also skeptical accounts of judicial activism which question whether genuine transformative action by courts is possible. But in whatever rendition, this story represents courts as more activist, real or nominal, in the civil rights era. In my paper I argue that this account of an activist court energized by a civil rights agenda tends to abstract from larger political processes at work, and hence reify judicial politics, more often than not in the service of conspicuously normative arguments. To gain some insight into the larger political processes which are the crucial context against which judicial behaviour is to be understood, I propose to examine the relationship between federalism and civil rights jurisprudence in both Canada and the United States. The purpose of such an investigation is to see how the displacement (although not complete) of federalism by civil rights

jurisprudence in constitutional law reflected shifts in each nation's political economy and related social transformations. This paper is part of ongoing research I am doing for a book on comparative constitutional law.

Behringer, Ronald Martin - Middle Power Leadership on Human Security

My study examines the conditions under which middle power states, such as Canada, the Netherlands, and Norway, may exercise effective leadership in the realm of human security. I hypothesize that a middle power-led human security initiative is more likely to be successful if the initiative does not threaten the fundamental principles of the superpower. The paper demonstrates that although it is possible for a human security initiative to overcome American opposition that is based on political, economic, or military interests, an initiative will be less likely to succeed if it challenges the core values and principles of the United States. I test the hypothesis by conducting a qualitative analysis of four cases of human security initiatives where the middle powers have played leadership roles. The cases include the endeavor to create a United Nations rapid deployment peacekeeping force, which led to the formation of the Stand-by High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG) in 1996; the campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines, which resulted in the 1997 Ottawa Convention; the struggle to establish the International Criminal Court, which came into existence in 2002; and the unsuccessful attempt to produce international restrictions on the legal trade in small arms and light weapons. The United States has taken different positions on these issues. While the United States has remained neutral with regards to the establishment of SHIRBRIG, it has objected to both the Ottawa Convention and the International Criminal Court on the basis of conflicts with American interests, and it has opposed the adoption of restrictions on the licit small arms trade due to a clash with American principles protected by the U.S. Constitution. By illustrating that smaller states can exert leadership on global security, my paper counters the trend in international security studies of focusing almost exclusively on great power leadership, a tendency which has been reinforced by the decades-long predominance of the realist approach to international relations. Moreover, my study contributes to a new and growing literature on human security issues, which have become even more pertinent following the events of September 11th, 2001. The human security perspective, which emphasizes the security of people from political, economic, societal, environmental, and military threats, provides a challenge to the traditional, realist conception of security which prioritizes military threats to nation-states.

Bélanger, Éric and Gélneau, François - Electoral Accountability in the Federal System: National and Provincial Economic Voting in Canada

In federal regimes, the distribution of economic resources is often at the centre 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. The current Canadian debate over "fiscal imbalance" is a good illustration of this. 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 favourable 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. Our study offers a comparative analysis of federal versus provincial economic voting in Canada. We propose an analysis based on a pooled time-series cross-sectional design that covers the period 1950-2000. The dependent variable is 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 behaviour, our study fills an important gap in the Canadian literature on economic voting. It will help us clarify the ways in which voters in a federal system assign political responsibility for economic and fiscal outcomes, and understand some of the motivations behind economic policy choices from both levels of government. 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.

Beliaev, Mikhail - Political Regimes and Foreign Direct Investment: Empirical Evidence from Regions of Russia

Which political regime is better able to minimize political risks and facilitate foreign direct investment (FDI)? In order to address this question the present investigation draws on empirical evidence from the regionally diverse country of Russia. The regional differences in the achieved level of democratization are operationalized through the data on the strength of independent mass-media, competitiveness of regional elections, and electoral support for democratic political parties. I hypothesize that the effect of democratization on FDI inflows differs in respect to the ability of a regional government to (1) maintain political stability; (2) perform its basic functions (e.g. tax collection and crime prevention). Analysis of panel data demonstrates that the impact of democratization on regional FDI inflows is generally but not unconditionally positive.

Bergeron, Josée - De l'égalité à l'équité : une réévaluation de la redistribution sociale

En 1993, le gouvernement fédéral mettait fin au programme universel d'allocation familiale du Canada. Depuis, les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux ont mis en place différents programmes (par exemple, la Prestation nationale pour les enfants) afin d'éliminer la pauvreté chez les enfants. Dix ans plus tard, les taux de pauvreté sont demeurés semblables (près d'un enfant sur cinq vit sous le seuil de faible revenu). Lors du dernier Discours du Trône, le gouvernement fédéral annonçait une autre initiative d'assistance aux familles pauvres. Depuis, les autres programmes de l'État-providence ont aussi connu des transformations majeures (fin du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada et du Financement pour les programmes établis, remplacés par les Transferts sociaux canadiens; remaniement de l'assurance-emploi). Cette érosion de l'État-providence se déroule aussi dans le contexte de transformations des piliers de la redistribution sociale (multiplicité des arrangements familiaux s'éloignant d'un modèle familial; multiplicité des formes d'activité professionnelle). Face à ces transformations et à l'érosion de l'État-providence, quels principes peuvent revitaliser la notion de redistribution sociale et servir de base à une justice redistributive? Les principes d'égalité des individus et d'égalité des droits ont guidé la mise en place des programmes sociaux depuis 1945 (entre autres, le Rapport Marsh ou la «société juste» de Pierre Elliot Trudeau). Toutefois, force est de constater que ce principe a connu des limites. L'égalité formelle des individus est une pierre d'assise nécessaire, mais ne semble plus pouvoir justifier cette redistribution qui s'était construite sur l'universalisme des droits. Universalisme profondément érodé par les transformations apportées à l'État-providence. Ainsi il convient de s'interroger sur la portée pratique que le principe d'équité peut offrir afin de réduire les inégalités de situation et favoriser de nouveau une justice redistributive. La première section de la communication présentera la signification des principes d'égalité et d'équité en fonction de leur apport potentiel à une réévaluation de la redistribution sociale. La deuxième section portera sur l'évolution de ces principes en examinant différents rapports gouvernementaux qui ont marqué la mise en place et l'érosion des programmes sociaux au Canada. Enfin, les énoncés gouvernementaux récents seront évalués en tenant compte de leurs possibilités quant à la mise en place d'une justice redistributive équitable. La méthode utilisée sera l'analyse de contenu des différentes propositions gouvernementales quant aux programmes et mesures dirigés vers les enfants et les familles. Ce projet s'inscrit dans les différents débats qui visent d'une part, à revoir les principes de redistribution sociale dans un contexte de démembrement de l'État-providence et de mondialisation (par exemple, Van Parijs, 1995; Rice et Prince, 2000; Rothstein, 2001) et, d'autre part, à présenter des alternatives aux modèles libéraux et communautaristes de recherche de justice et de solidarité redistributive (par exemple, Cornell, 1998; Shklar, 1995). Enfin, cette communication se situe directement dans mes différents intérêts de recherche, ayant analysé les mesures envers les familles au Canada et dans différentes provinces, les politiques de l'enfance à risque en Ontario et en Alberta, ainsi que les propositions de création d'une politique nationale de garde des enfants.

Bernier, Luc et Garon, Francis - De l'usage fait des données sur les privatisations : entre statistiques et idéologie

Les privatisations furent une des premières manifestations de ce qui est devenu le nouveau management public. L'État a été remis en cause par les critiques montantes de l'État providence, les difficultés budgétaires, la mondialisation, etc. Après l'élection de Margaret Thatcher, de nombreux économistes se sont lancés à expliquer que l'entreprise privée était nettement supérieure à l'entreprise publique. L'exemple anglais allait servir à de nombreux gouvernements qui voulaient privatiser, alléchés par les rentrées d'argent qui leur permettaient d'équilibrer leurs budgets ou mus par la même idéologie. La Banque mondiale allait suivre cet exemple et pousser de nombreux pays à vendre leurs entreprises publiques. Ce débat n'est pas éteint. Se basant sur une comparaison des résultats trois ans avant et après la vente, Boardman, Laurin et Vining (CJAS, juin 2002) considèrent que les entreprises privatisées ont obtenu des résultats nettement supérieurs à ceux obtenus avant la privatisation. Les travaux de Parker, Martin et al. avaient pourtant démontré que justement trois ans est la période où il semble y avoir un impact. Ensuite les résultats s'estompent. Qui plus est, la littérature sur la Grande-Bretagne qui demeure le cas le mieux documenté ont tendance à considérer de petites cohortes d'entreprises où les cas d'échec suite à une privatisation sont aussi nombreux que les cas de réussite. Nous proposons en utilisant des données canadiennes et britanniques de reprendre les études sur le sujet. Nos travaux préliminaires nous portent à croire que c'est qui dirige ces entreprises et non leur propriété qui est la variable la plus importante pour expliquer leur performance. Ce sont les équipes de direction qui transforment la performance de ces entreprises. On peut donc penser qu'en améliorant leur gestion, on peut améliorer la performance de ces entreprises. Nos travaux nous portent à croire que c'est l'entrepreneurs des gestionnaires qui est le facteur déterminant. Nous proposons donc une relecture des travaux empiriques sur la privatisation en faisant l'hypothèse que c'est le changement de direction avant ou après la privatisation et non celle-ci qui détermine le changement de performance s'il y en a un.

Berzins, Chris - Trust and International Relations Theory: Between Risk and Relationship Management

Despite a surge in the study of trust in the social sciences in the last decade, trust has yet to be explored comprehensively in the discipline of International Relations. The work that has been done on trust internationally has not drawn systematically from the trust literature in other disciplines and has inadequately integrated the concept of trust into the broader debates in IR theory. Further, work on trust in IR has focused largely on the rational choice approach, largely neglecting constructivist, normative and other important theoretical considerations. In this thesis, an exploration of the role of trust in IR is undertaken. In particular, a framework is developed for the study of trust in IR which draws from psychology, sociology, economics and other disciplines while unravelling and evaluating some of the similarities and differences relevant to an IR perspective. The concept and potential dynamics of trust are also tentatively situated within

the con! text of IR theory, including: the basic tenets of classical realism and liberalism; the broadening of the discipline to include a range of state and non-state international actors and behaviour; the methodological shifts towards structural, constructivist, and normative accounts of IR; and the growth in popular interest and study of a diversity of international phenomena subsumed under the term globalisation. Beyond the framing of the concept trust in IR, the more general goal of this thesis is to problematize trust internationally and to create linkages with the contemporary debate on globalisation.

Best, Jacqueline - Moral Economies: The Normative Subtext of the New International Financial Architecture
The legitimacy of international financial organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the Bank of International Settlements rests in part on their claims to efficiency, expertise and, above all, neutrality. The current move to develop a "new financial architecture" in response to the persistent crises of the 1990s is no exception to this trend: IMF representatives characterize both the causes of the crises and their solutions as purely technical—what is needed, they suggest, is better data, more cautious risk-assessment, and more transparent domestic institutions—all under the guidance of the Fund. Yet a closer look at the recent statements of IMF leaders reveals a growing use of far more morally-laden rhetoric, as they characterize their enterprise as one of "civilizing globalization." This paper seeks to examine the moral underpinnings of the call for a new financial architecture. By studying recent scholarship on the subject, together with statements from the IMF, the BIS and the G-10, I hope to answer three questions: what is the nature of their moral claims? Do they differ from those underpinning previous governance strategies? And if so, why has this shift occurred when it has? By answering these questions, this paper seeks to develop a better understanding not only of the stakes of this most recent governance project but also, more importantly, of the general logic of financial governance strategies—and the perverse dependence of technical solutions on the force of moral persuasion.

Bhandar, Davina - Orientalism as a Mode of Political Inquiry
In this paper I examine the possibilities of uprooting the orientalist structures that inform western political theory and the modes through which political theory is taught. By examining occidentalist orientations of the modes of western political theory, I hope to open for conversation how representations of the "other" is reproduced in seemingly innocuous ways, and how this reproduction re-asserts forms of a racist discourse. I propose examining a pedagogy that places this occidentalist framework at the centre of the western political theoretical tradition so that we may open for conversation the ramifications of this mode of inquiry. This paper takes into account the shifts within post-colonial theoretical approaches and their influences within the discipline of political science. I do not want to simply reproduce the "cannon" as a monolithic and homogenous political project, but rather I would like to propose different sets of questions that might be used to examine the "Great Books" cannon as it is taught within many Canadian Political Science programs.

Bilodeau, Antoine - The Origins of Political Trust: Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories Within the Immigrant Population in Canada
There are two competing explanations for the origins of political trust. First, cultural theories state that trust is exogenous to political institutions; trust is primarily the results of early-life socialization (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1997). Second, institutional theories state that trust is endogenous to institutions; support is dependent upon the performance of institutions (Coleman 1990; Hetherington 1998). Which of these two explanations better explains people's level of trust in political institutions? One way to answer the question is to examine how people's level of trust changes when they are confronted to a new set of institutions. Mishler and Rose (2001) followed that strategy in their study of trust in new democratic institutions in post-communist societies. Immigrants from non-democratic countries who voyage to democratic countries also discover new institutions. This paper evaluates whether cultural or institutional explanations better account for levels of trust among immigrants from non-democratic countries in Canada. Data are drawn from the 1982 Immigrant Survey that provides samples of immigrants from non-democratic (N=354) and democratic countries (N=411), and of people born in Canada (N=296). The paper proceeds in two steps. First, it compares the aggregate levels of trust among immigrants from non-democratic countries and people socialized in democratic environments (people born in Canada and immigrants from democratic countries). If immigrants from non-democratic countries exhibit weaker levels of trust in Canadian institutions than people socialized in a democracy, the implication is that trust is exogenous to institutions; immigrants who were distrustful of their former regime are also distrustful of Canadian institutions. In that case, cultural explanations prevail. But if immigrants from non-democratic countries exhibit levels of trust similar to those of people socialized in a democracy, it suggests that trust is endogenous to political institutions. The performance of Canadian institutions better explains trust among immigrants. Immigrants from non-democratic countries and people socialized in a democracy exhibit equal levels of trust because they evaluate to the same institutions. The second step uses multivariate analyses at the individual level to assess whether indicators of government's performance or of pre-migration socialization better predict trust among immigrants from non-democratic countries. If indicators of pre-migration socialization better explain trust, the implication is that trust is exogenous to political institutions. But if indicators of government's performance better predict trust, it suggests that trust is endogenous to political institutions.

Bird, Karen - Political Representation of Women and Minorities: A Framework for Comparative Analysis
This paper is part of a larger project to examine in a comparative context recent attempts to make elected legislative assemblies more inclusive and representative of women and ethnic minorities. This paper presents a survey of country approaches to women's and ethnic minority representation, including countries in Europe and North America, as well as

Australia and New Zealand. We distinguish between, on the one hand, quotas and similar measures intended to increase representation within central institutions, and on the other hand, measures which grant a certain level of territorial autonomy to regional ethnic groups. Using the information assembled through the country survey, the paper proposes an analytic framework for understanding the factors that facilitate group representation in politics, as well as the factors that produce higher and lower levels of representation for certain groups. The paper focuses on aspects of democratic governance, the design and openness of representative institutions, as well as the roles of civil society organizations in the participation, representation, mobilization and integration of women and ethnic minorities. We pay particular attention to linkages between feminist mobilization and ethnic mobilization around the issue of political representation. To what extent have women's and ethnic groups become allies in demanding better political representation? Or, are the goals of increased political representation for women and ethnic minorities mutually incompatible? (For example, in France, it appears that "parité" for women has foreclosed the possibility of measures for increased representation for other groups. Alternatively, in Mexico, the "first minorities" rule has secured a stronger political presence for indigenous groups that tend to exclude women from the governing process.) Finally the paper suggests fruitful avenues for future inquiry, including closer comparative analysis of particular sets of countries.

Biro, Andrew - Ideology and Its Ecological Implications

This paper begins with the rather uncontroversial premise that the contemporary environmental crisis is one that is rooted in First World overconsumption, and the perhaps more controversial premise that this makes the crisis best understood as an ideological one. The latter premise rests on the claim that overconsumptionism is itself an ideology, and more precisely an ideological response to the so-called "end of ideology." Lacking a grounding in a community that is mobilized around a political project, citizens of contemporary advanced capitalist societies are increasingly able to understand "the good life" only as one of increased commodity consumption. It is only with an understanding of consumerism as a hegemonic ideology and hence as a dominant force in subject formation, that we can understand the seeming unwillingness to change in the face of mounting evidence of impending ecological catastrophe. With this in mind, this paper will explore the work of some 20th (and 21st) century theorists of ideology, including Adorno, Althusser, Jameson, Marcuse, and Zizek. With a few notable exceptions, these theorists have been primarily concerned with the category of ideology as one that can explain dynamics of class conflict (or lack thereof) and as a prism for focalizing contemporary culture. This paper seeks to turn the insights of these theorists more explicitly to concerns of human ecology, using their sophisticated understandings of ideology both as a means of understanding the ecological crisis and its seeming intractability, and as a means of excavating the conditions of possibility for a "post-consumerist" ideology, subject, and society to emerge. This paper is an extension of the work done for my doctoral dissertation: "Denaturalizing Ecological Politics: 'Alienation from Nature' from Rousseau to Marcuse" (York University: 2000). Using a similar array of 20th century continental theorists, the focus shifts from an examination of the human relationship with nature to the ideological underpinnings of these ecological-social relations.

Black, Martha - Health Care Reform and Regionalization in Nova Scotia in the 1990s

In the view of many Canadians, the health care system an integral part of their cultural, economic and political identity and has become an intrinsic aspect of the national purview. Nevertheless, the structural reality of this "seamless" icon has been perennially questioned. As a result of fiscal, demographic and political pressures, provinces have been forced to reassess the organizational and administrative dimensions of health care. Despite the mélange of ideas that emerged from the reform dialogue, it became widely acknowledged that the simultaneous integration of services and devolution of decision-making to regional and local bodies would yield a system that was more responsive and accountable to the medical needs of the community in question. Nova Scotia was one of the many provinces that embraced these tenets know as regionalization. In 1994, under the leadership of Liberal Premier John Savage, the province began a significant reconfiguring of its health care system. The removal of individual hospital boards and the creation of regional and community health boards signaled the adoption of regionalization as a provincial policy. Nevertheless, in 1999, the election of the John Hamm's Conservative government precipitated a second, albeit unexpected restructuring of the system. Hamm's displeasure with the administrative reality of regionalization became apparent when he vowed to eliminate RHBs and replace them with a system of nine district health authorities. The purpose of this study is two fold. My first imperative is to assess why the Hamm government was dissatisfied with the regionalization process thus far when the literature avers that policy makers and administrators should be pleased with the ensuing decentralization of decision-making authority. What went wrong with the regionalization process that led the Conservative government to feel it was necessary to abolish the four RHBs and replace them with a commensurate system of nine DHAs? Some pundits argue the DHAs are merely the RHB system under a different name. To assess the rationale behind Hamm's decision to restructure the province's health care system, various factors are analyzed including the desire to strengthen citizen participation, the influence of particular interest groups on policy making, the fiscal reality and the political and ideological motivations of the party in power. The combination of these factors prefaces the second, epistemological element in the thesis. Given the apparent frustration with the rolling out of the regional paradigm, does it make sense to talk about the theoretical underpinnings of regionalization as it appears in the literature? How useful is the term regionalization as a policy making strategy when it has failed to produce auspicious results in several jurisdictions in Canada? Does it produce a sound system of public administration or is the theory obsolete? While much of the evidence was assembled by perusing relevant primary and secondary sources such as government documents, newspaper articles and journal

articles, a significant portion of the data was derived from first-hand accounts of stakeholders from every constituency in Nova Scotia's health care community. Policy makers, practitioners and consumers revealed their impressions of the implementation and functioning of both the RHBs and DHAs by responding to an extended template of related questions. The distillation of these responses served as the basis from which the following aforementioned observations were made. Notwithstanding the flawed implications of its application, why are many policy makers still espousing the fundamentals of regionalization? This study serves to reinvigorate the discussion over a method of governance that may not be as viable or desirable in practice.

Bodnar, Cameron - Reconsidering Asymmetrical Federalism

In recent years, spurred by events such as the failure of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown agreements, the 1995 referendum in Quebec, the free trade agreements, the tensions created by both the successes and failures of treaty negotiations, a range of scholars have reflected critically on the nature of this problem. Many place prime responsibility for the impasse with the disinclination of English-Canada to consider formalizing the practice of asymmetry—where specific powers are devolved to a particular province or provinces. My paper engages this literature. Rather than focus on legitimizing specific reform proposals, however, 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 examine the history of intergovernmental relations in the post World War II era. Although the development of asymmetrical practices, through federal/provincial cost-shared financing arrangements in particular is well documented, a key feature remains relatively unexplored. Throughout this period, the provincial governments outside Quebec primarily concern themselves with regulating, or normalizing, federal intrusions into areas of provincial jurisdiction. In other words, unlike Quebec, and with important exceptions, they rarely question the legitimacy of the federal spending power. The terms of the Social Union Framework Agreement, of which Quebec is not a signatory, capture this contrast nicely. In conjunction with this, I draw upon aspects of recent debates in democratic theory, specifically those surrounding the concept of deliberative democracy. I apply its emphasis on expanding our understanding of the relationship between public discourse and political legitimation to the Canadian context, arguing that while it assists in explaining aspects of recent failures, its broader, normative, agenda calls into question, rather than reinforces, the usefulness of formalizing asymmetrical practices as an answer to the current impasse. To be more specific, I do not call into question the legitimacy of the concept of asymmetrical federalism. I merely ask whether, given the peculiar way in which asymmetrical practices developed in Canada, formalization will have the impact its proponents hope.

Boily, Frédéric - L'ADQ : un parti populiste ?

Depuis quelques temps, un nouveau joueur a fait une apparition remarquée sur la scène politique québécoise : l'Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ). Jusqu'à maintenant, les commentateurs politiques ont surtout insisté sur l'idée que le parti de Mario Dumont est résolument de droite et ce, parce que l'ADQ propose des solutions néo-libérales (taux d'imposition unique et privatisation) tout en mettant de côté l'option nationaliste. Or, l'idée de situer l'ADQ sur l'axe gauche/droite fait peut-être simplement masquer la «véritable nature» du parti, car elle ne permet pas vraiment de comprendre la séduction que certains électeurs éprouvent pour cette formation politique. Voilà pourquoi il me semble préférable, si l'on veut bien comprendre la spécificité de ce parti, d'opter pour un autre type d'analyse. Mon objectif, dans cette communication, est de montrer que la montée de l'ADQ doit être comprise à la lumière des mouvements populistes qui émergent un peu partout dans le monde occidental. Pour ce faire, le populisme sera défini comme un style politique qui peut se combiner, comme le dit Pierre-André Taguieff, autant avec une idéologie de droite que de gauche («Le populisme et la science politique. Du mirage conceptuel aux vrais problèmes», Vingtième siècle, revue d'histoire, octobre-décembre, 1997). C'est pourquoi le populisme peut se présenter aussi bien sous une forme identitaire que protestataire. Mais, peu importe la forme, on retrouve une profonde méfiance envers les «vieux» partis, une dénonciation de la coupure entre les «élites» et le «peuple» et un fort accent sur la figure du chef. Les populistes affirment aussi que les solutions aux problèmes sont simples et qu'elles peuvent être appliquées rapidement. En ce sens, explique Guy Hermet, le populisme est «anti-politique». (Les populismes dans le monde. Une histoire sociologique XIXe-XXe siècle, Fayard, Paris, 2001). À la lumière de ce cadre théorique, on soutiendra que l'ADQ véhicule un certain nombre de thèmes qui sont ceux des mouvements populistes contemporains. Mario Dumont, comme on le verra, dénonce les «vieux partis» et l'idée que le pouvoir est de plus en plus éloigné des gens alors que son parti est à l'écoute du peuple, plus particulièrement des régions. On verra aussi que, contrairement à ce que l'on avance, Mario Dumont et son chef n'ont pas totalement écarté le nationalisme et que son programme comporte toujours un fort contenu identitaire. En somme, que l'ADQ est le véhicule d'un profond sentiment de protestation du «peuple» contre les élites.

Boran, Idil - Consequentialism, Non-consequentialism, and Language Politics in Multination States

The purpose of this article is to examine linguistic accommodation in multinational states in relation to consequentialist and non-consequentialist conceptions of morality. Consequentialism is the view that says that an act is to be morally assessed by the total outcome it produces. A consequentialist theory first gives a principle for ranking overall states of affairs from best to worst from an impartial and agent-independent standpoint, then says that the right act in a given situation is one that will produce the highest ranking states of affairs (Scheffler 1982, 1988; Foot 1985). In political morality,

consequentialist theories hold that political institutions are to be assessed as viable (or non-viable) in relation to how well they produce the highest ranking overall outcome for society. Despite its intuitive appeal, consequentialism has been heavily criticised. One well-known non-consequentialist theory is one that includes deontological restrictions, stating that it is sometimes impermissible, from a moral point of view, to perform certain acts even when the overall consequences would be good. A deontological theory first identifies a set of guiding principles, then says that the right act in a given situation is to meet these principles even if the overall outcome is not the highest ranking states of affairs determined by the consequentialist. In political morality, deontological restrictions hold that political institutions are to be assessed in relation to how well they meet underlying principles of justice. In this article, we are interested in understanding how the distinction between consequentialism and non-consequentialism that includes deontological restrictions applies to language politics in multination states. We will argue that the moral justification of linguistic accommodation through the territorial principle has to be decidedly non-consequentialist and include deontological restrictions. We will also show that this matches a distinction made by Philip Pettit between promoting and honouring a value. We will defend a non-consequentialist understanding of just linguistic coexistence through federalism, while recognizing that the consequentialist moral conception has intuitive appeal. We will then examine language rights debates in Canada in light of our analysis and will argue that Quebec's language policy is defensible as a non-consequentialist conception of political morality as we have defined it. Although there has been an interest in normative questions regarding language rights by political theorists lately (e.g. Kymlicka 2001, Van Parijs 2000, 2002, Karmis 2002, Patten 2001, Boran 2001 etc.), there is no formulation in the political theory literature of a defence of language rights for territorially defined national minorities as a decidedly non-consequentialist moral theory. Our analysis, if sound, will not only construct a justification for linguistic autonomy in multination federations on robust moral grounds, but it will also shed new light on an old debate in moral philosophy.

Bottomley, Samuel - Beyond Crime Prevention and Public Safety: The Political Purposes of the Firearms Act

This paper examines the politics behind the passage of the 1995 federal Firearms Act, by far the toughest gun control legislation ever to become law in Canada. Referring to a variety of approaches, including historical institutionalism and public policy analysis, this paper explores the political motivations of the Liberals in pursuing the gun control measures that became the Firearms Act and counters the prevailing view that the primary purpose of the Liberal government's gun control package was to promote public safety. While the goal of reducing gun-related crime was central to the rhetoric of those in favour of gun control, including the government, these concerns - which have been present throughout much of Canadian history - do not explain why the Firearms Act succeeded in 1995 when previous attempts at legislating strict gun controls failed. By examining archival material, the paper explores the historical evolution of the politics of gun control in Canada with the goal of explaining why it took until 1995 for a federal government to enact tougher gun laws given the longstanding support gun control has enjoyed from government leaders and the public. The paper considers the many factors that contributed to the passage of tougher gun control laws in the mid-1990s and concludes that strict gun control would not have become law if not for the result of the 1993 election, which transformed the federal party system. In this new political environment, gun control became, for the first time, an issue of strategic political value for the government that could be used against its new parliamentary rivals. While other factors were undoubtedly important, without the profound change in the parliamentary party system ushered in by the 1993 election, it is unlikely that such strong gun control would have been proposed or become law. The paper argues that in addition to providing the Liberals with short-term political gains, there was also an ideological motive behind the Firearms Act, which contributed to the government's resolve on the issue. This paper is part of a larger research project dealing with the issue of gun control both in Canada and internationally and is the subject of my Ph.D. thesis, which provides a comprehensive examination of the gun control issue in Canada.

Bouchard, Geneviève and Carroll, Barbara Wake - Why do Public Policy Differ? A Framework for Distinguishing Between Policy Areas

It is not a coincidence that some policies and programs are very similar across countries over time. Theories of policy convergence and policy transfer can account for some but not all of these similarities. In this paper, we argue that policy areas vary in systematic ways from each other, which has implications for policy and program design. Drawing upon organisational contingency theory, we develop a model which suggests that there are certain inherent policy characteristics which effect the structural characteristics of policies and their outcomes including unintended consequences. The first part of the paper outlines a framework of nine policy characteristics which differentiate policy. These characteristics are: complexity, compression, coupling both external and internal, decision points, homogeneity, resonance, technology and visibility. After outlining the interaction among variables (policy characteristics, policy discretion, structural characteristics of policies and programs and unintended consequences), we then apply the model to four policy areas: transportation, immigration, health and housing. These policy areas were chosen because: 1) they differ on nearly all the characteristics; and 2) we argue that our model can explain the relative success of Canadian immigration and health policies and the relative lack of success of Canadian housing and transportation policies. In the conclusion, we suggest ways in which the model could be applied to other policy areas and could undergo more rigorous qualitative testing.

Boudreau, Julie-Anne - Reflections on Theories of Urban Social Movements: A Comparison of Los Angeles, Montreal, and Toronto

In light of this year's conference theme, it is interesting to reflect on theories and practices of urban social movements. In the 1980s, Castells characterized their aim as 'changing urban meaning', producing a city organized around use values, autonomous local cultures and decentralized participatory democracy. He argued that there was a multiplication of urban actors as the result of a new mode of capitalist development, based more on information than industrial production. For Castells, an urban movement can only be 'reactive', it cannot "be a social alternative, only the symptom of a social limit" (Castells 1983: 327). Castells's distinction between urban movements (UM) and urban social movements (USM) has raised numerous debates in the 1980s. USM theories ask at what point, and why do city dwellers mobilize with transformative aims. This paper discusses the relevance of such theories in light of contemporary local autonomy movements in Los Angeles, Montreal, and Toronto. In the three cities, claims for local autonomy have gained momentum in the mid-1990s, whether in the form of secessionism or resistance to amalgamation. While we would not normally see this as transformative social movements, the strength of their mobilization, their repertoire of action, their networks, and mostly their discourses and transformative goals, highlight their importance in a context of city-regional political, social, and economic restructuring. In other words, the paper suggests that, given the centrality of urban processes in a general context of state and economic restructuring, urban movements claiming autonomy, democracy, and quality of life, have to be considered as full-fledged transformative social movements. Indeed, based on a discourse analysis and extensive research conducted in the three cities, it is proposed that more than being merely reactive, these movements put forward a socio-political alternative (both on the right and on the left). Building on specific interpretations of local democracy, they hope to cope with the demographic, economic and political processes that have radically transformed city-regions in the past decade. This conclusion calls for a reconsideration of Castells' differentiation between urban movements and urban social movements. How, in an increasingly globalized and urbanized world, can these theories be adapted to contemporary urban social movement practices and related to other recently fashionable bodies of literature on governance, the social economy, and state restructuring? Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grass-roots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. London, Edward Arnold.

Bow, Brian - Getting into the Cracks: Comparing Canadian and Mexican Strategies for Influencing US Policy

Research on international bargaining often refers to the idea that the fragmentation of policy-making in the United States invites (or compels) less-powerful states to try to "get inside" the American system, by cultivating tactical cross-border alliances with powerful governmental and non-governmental actors. But there has as yet been little attention to the question of variation in the institutional adaptations and diplomatic strategies that different states pursue in trying to penetrate the American political system and influence American policy. Why do some states "play the Washington game" differently than others, and what difference does that make for their ability to influence US policy? A comparison of recent Canadian and Mexican efforts to influence US policy stands out as a promising starting point for exploring these questions. Each is attached to the US by a web of social and economic inter-penetration and interdependency, which generates bases for both vulnerability and leverage in bilateral bargaining. And they are now tied to the US, and each other, by the NAFTA agreements, which go well beyond lifting restrictions on trade, to set limits on, and set up institutional machinery to resolve disputes over, a variety of policy areas. There have also been a number of formal and informal policy coordination agreements over the last ten years, which further broaden and deepen the de facto integration of the three countries. These dynamics have driven changes in the way that both Canada and Mexico engage with the US, and there has been some convergence of their strategies over time, but there are still some important differences in their basic approaches. Since the early 1980s, the Canadian government seems to have shifted away from its post-war reliance on informal elite networks, particularly bureaucratic networks, and diverted some of its energies toward accessing the American system at a wider variety of points, by directly lobbying Congress and various regulatory agencies, and by cultivating transnational alliances with US societal and bureaucratic actors. Organizational reforms have streamlined and extended the Canadian government's capacity as a "player" in Washington, and strengthened the embassy as a vehicle for collecting information and coordinating lobbying efforts. The Mexican government, on the other hand, has continued to be relatively inclined to formal, inter-governmental bargaining, with a relatively ad hoc approach to the pursuit of transnational alliances, and a less-developed embassy system. The rise of a new generation of US-trained Mexican politicians and bureaucrats has generated momentum for a gradual shift toward the cultivation of the kinds of bureaucratic network connections and aggressive lobbying pursued by Canada, but that momentum has been frustrated by the enduring hierarchy and clientelism of the Mexican government and by the conservative organizational culture of the Mexican foreign ministry. What accounts for the partial convergence and the continuing differences between Canadian and Mexican strategies for influencing US policy? How is knowledge about the structure and shifting alignments of the American political system, and about the emergent "continental" institutional structure, acquired and utilized by the two governments? What risks and rewards are associated with moving toward an "insider" strategy? How have the differences in Canadian and Mexican strategies affected their respective successes and failures in influencing US policy, particularly on issues where their interests overlap (e.g., trade, energy, environment, relations with Cuba)?

Boyer, J. Patrick - Expanding Horizons for Public Policy Review: Reconsidering the Role of Citizens, the Case of the Underground Royal Commission

With 75 years of hindsight on the Canadian political scene, it can be seen that public policy formation has come to be significantly supplemented by public policy thinktanks and special interest resource centres outside the traditional structures of departmental policy development within government. Taking stock of the present situation in Canada and expanding to a future horizon, it can be seen that uncertainty about the proper role of the individual citizen in this context is a matter requiring focused analysis and re-thinking. Recent political science surveys in Canada reveal trendlines of diminishing citizen participation in the traditional political processes of the country. In addition to the decline in voter turnout, decline in party membership (especially among younger Canadians) and active participation in the underground economy by a growing number of citizens, does the emergence of alternate and additional structures for public policy formation in Canada hold new promise, or add further peril, for the participatory role of individual citizens? A novel Canadian response to the plethora of royal commissions and other policy studies over the past two decades was the formation of the 'Underground Royal Commission'. In the seven years of its subterranean policy work in Canada, the diverse members affiliated with the Underground Royal Commission, including a great number of younger Canadians fresh out of university, conducted some 436 interviews, collected on videotape the experiences and insights of men and women in government, in business, in journalism, in the military, in the schools, on the farms and in the coffee shops, as well as cattle ranchers in the West, sawmill operators in New Brunswick, wheat farmers on the Prairies, east coast fishermen, Alberta oilmen, nationalists in Quebec, and government officials behind the scenes. They produced more than 600 hours of research on videotape. They have written 16 books based on findings, which are currently being published by Dundurn Press. A university course has been developed based on this material and offered for three years through distance education. Some 24 hours of television documentary programming has also been produced, some of it shown on Access TV in Alberta, PBS in the United States, and Global Television Network. Most of the television documentaries will be broadcast beginning January 2003. This paper will examine the role and importance of the Underground Royal Commission as a new form of public policy review and evaluation in Canada. It is citizen-based and non-governmental. Its members invented an approach, a methodology and a style which does not compete with anyone else's turf, because it is unique. What the Commission found, in a sentence, is that Canada's governing institutions are not functional if Canadians wish to be winners in the 21st Century. A fulsome review and discussion of this Underground Royal Commission phenomenon is a worthy litmus test for Canadian political scientists to consider on the 75th anniversary and the opportunity it presents for taking stock of our institutional practices and their functional viability as seen through the eyes of citizens.

Brickner, Rachel K. - The Changing Significance of Organized Labor and its Impact on the Development of Women's Citizenship Rights in Mexico

In this paper I explore how changes in Mexico's strategies for economic development—from the period of import-substituting industrialization (ISI) to the neoliberal period—have affected the ability of labor unions to serve as a mobilizing force for women's citizenship rights. I argue that while neoliberal economic reform has eroded many of the rights that Mexican workers gained during the ISI period, the negative consequences of this reform have sparked an upsurge in the activities of Mexican and international labor organizations that has raised awareness of the challenges facing women workers and the legal reforms necessary to ensure that their participation in the labor force is unconstrained. In the context of the Mexico government's current effort to reform the Federal Labor Law, I will examine whether this resurgence in union activity is sufficient to win women greater citizenship rights despite the Mexican government's continuing commitment to the neoliberal project. Moreover, I will examine factors contributing to the success or failure of this union activity in order to analyze the extent to which labor movements maintain importance in the struggle for women's citizenship rights in Mexico. My analysis will be based on data collected from interviews with leaders and members of women's labor organizations and policy makers from the ISI and neoliberal periods of Mexican economic history. I will also draw data from archival research into legislative records, labor laws, and court decisions in these two periods. This paper is part of a larger dissertation project exploring the question of how different forms of economic development policy affect the development and deepening of women's citizenship rights, and as a consequence, the development of democracy, by shaping the political power of civil society. It builds on the work of O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) and Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens (1992), who discuss the importance of organized labor and the working class in democratic transitions. It also builds on the work of Williams (2001) and Oxhorn (forthcoming), who discuss the impact of economic development on the effectiveness social movements. However, my project fills a gap in these literatures both by exploring the relationship between economic development, civil society, and citizenship, and by exploring the gender dimension of these themes. Thus, this project can be located in broader research areas, including democratization, globalization, economic transitions, and! gender.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel - NAFTA, Economic Integration, and September 11, 2001: Is There a Security Issue for Canadian-American Cross-Border Urban Regions

This paper compares political and institutional mediation of economic integration of three Canadian/American metropolitan cross-border regions -- Windsor-Detroit (Ontario-Michigan), Niagara (Ontario-New York), Vancouver/Seattle (British Columbia/Washington) -- with one American/Mexican border region: San Diego/ Tijuana (California/Mexico) trying to address the following set of questions: Does free trade, and particularly does economic regional and cross border integration lead by a process of local functional interdependency to cross-border linkage, or in the contrary, does the September 11, 2001 traumatic act, lead central governments to "re-center policy" as federal governments' executive role

may have been reaffirmed? Despite the security threat, functionalist theories would imply that cross border co-operation would stem from economic integration: however, the urban political economy literature suggests, on the contrary, intra-regional competition. Is the security agenda transforming how politics and institutions mediate this process? Moreover, is the functional nature of the Canadian and Mexican American borders changing when compared to borders with the rest of the world? Hence, neo functionalists might qualify the functionalist competition-co-operation argument by pointing to the importance of supra national institutions and policy spill over suggesting that federal government would increase cooperation and expand the role of supra national security agency; realist theories of international relations, however, would suggest that states protect their frontiers and the monopoly of international links and enhance their border control. Based on qualitative analysis of data and information and 25 interviews, this paper suggests that economic integration and security collide leading to a transformation of border functions. The functions of the Canadian-American border and the Mexican-American border are modified as central governments increase international cooperation, which affects border communities.

Burt, Sandra, Campbell, Sharon, Nykiforuk, Candace, Mayhew, Linda and Kawash, Beth - Understanding the Policy Process at the Local Level: The Role of Issue Framing in Environmental Tobacco Smoke Bylaw Development

In this paper we report our findings from an analysis of environmental tobacco smoke (ETS) bylaw development in the Region of Waterloo. We evaluate the importance of issue framing vis-a-vis a range of other variables that may affect the bylaw process, including the nature of the policy network, the social and political environment, strategies, and resources, in order to assess the relative significance of issue framing. Specific aims are to: (a) determine the types of frames introduced during the ETS policy process, (b) determine how different frames influence policymaker views and decisions about proposed ETS legislation, and (c) explore the interplay of variables that may affect the bylaw process including the nature of the policy network, social and political environments, strategies and resources used by stakeholder groups. We base our analysis on semi-structured interviews carried out in 2002 with stakeholders in the Waterloo Region who were actively involved in the bylaw development process. In our paper, we discuss as well some of the methodological challenges associated with carrying out 'real time' qualitative research in a municipal policy environment. The research team has identified several methodological challenges involved with undertaking high-quality, meaningful, 'real-time' qualitative research in a municipal policy environment. Issues include: accessing 'key' players in the policy process, facilitating participant recall in retrospective case studies, design of interview schedules appropriate to the politically sensitive nature of the topic, credibility in the community, case selection, and development of an analysis framework that captures the unique complexity and dynamic nature of the process in each community. This report is part of a three year project (funded by the National Cancer Institute of Canada) that examines how different framings or representations of the issue of ETS affect policymakers' views on and policy decisions about the adoption of a municipal ETS bylaw. In the larger project, we are comparing the process of bylaw development in nine communities in each of Ontario and Alberta.

Butko, Thomas, J. - Gramsci and the Fate of Counter-hegemonic Movements: The Case Study of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)

Between May 1995 and December 1998, the OECD countries unsuccessfully attempted to negotiate the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, a wide-ranging agreement that would have significantly liberalized existing rules in the area of foreign direct investment. Yet, when a leaked draft of the agreement came to public attention in February 1997, a plethora of NGOs (non-governmental organizations), including representatives from the environmental movement, labour unions, human rights organizations, and national groups came forth to criticize the agreement. The combined strength of over 600 organizations in more than 70 countries helped to eventually stall negotiations that were officially ended with France's withdrawal in late 1998. This examination is less a normative evaluation on whether the actions of the NGOs were a positive or negative development in and of themselves, and will instead focus on analyzing the evolution and circumstances of this particular case study within a Gramscian framework. Over the past decade, there has been a significant growth in research that employs a Gramscian framework to study both international relations and, more specifically, international political economy (e.g., Cox, Gill, Rupert, Murphy). While not a coherent theory per se, the principal aim of these scholars has been to utilize various Gramscian concepts - civil society, "common sense", "historic bloc" - to present an alternative approach through which to conceptualize the study of IPE. Thus, various "Gramscian" theorists have sought to question the epistemological and ontological dominance of neorealist and liberal thinkers within this subfield. More specifically, I will focus on Gramsci's ideas regarding counter-hegemony as it applies to the case study of the MAI. In that sense, can the groups that came together - albeit temporarily to fight against the perceived difficulties and injustices with the MAI - be most accurately conceptualized within a Gramscian framework? Clearly, the success of the NGOs were contingent on their ability to globalize or transnationalize civil society in their battle against the MAI. Due to their ability to frame the discourse of the MAI as a clear and immediate threat to the public through its lack of transparency and potential undermining of state autonomy, these groups were successful in changing the "common sense" of the corporate elite into the "good sense" of the people. Through a "war of position" - letter-writing campaigns, petitions, and public demonstrations, including new opportunities presented by the World Wide Web - the NGOs were able to win over the masses and gain their consent by criticizing the ideas and attacking the ideological superstructures of the hegemonic powers (i.e., historic bloc) represented by MNCs, global finance, and export-oriented business. A clear problem for the Marxist or Critical School, especially in the post-Soviet era, has been its failure to theoretically conceptualize how the worst excesses of capitalism and the neo-liberal assault on the international global economy can

be tempered by ideas of a more just and egalitarian system. In fact, one could argue that the divisions within the Marxist tradition are not rooted in the perceived ends (i.e., a more "just" and equal society), but in the means through which to achieve these aims. I believe that a Gramscian framework concentrating on the practical elements necessary for the construction of a counter-hegemonic force and its focus on the superstructure, or the level of ideas, as the battleground for any future conflict offers those who fear not liberalism, but the unchecked power of business and the corporate elite, the best chance to theoretically and practically analyze the battles and confrontations still to come.

Cameron, John - Democratization and the Local State in Latin America

Studies of state building, democratization and of the role of governments in the promotion of social and economic development in Latin America, and the developing world generally, have traditionally focussed on the national level. However, in the context of the decentralization of national governments now widely promoted by international and national policy makers, scholars must also analyse processes of democratization and state building at the municipal level much more carefully than they have in the past. Although municipal governments in Latin America have become much more important, they have only recently begun to emerge from years of neglect in studies of democratization and development. Moreover, no systematic methodological framework has yet developed for analyzing either municipal democratization or the highly varied developmental capacities of municipal governments in the region. To date, most studies of municipal governments in Latin America have worked from a methodological perspective focussed on questions of institutional design and political strategy, generally in isolation from local level social, economic, and historical factors. Based on field research conducted in Ecuador and Bolivia, as well as a critical reading of secondary literature on municipal governance in other Latin American countries, this paper proposes an alternative methodological framework for explaining the significant variations in democratic governance and administrative capacity among municipal governments in the region. In particular, it draws from the work of scholars who have emphasized socio-economic power relations to explain processes of democratization at the national level in order to develop a methodological framework for analysing processes of democratization at the municipal level. The paper focuses primarily on municipal governments in rural areas and places emphasis on patterns of land and asset ownership, historical patterns of economic development and civil society organization, interventions by external actors - especially non-governmental organizations, as well as questions of institutional design and political strategy to explain variations in municipal governance. The paper is based on SSHRC-funded research for my PhD dissertation on municipal democratization in rural Ecuador and is also the starting point for a post-doctoral research project on municipal democratization in the Andean region of Latin America.

Camfield, David - The Politics of Municipal Public Sector Restructuring and Collective Bargaining: The Case of Toronto 2002

This paper will analyse contemporary processes of change in the municipal public sector in Canada through the prism of the developments leading up to the strikes by Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Locals 79 and 416 in Toronto in 2002, and the strikes themselves. Toronto's municipal public sector is being reengineered as this second-tier global city with a key economic role in Canada moves in the direction of becoming, in the words of Stefan Kipfer and Roger Keil, a "competitive city." The paper will examine changes in program delivery, employment relations and work organization taking place in the City of Toronto, including those resulting from the Alternative Service Delivery review initiated in 2001. It will also explore developments within the two large unions of City of Toronto workers, CUPE Locals 79 and 416. Clarifying the agendas of the "megacity" government and the City's major unions, as well as the structural and policy influences conditioning them, I will make it possible to develop a serious assessment of the strikes by over 20 000 municipal employees in the summer of 2002 (only two years after a previous strike by CUPE 79). On the basis of this inquiry, the paper will discuss the trajectory of labour-management relations in Toronto's municipal public sector and its implications for public policy makers, public sector unions and urban residents in Toronto and beyond. Research for this paper will be based on interviews (for which my existing contacts in Toronto public sector unions will be of value), primary sources, and studies carried out by university, government, and non-governmental organization researchers. Theoretically, the inquiry will be informed by recent work on public sector restructuring, urban political economy, the political economy of the state, and the political sociology of labour. Very little published research exists on the politics of contemporary restructuring in Canada's highly-unionized municipal public sector. This paper will a) suggest the importance of scholarly research on the role of collective bargaining and unions within the process of municipal restructuring and b) develop a preliminary analysis of these issues in the context of Toronto. This paper will be an initial consideration of issues that I intend to investigate in greater detail in a program of research for which I have applied for SSHRC funding.

Carroll, Barbara Wake, Carroll, Terrence and Ohemeng, Frank - Is There a Third World Policy-making Process

Donald Horowitz originally asked this question in a special edition of Policy Sciences in 1989. His response was equivocal and no one has seriously addressed the issue since. The developmental literature such as the work of Grindle and Thomas (1989, 1991) write as if the process was either implicitly different or ignores the policy-making process entirely as it is assumed that the policy agenda for developing countries is largely set by external aid agencies and donors. Thus much of this literature focuses on implementation and public sector management rather than policy-making process (McCourt and Minogue, 2001) The paper argues that policy does get made in developing countries and that the policy making process, because it is essentially a function of group decision-making processes, is the same as the process used

in developed countries. The weighting of some of the variables in the process is different but this is true within developed countries across policy areas and across developed countries too. The first section of the paper outlines the policy-making process based upon the behavioural theories of decision-making associated with Herbert Simon, Richard Cyert and James March, and James D. Thompson (1948; 1965; 1967). The second part reviews the admittedly sparse literature on the policy making process in three developing countries: Botswana, Ghana and Mauritius based upon some 100+ field interviews carried out by the authors in the three countries between 1991 and 2002. The findings are important as it makes it possible for policy transfer to take place to developing countries of some of the considerable literature on public policy which has been amassed in Western developed democracies over the past two decades.

Carson, Jonathan and Smith, Charles W. - Dialogue, Monologue or Something Else: The Charter and Democracy
Hogg and Bushell (1997) proposed the dialogue approach to Charter of Rights decisions in response to the likes of Mandel (1994) and Morton and Knopff (2000) who assert (for directly opposed ideological reasons) that the Charter represents the handing over of political decisions to the unelected courts from elected representatives. Against that position, the dialogue approach argues that when the courts strike down a law, the legislature may choose to reverse, modify, or avoid their decision. Thus, a dialogue takes place in which the court may be seen as engaging the elected representatives in a process of legislative crafting. The thesis of the dialogue approach has come in for criticism from Manfredi and Kelly (1999, 2001) who suggest that the process detailed by Hogg and Bushell is not so much dialogue as it is legislative compliance. Similar is Morton and Knopff's argument that a Supreme Court decision creates a new policy status quo, which proves difficult for the legislature to escape. Alas, the dialogue approach has given rise to a response that characterizes communication between the court and legislature as a monologue. The paper proposed here takes a different track than the foregoing, in which the debate has been focused on whether the Charter curtails or extends democracy. The existing literature focuses its attention on instances when the Court and legislature disagree. Conversely, the argument advanced here begins by exploring the outcome for democracy when the Court and legislature agree. This approach, while seemingly obvious, raises the question of just what the Charter is doing to advance the cause of democracy. By taking into account all cases on which the Court pronounces, it will be argued that the dialogue argument goes too far in suggesting that the Charter always enhances democracy by providing for the "fair treatment of individuals and minorities" (Hogg 2001/2002). On the other hand, we will also disagree with Morton and Knopff's assertion that the Charter is resolutely undemocratic. As Hogg acknowledges, it has been argued by the likes of John Hart Ely (1980) that constitutional constraints can actually be supportive of democracy by securing the preconditions of democracy. While we agree that the Charter stabilizes the basic rights necessary for a functioning democracy, we will question whether or not this is the basis on which the Charter should be judged. We will suggest that the Charter is not best assessed as democratic or undemocratic. The argument will be put here will assert that the Charter is not contrary to democracy, nor is it necessarily supportive of democracy. Rather, the Charter will be seen as existing on a different plane: it is argued that the chief concern of the Charter is the facilitation of a liberal rights-based regime, in which democracy is not the overriding concern. This proposal fits well into the research interests of the authors. Jonathan Carson is currently pursuing a law degree at the University of Toronto, while on hiatus from doctoral studies at York University. His dissertation focuses on equality and democratic theory. Charles Smith is a Ph.D. candidate at York University, whose research interests focus on public law and public policy. Works Cited Hart Ely, John. (1980) *Democracy and Distrust: A Theory of Judicial Review*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Hogg P.W. "The Charter Revolution: Is It Undemocratic?" (2001/2002) *Constitutional Forum* 12. Hogg, P.W. and A.A. Bushell. (1997) "The Charter Dialogue Between Courts and Legislatures (Or Perhaps the Charter of Rights Isn't Such a Bad Thing After All)" *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 35. Mandel, Michael. (1994) *The Charter of Rights and the Legalization of Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson. Manfredi, Christopher P. and James B. Kelly. (1999) "Six Degrees of Dialogue: A Response to Hogg and Bushell" *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*. 37 Manfredi, Christopher P. and James B. Kelly. (2000) "Dialogue, Deference and Restraint: Judicial Independence and Trial Procedures" *Saskatchewan Law Review*. 64 Morton, Ted and Rainer Knopff. (2000) *The Charter Revolution and the Court Party*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Carty, Jarrett A. - The Hidden Republicanism in Machiavelli's Prince

The Hidden Republicanism in Machiavelli's Prince Notable scholars such as Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock have long asserted that Machiavelli is a reviver of ancient republicanism. Generally, the evidence of Machiavelli's republicanism is found in the Discourses. However this paper examines the republicanism found both in the Prince. The paper argues that the hidden republicanism in the Prince serves to counterbalance the extreme measures that necessity thrusts upon a prince if he is to survive; but more than this, the republicanism in the Prince also legitimates a prince's actions, and ultimately stabilizes his power. Yet this hidden republicanism is not only servile to the prince, but that in being consistent with the republicanism of the Discourses, the hidden republicanism in the Prince implies a viable popular participation in government.

Cashback, David - Risky Strategies? Putin's Reforms and Accommodation of Regionalism in the Russian Federation

The reforms to Russia's federal system undertaken by Russian president Vladimir Putin since he gained power in 2000 are widely considered to reverse the legacy of Boris Yeltsin's presidency during the 1990s. The practices during the Yeltsin years of engaging regions in para-constitutional and ad hoc bargaining and treaty-making led to the institutionalisation of varying degrees of institutional asymmetry and decentralisation. Many of Putin's changes came in

response to the perception that Russia's federal system was fragmented and anarchic. He set out to consolidate the centre's power throughout the country, by re-establishing a 'power vertical'. This paper addresses an aspect which has received little attention in scholarship on Russia's federal system, namely the effect these changes will have on the federation's capacity to accommodate regionalist pressures. Opposition is brewing in the regions, yet the centre's emphasis on direct lines of power that run unimpeded from the centre down through regional and municipal governments obscures an important function of federal governance, rendered even more important in a multinational, regionalized state such as Russia: the need for a balance between shared rule by a central government, and local self-rule through regional governments to facilitate the expression of regionally distinct identities. Through an analysis of the major legislative changes passed by the central government since 2000, as well as analysis of recent developments (forthcoming legislation on the reform of organs of local government, interventions by the centre in recent regional and national-level elections), the paper will demonstrate that the balance has tipped toward federal preponderance. The paper seeks to demonstrate that as a mean to accommodate regional demands, Putin has adopted potentially risky strategies to assert a strong central voice, to the detriment of mechanisms that promote a balance between intergovernmental relations and intra-governmental representation. Why does this matter? Much recent scholarship in the field of Russian politics, and especially Russian federal government, seeks to assess the nature and quality of Russia's federal system by examining the variance in policy outcomes under Yeltsin and Putin's regimes. Whilst it is undeniable that changes were needed, I suggest that it is important we not neglect to assess how Putin's changes affect Russian federalism's capacity to manage regional diversity and ensure a balance between diversity and unity. Furthermore, the analysis of Russia's experience in establishing and amending its federal system adds an important dimension to the comparative study of federal regimes.

Cashore, Benjamin, Auld, Graeme and Newsom, Deanna - The United States' Race to Certify Sustainable Forestry: Non-State Environmental Governance and the Competition for Policy Making Authority

In the past ten years non-state market driven (NSMD) governance systems have emerged in an array of sectors facing acute environmental and social issues including forestry, fisheries, coffee and food production. Commonly known as certification programs, these governance systems attempt to regulate firm level behaviour by bypassing tradition state level public policy processes, turning instead to the market's supply chain to create incentives to comply. There are two important themes in this regard. First, a discernible competition has emerged between environmental groups supported forest certification programs and more flexible industry "competitor" programs. Second, in some countries the environmental group supported programs are gaining support, while in others, industry programs dominate. This paper seeks to explore the competition within the United States forest sector– which stands out as the most polarized case of five countries we have reviewed: virtually all major forest companies support the industry certification program, despite significant preference for the environmental group program further down the supply chain. This paper seeks to explain general patterns of firm level support for forest certification, and why, despite preference for the FSC down the supply chain, the industry conception remains the preferred program. We do this by identifying key structural factors that mediate this competition for legitimacy, or rule making authority. We untangle a variety of dynamics by focusing on the factors that empower one program at the expense of another and by tracing the path dependencies developing from the decisions made early on during institution design and creation. We then assess, based on this evidence, the prospects of forest certification in addressing sustainable forestry in the US context.

Cassin, Marguerite - Gender and Herding Cats

Undertaking the academic side of university administration is a perilous business for all comers. It is, of course described by insiders as the work of herding cats. Many things are implied by such an account. One is that a deft hand, insider knowledge and the co-operation of the 'cats' is required to administer in the university setting. In view of this, and in view of the profoundly gendered character of the university, it is interesting to discover how women are doing at 'herding cats'. This paper explores gender and administration in the university and considers university-based observations in light of more extensive research on gender and management in the public sector in Canada. Of particular interest is a discussion of the relationships of women, men and power in seeking and achieving senior positions in the Canadian public service. In particular it identifies a key theme, which crosses the very different modes of management and administration in the two institutions is the complex and differing way in which women and men relate to the everyday practise of power, influence and knowledge of institutional relationships.

Castro-Rea, Julian - Between The Sword and the Wall: North America Under the National Security Strategy of the United States

OUTLINE: The events of September 11, 2001, created a new political environment in North America. From the outset, George Bush made clear to the world he will enhance US unilateralism; the new environment made this approach much stronger. From then on, the US focused on security concerns, diverting attention away from North American trilateral issues. The announcement of the National Security Strategy of the United States (NSSUS) in September 2002 only confirmed and formalised this trend. This reality has specific implications for Mexico and Canada. When the US decided to go after the alleged perpetrators of the attacks, President Bush framed the options left to the world in simple yet unambiguous terms: either you are with us or you are against us. Mexico and Canada were trapped within that framing. Canada decided to support the main US initiatives on the issue. This support was partially due to the close military co-operation Canada has developed with the US; but it was also the result of a strategic calculation to improve Canada's

profile in Washington and global influence. However, in the process, Canada put once again in jeopardy its prestige as peacekeeper, built over decades of commitment with multilateralism and peace. Mexico decided not to support the US military undertakings, tied by its traditional reluctance to participate in military operations outside its territory. This decision was not interpreted by the US government and mainstream analysts as a sovereign decision, coherent with Mexico's foreign policy doctrine and past behaviour. It was rather seen as a proof of that country's lack of commitment with North America. If Mexico was considered a privileged US partner until September 2001, the bilateral agenda stalled ever since. However, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Mexico's co-operation may become crucial to the multilateral endorsement of US plans. This paper will explore the implications for North America of this new situation; focusing on the NSSUS and the debate surrounding action against Iraq. **METHOD OF ANALYSIS:** Because of its politically sensitive nature, this paper will rely mostly on secondary sources (media coverage). Interviews with Canadian, Mexican and US policy-makers will still be attempted. **THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND RELATION TO EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP:** While its unfolding implications for global security have been widely discussed, much less has been written about the consequences for North America of the new US security approach. NSSUS is a stark statement that will face Canada and Mexico with radical choices about the co-operation they are willing to offer to the achievement of US objectives. This situation is a test both to US expectations of gradual policy harmonisation after NAFTA, and to the increased influence over the US Canada and Mexico have achieved thanks to enhanced continental interdependence. The proposed analysis will test whether realist or interdependence approaches are more useful to make sense of contemporary North American geopolitics. **PLACE WITHIN MY RESEARCH INTERESTS:** I teach and do research on North American politics. The proposed paper will allow me to explore the domestic and trilateral determinants of the current state of the asymmetrical relationship unfolding in North America.

Changfoot, Nadine - Recognition Versus Redistribution: The Canadian Context

An argument comes front and center, in a scholarly sense in the *New Left Review*, in the United States in the mid 1990s. The conflict was driven to a large degree by Nancy Fraser and Judith Butler, and it boils down to the following formulation: there are two overarching strategies for political change undertaken by social movements, the first is through the politics of recognition, and the second through the politics of redistribution. The first is associated with cultural politics informed by the demand for rights that are conceived to be largely disconnected from economic benefits and change in the organization of power relations, and the second is identified with political economy informed by the demand for meeting material need and the need for pervasive change in the organization of power relations. The debate has resonance in Canada because, like in the United States, Canadian social movements are struggling in the late 1990s with political strategy in the context of neoliberal governance, whereby, the state has effectively withdrawn resources that social movements drew upon for their sustenance, growth, and strength. Also, like in the US, in Canada there is the ongoing issue of mitigating division within and among social movements in juxtaposition to a general solidarity among social movements, a solidarity through a general consensus that orbits around the goal of social justice broadly conceived. Even though the recognition versus redistribution debate unfolds in the US, it has been generalized to Canada. The relevance of this debate is key for the Canadian women's movement, in particular, because the debate cast in the US speaks directly to the American women's movement. In so doing, the Canadian women's movement, as a women's movement which comprises many grassroots movements and is institutionally represented largely by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, comes under the same kind of scrutiny associated with the contentious division given new energy in the recognition versus redistribution dichotomy. Yet, I would like to demonstrate that political demands made during this period by the Canadian women's movement fit, neither accurately nor comfortably, the American mould. What I will do, first, is present Fraser's formulation of the debate, followed by Butler's critique of that (Fraser's) formulation. Just briefly, Fraser casts recognition in two distinct periods, the first in the 1990s, and the second in 2000. During the 1990s, Fraser understands recognition to be a cultural pluralism disconnected from material inequality where cultural differences are celebrated equally. More recently, Fraser adjusts her casting of recognition to include material inequalities by virtue of the need to change cultural values in institutions that would bring about a redistribution in social and economic benefits. Recognition, for Butler, on the other hand, is not narrowly conceived as free floating discourse detached from institutions or economic relations of production. Rather, the axis of recognition and redistribution separates what should be inseparable: social relations which are constituted by class, gender, sexuality, and race are integral to economic ones. As it stands, the distance between Fraser and Butler has decreased a significant amount, since they would appear to agree upon the need for recognition for making redistributive demands. It is this formulation of the debate that fits more accurately the Canadian experience of the women's movement. And, in addition, which is the contribution I'd like to make to the understanding of this debate. The strategies deployed within the Canadian women's movement have not made the same distinction between the cultural and economic that Fraser's first argument suggests. That is, recognition has largely been integral to redistribution, and redistribution has been integral to recognition. Proposed changes made by the women's movement have incorporated aspects of both recognition and redistribution, not one or the other, in part, because the demands made within law, policy, and the recommendations made for sustained state organizations addressing women's needs have been understood as including both.

Chapman, Debra - An Ideological Vote or a Vote for Change?: Mexico 1988-2000

The 1988 electoral campaign demonstrated a dramatic coming together of left wing political forces in Mexico. The official results gave the victory to the PRI, yet many argued that the PRD in fact won the elections in 1988. The presidential

elections of 2000 on the other hand resulted in what appeared to be a dramatic swing to the right with the defeat of the PRI by the PAN (an ultra right party with direct links to the church). My initial research question was what happened during this twelve year period to generate what appeared to be such a dramatic swing to the right. I hypothesized, in answer to this question, that the globalization process under the neo-liberal agenda had a direct influence on the electoral results in Mexico. Researchers such as Petras and Veltmeyer, Teeple, and Camp provide a theoretical analysis of neoliberalism which I have adopted for the framework of my paper. That is, that political and economic reforms have been introduced primarily to benefit U.S. interests, such as privatization of state enterprises, deregulation, cuts to social spending, trade deregulation, and tax reforms. My research revealed, however, how the integration of Mexico into the globalization process produced other unprecedented changes which empowered the electorate and facilitated change. In the summer of 2000 shortly after the elections I went to Mexico to interview people about their perceived explanations of the electoral results and what happened during this 12 year period. The interviews were based on open ended questions. Using a snowball sample, I began my exploratory research by contacting people in Mexico who then put me onto other contacts. According to the results of my study, globalization and neoliberalism per se had no effect on the electoral results. The results cannot be understood from the perspective of structural changes that took place in this twelve year period. Instead, according to the people interviewed, people voted for change, not for a particular ideology or party or candidate for what they might have to offer, but rather a vote to replace the long standing one party dictatorship of 71 years. My overall research interests lie in the political economy of Latin American countries in the context of neo-liberalism. I am particularly interested in social movements as a vehicle to invoke political change. I am also interested in the role of the state as an agent of global corporate expansion.

Chou, Chih-Chieh - China-Taiwan Relations in the 21st Century: Gradual Reunification or enduring Rivalry?

Relations between China (People's Republic of China) and Taiwan (Republic of China) seem to belie the assumption that the pursuit of economic interests is superseding political confrontation in the post-Cold War trend of globalization and regionalism. The two sides still disagree on how China should be reunified and on the international status of Taiwan before reunification takes place. These differences have been exacerbated by gradually democratic consolidation in Taiwan. This paper deals with the issue of cross-Taiwan Strait relations, with a particular focus on the unofficial negotiations between the both sides and on the key factors which influence on Beijing's reunification scheme and Taiwanese pro-independent orientation. I conduct process-oriented empirical analysis of inter-state political negotiations within a research framework allowing evaluation of domestic development within both Chinese states to establish the exact impact of political and economic factors on the course of China-Taiwan relations. The study begins with an analysis of the differences and similarities of discourses on the reunification between the two sides. Through reviewing the unofficial negotiations since the early 1990s, I examine the fundamental factors of political rivalry and economic complement between them. I then emphasize on the problems faced by both sides are capable of weakening both their preferred outcomes of cross-Taiwan Strait deadlock. My findings support three arguments: first, the development of nonofficial relations across the Taiwan Strait has not promoted the reunification. It has only prompted the two sides to open a channel of communication for solving practical problems. Under the impact of widening political gap between Beijing and Taipei, negotiations through this channel will probably favor a gradual normalization of economic relations, but any talks on reunification are unthinkable in such circumstances. Second, China's uncertainty and instability in political and economic dimensions make it impossible to force its unification formula on Taiwan in the foreseeable future. However, Taiwan also has vulnerable points which will probably prevent it from taking pro-independent position. Third, owing to diplomatic isolation and economic dependence, there is a danger that Taiwan society is beginning to suffer from psychological and political Finlandization. Overall, the crux of China-Taiwan relations and its significance on the post-Cold War international relations can only be grasped by highlighting the complexity of cross-Strait relations and interpreting it in process-oriented approach. Further studies are needed to monitor the interaction of economic pragmatism and political nationalism within the both sides.

Clark, Rebecca - Female Literacy Rates, Information Technology and Democracy

Social indicators play a role in the development of a country's economics and governmental practices. The complicated nature of a link between economic and social realities has created the field of international political economy. The connections between female literacy rates, information technology and democracy are theoretically diverse and obscured by intervening economic and social factors. However, one should not overlook the important role of women's education in the overall economic and political development of a country. Education makes it possible for women to exercise their rights and meet their aspirations for adequate livelihood, participation in political decision-making, and a fair chance in the modern economy for their families. At the same time, female education also impacts the economic sectors of the country. The education of women leads to their entrance into the skilled workforce, including the information technology sector, which then provides positive economic effects for the economy as a whole. The marginalization of women from the information technology sector represents an untapped resource for a growing workforce and economy. These changes in turn have an impact the democratization of nations. The democratic ideal derives from the assumption that no class of people has the right to dominate other classes. Information technology provides this opportunity to citizens of every nation, regardless of size or wealth. Countries which allow the free flow of information and technology across their borders demonstrate the true nature of democracy in practice. Therefore, the connection between communication information technology and democracy is based on information as much as economic factors. This study focuses on the theoretical

and statistical connections via a structured literature review and two-stage regression model which validates the thesis that female literacy rates significantly impact the communication technology capabilities of a country, and these technological capabilities then impact the level of democracy within the country's government. This study is an addition to the fields of both democratization and sustainable development. Theoretically, it builds upon the known connection of social conditions and economics in state-building, and provides a specific link around which governments and non-governmental organizations alike can design development programs to improve the quality of life for citizens of developing countries. My work seeks to emphasize the importance of sustainable development in the international community and to provide concrete program recommendations for parties interested in both quality of life and economic growth for developing countries.

Clarke, Greg - The Will of Parliament and the Role of Values in Traditional Statutory Interpretation

In the service of constitutional debate, both supporters and opponents of judicial review have used the constitutional writings of A. V. Dicey to portray the orthodox pre-Charter Canadian constitution. Judges in this orthodox view of the constitution are said to be obliged by the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty to interpret statutes literally as part of a democratic imperative to obey the political will of parliament; judges are to play no role in advancing or defending constitutional values. Both liberal and democratic constitutionalists have adopted this view of the pre-Charter constitution, differing only in whether they praise or condemn the absence of a role for judges in judicial review. While it cannot be denied that the pre-Charter constitution proscribed judges from challenging the validity of statutes deemed *intra vires*, I will argue that judicial deference to the will of parliament was not thought normatively to prevent judges from limiting the policy-effects of statutes. Consistent with A. V. Dicey's constitutional writings, the expectation was that judges would use liberal common law principles to give content to parliament's will in the presumption that parliamentarians would not seek to deviate from such principles as they enact statutes. In the early 20th century Canadian parliamentarians began to enact statutes which diverged substantially from classical liberal assumptions of the proper relationship between state and citizen; as a result contemporary Canadian constitutional critics such as J. Alex Corry urged judges to give the will of parliament new content so that statutes implementing the new collectivist values would not be constrained to classical liberal understandings. I will focus on Corry's writings to show the extent to which he believed statutory interpretation in Canada's pre-Charter constitution was expected normatively to constrain statutes to ensure that they remained consistent with liberal interpretations of rights. It is Corry's generation which urged judges to accept the new collectivist values consistent with a new relationship between state and citizen. I hope that my paper will contribute to the recognition that, for Dicey as well as for subsequent Canadian constitutional critics, the judicial role in a parliamentary regime was never, in theory or practice, separate from the politics of advancing preferred constitutional values. Critics today who argue over the appropriate judicial role for our post-Charter constitutional regime cannot argue that a policy-making role for judges is radically discontinuous with the pre-Charter constitution.

Cohen, Jillian Clare - Trade Politics and Pharmaceutical Patents: The Experience of Canada

1. PURPOSE My paper examines how Canada's trade relations and political orientations have had an impact on its intellectual property law for pharmaceuticals. The Canadian experience is illuminating insofar as it reveals how trade relations are increasing their influence over domestic public policy, in this case, pharmaceutical policy. In my paper, I also make reference to how Canada's policy reforms are in line with international standards pursuant to the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement. 2. ORGANIZATION OF PAPER My paper is organized as follows: Section One discusses the Liberal Government's reform of pharmaceutical intellectual property law in Canada. In brief, in 1969, the Canadian Parliament asked the Commissioner of Patents to approve compulsory licenses for drug patents under most circumstances. A compulsory license enables a third party to manufacture a drug that is currently under patent without the prior consent of the patent holder. Once granted a compulsory license, the licensee is obliged to pay a small royalty to the holder of the patent. In the Canadian experience, this resulted in the payment of a small royalty - about 4 percent of the generic drug's sales to the patent holder. This policy reform was initiated under the Trudeau Government that sought to make Canada more independent economically and politically from the United States. This dramatic shift in Canada's intellectual property law helped develop a strong local generic industry. According to a 1985 Canadian report (by the Commission of Inquiry on the Pharmaceutical Industry), the law had also succeeded in greatly reducing drug prices, at no cost to the overall profitability of the Canadian pharmaceutical industry. Section Two examines how under the Conservative Government and to help facilitate the passage of the Free Trade Agreement, Canada amended its compulsory licensing law for pharmaceuticals in 1987. The result was the granting of seven to ten years of exclusivity (free from compulsory licensing) on new drugs approved for Canadian marketing. Further amendments in 1992, again under the Conservative Government, expressed in Bill C-91 eliminated compulsory licensing of drugs altogether in order to attract greater research and development spending in Canada from the pharmaceutical industry. A further regulatory change was the Patented Medicines (Notice of Compliance) Regulations (1993) of the Patent Act. This regulation expresses that no generic drug can be approved by Health Canada until after any claim of alleged patent infringement is decided in court. Whether these policy changes, which were designed to encourage greater research and development in Canada, achieved their objectives, is still being developed. Section Three discusses the further reforms in intellectual property law under the Liberal Government and how these, again, relate to trade issues. For example, Bill S-17, An Act to Amend the Patent Act, was passed into law on June 14, 2001. The legislation increases patents on more than 30 widely used prescription drugs from 17 to 20 years, which harmonizes Canada's intellectual property law with international

standards as defined by the TRIPS Agreement. Section Four is practical and policy oriented as it discusses specific provisions in the TRIPS Agreement, which can be interpreted in ways which permit local public health to be met within the boundaries of international law and it makes predictions with regards to the direction of pharmaceutical intellectual property law in view of the Doha Declaration of 1991 and national concerns in Canada about rising drug expenditures. 3. POLICY RELEVANCE OF CASE STUDY The case study focuses on the Federal Government of Canada and how they have had to reconcile international trade interests, particularly those of the United States, with domestic preferences. The problem the decision maker reading this case should be thinking about is how Canada's experience compares with others globally and what impact changes in intellectual property law may have on access of the population to pharmaceuticals.

Cohen, Jillian Clare and Illingworth, Patricia - The Dilemmas of Intellectual Property Rights for Pharmaceuticals: The Tensions Between Ensuring Access of the Poor to Medicines and Committing to International Agreements
We put forward some possible resolutions to the issue of improving access of the poor to essential medicines. This paper responds in part to arguments put forward in an earlier volume of *Developing World Bioethics* (Volume 1, Number 1, 2001). In that volume, Resnik argued that pharmaceutical firms have social responsibilities and moral obligations to meet the health needs of the populations in developing countries. He argued further that if pharmaceutical firms provide reduced pricing or donations to developing countries, then developing countries in turn should foster an adequate business environment for these firms. That is to say, they should honour intellectual property laws for pharmaceuticals. In response to Resnik, Brock in the same volume took issue with Resnik on the grounds that increased social responsibility may be inconsistent with a corporation's duties to their shareholders, but was not convinced that developing countries should respect intellectual property protection for pharmaceuticals in return for reduced pricing on pharmaceuticals. We acknowledge the murkiness that is inherent to the discussion of pharmaceutical intellectual property protection and access to medicines for the poor, and the risk that pharmaceutical firms and governments of developing countries may not be able to resolve the thorny issue of intellectual property protection to essential medicines bilaterally. We thus call for that the intervention of a third party like the World Bank to help improve access of the poor to essential medicines. While intellectual property protection for pharmaceuticals is not the single cause of lack of access of medicines to the poor, for the purpose of this article we focus on this issue exclusively. We use the World Bank simply as a model of an international organization that could become more central to the provision of medicines for the poorest. The paper is organized as follows. First, we provide an overview of the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs Agreement) and its provisions which are relevant for pharmaceutical products and processes. Second, we explain how specific pharmaceutical policy tools can help developing states mitigate the worst effects of the TRIPs Agreement. Third, we provide an overview of the ethical dilemmas intellectual property protection for pharmaceuticals presents. And fourth, we put forward practical and ethical solutions that could be implemented by an international organization to help overcome the divide between creating private incentives for research and development of innovative medicines and ensuring access of the poor to critical medicines. The latter is our primary contribution to the literature.

Cosentino, Gina - Indigenous Women's Movements and Constitutional Politics in Canada and New Zealand: The Native Women's Association of Canada and the Maori Women's Welfare League
In the high-stakes politics of (constitutionally) restructuring Indigenous-state relations, the intersection of competing perspectives, interests and goals create a "contested site" (Fleras and Elliott, 1992: 230) or politicized model of Indigenous-state relations. In other words, "constitutional reform is a story of contested boundaries and shifting solidarities." (Fiske, 1999: 293) Since critical masses of Indigenous women were typically organized outside formal power state structures, these actors tended to be invisible through the state-centric lens on Aboriginal-state relations that prevailed until recently. During highly politicized times of constitutional reform, national Indigenous women's groups were typically marginalized from forums involving government representatives, other national Aboriginal organizations and other stakeholder groups. Moreover, their relative invisibility in academic accounts is striking, given the implications of Aboriginal women's participation (or lack thereof) for representation, social justice, constitutionalism and democracy. In Canada and New Zealand, the interjections of national Indigenous women organizations during times of constitutional reform carry important implications for a decolonized constitutional partnership between the state and Aboriginal women. They also raise important implications for research on constitutionalism, Indigenous-state relations, political representation and social movements. Indigenous women's groups' perspectives and challenges lie at the heart of both the redistributive and moral ideals inherent in the ethos of a decolonized constitutional partnership. How Aboriginal women participate (their strategies for participation) says something about how the state (and other Aboriginal actors outside the Aboriginal women's movement) envisions the constitutional partnership in contrast to the visions of these relations held by Indigenous women's groups. How Indigenous women challenge their exclusion and marginalization in decision-making processes and the kind of relationship they engender with the state and other Aboriginal activists is the focus of my paper. Following a brief evaluation of the historical evolution of the Aboriginal women's movement, I will compare the organizing experiences of two national Indigenous women's movement organizations (NWAC and Maori Women's Welfare League) during constitutional discussions that took place over the last twenty years. I will focus on aspects of the Aboriginal women's movement that pursued consultation and inclusion in constitutional reform debates from 1982 to 2002. This period is important because there has not been much work on Canadian Aboriginal women's organizing, nor has there been much comparative analysis of this topic. (See Jamieson, 1979; Krosenbrink-Gelissen, 1991; Chiste:1994; Dobrowsky, 2000). This paper will build on recent studies of Aboriginal women's organizing in Canada by Krosenbrink-

Gelissen (1991) and Chiste (1994). Bashevkin's (1998) comparative work on feminist organizing and Dobrowolsky's (2000) analysis of Canadian feminist constitutional organizing will provide an instructive methodological and empirical guide for this paper. I will also employ interview data of movement activists, government officials and academics from an upcoming research trip in New Zealand.

Culver, Keith and Howe, Paul - Calling All Citizens: The Challenges of Public Consultation

One way governments have responded to the heightened democratic discontent of recent years is to seek greater input from citizens in the policymaking process. Often this means organizing large-scale public consultations that move beyond the normal range of stakeholders to invite the citizenry at large to voice their views on important policy issues. Recently, governments have begun employing new information communication technologies (ICTs) in an effort to broaden the reach and enhance the sophistication of these consultation processes. Citizen consultation is motivated by several objectives: to facilitate citizen participation in public affairs; to enhance citizens' sense of political efficacy; to provide public officials with greater insight into the contours of public opinion; and to produce better public policy. But a number of practical shortcomings often undermine their efficacy: the limited number of citizens who come forward to express their views; the limited policy knowledge of those who do participate; questions about whether the viewpoints of participants are representative of the population at large; and attendant scepticism on the part of policymakers about the value of the information generated. There are, then, important questions about how and when – and indeed whether – public consultations can be used to positive effect. To shed light on the matter, this paper will provide a case study of one recent public consultation. In the fall of 2002, the city of Saint John, faced with a sizeable budget deficit, sought public input on important fiscal decisions that had to be made before year's end. Citizens could provide their views in a traditional way – by mailing in a questionnaire to City Hall – or they could submit their views electronically via the City of Saint John website. On the same site, provision was made for discussion groups where citizens could exchange views on issues related to the budget dilemma. The data sources for our study will include: · Interviews with individuals involved in planning the consultation · Interviews with individuals using the consultation for policymaking purposes (city officials and councillors) · The database of citizen responses · Documentation related to the consultation · Direct observation on the part of the current researchers, who had an advisory role in planning the consultation Our analysis will seek to determine how effective this particular exercise was in meeting the objectives noted above: encouraging citizen participation, enhancing citizen efficacy, illuminating public opinion and improving public policy. We will pay particular attention to whether or not the use of ICTs enhanced the consultation process significantly. Finally, we will consider adjustments and modifications that might help address any identified shortcomings.

Cutler, Frederick and Matthews, J. Scott - Guesswork? Municipal and Electoral Behaviour in Vancouver

This paper will report on the results of a Vancouver municipal election survey, taken in November 2002. It is being conducted in the context of my research on how, and how well, voters cope with evaluating multiple levels of government. Councillors in Greater Vancouver are elected through an at-large system unlike most municipalities in Canada. This means that quasi-parties have formed and the mayor is the de facto head of a slate of party candidates for municipal office. These parties vary across the many municipalities in the Greater Vancouver area. The municipal parties do not share labels with parties at other levels of government. All this places great informational demands on voters. My survey is focussed on assessing the extent of voters' information, particularly with respect to their ability determining responsibility for important policy areas. How much responsibility do mayors and councillors bear for policy areas such as the environment and the economy? Do voters vote retrospectively using these policy areas in which, by all accounts, municipal governments have little power? And do voters use informal associations between municipal and provincial parties as a guide to engage in ideological voting at the municipal level? Because there exist no reports of individual-level analysis of voting behaviour at the municipal level, this study is exploratory, hoping to guide further studies that can better evaluate the quality of voters' decision-making in the municipal electoral context.

de Larrinaga, Miguel - Imperial Securitas and the Sin of Security

Through a genealogical method, this article focuses upon the Roman use of the word "security" as an inextricable part of the articulation and maintenance of social order in the early Empire and reads the early Christian Pauline discourse as a political discourse against security. Inspired by Alain Badiou's treatment of the work of St. Paul, and elaborating upon Paul's use of "security" (*asphaleia*) in I Thessalonians 5, this reading reveals how the early Christian Pauline discourse is one that disrupts the logic of the Roman Imperial symbolic order. With regards to security, and security studies, this reading apprehends the security of Empire as a hubristic stance, but it does not pretend to replace it by its own opposite version. It disrupts this discourse of security, it reveals its intimate connections to forms of law/power/knowledge. The importance I place on this Pauline reading is both its ability to help us begin to grasp some of the longstanding complicities and complexities between the meaning to "security" and the articulation and production of social order as well as the conditions under which a discourse against security can be. In our age where such a discourse seems so foreign as to be impossible, where the present frame of reference always already forecloses such a possibility, it is imperative to understand how and why this foreclosure articulates itself. Reading Paul as a counter-discourse to Imperial Rome shows the way in which, at one time, such a discourse against security became possible - i.e. how it opened up new horizons of possibility, new articulations of political space. This paper can be seen as part of a recent trajectory in International Relations to genealogically investigate some of its most prominent concepts such as security, sovereignty, intervention,

etc... This trajectory is part of the crossover in the discipline between International Relations and Political Theory. Within the context of my research, this paper is part of a chapter of my (recently defended and prize nominated) thesis that provides a genealogy of security from the beginnings of the common era to the present focusing upon three interregna: the shift from Roman Republic to Empire and the advent of Christianity; the shift from Christendom to sovereign State in the classical age; and the advent of the modern sovereign State and the present mutations of the sovereign order. These interests intersect with my concern in issues related to the concept of security and its redefinition as well as the way in which continental political philosophy and social theory can provide ! insights and grounds for praxis in global issues.

Desserud, Don - Swing Voters in New Brunswick Electoral Politics

New Brunswick has long been seen as possessing a stable, two-party system, in which only the Progressive Conservatives or the Liberals have ever formed the government, and have any chance of winning elections. The results of NB's 1999 provincial election, in which the PCs returned to power after 12 years in opposition, seem to uphold that view. However, there is some evidence that New Brunswick electoral politics are becoming far more volatile and, following the pattern noted in other western democratic systems, manifesting the emergence of a cadre of critical voters who are quite willing to change parties, or even not vote at all. Measuring election results, electoral volatility, seat changes, and voting turnout since the 1950s in New Brunswick, this paper analyzes recent developments in New Brunswick electoral politics. It argues that since 1987 -- the year the Liberals won every seat in the NB Legislative chamber -- the core vote for the PC Party has been fractured, setting loose a cadre of swing voters who have switched alliances election after election. The paper furthermore speculates that the devastating loss suffered by the Liberals in 1999 may well have had a similar impact on that party. If it has, then it is quite possible that these two groups will merge and become the key force in determining who achieves electoral success in New Brunswick. However, at the present time, not much is known about exactly who this group is (and, for that matter, whether they constitute a group at all). This means that NB's traditional political parties may find themselves scrambling to figure out how to attract these voters, or, less likely, a new party may well emerge which can capture their attention. In any case, the author predicts that electoral politics in New Brunswick will experience considerable volatility and less stability over the next few elections.

Dinsmore, Greg - The Paradoxes of Human Rights and State Violence in the International Order

In the *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt describes the consequences of an international system based on the nation-state and the rights of man. She shows how the paradoxes inherent in this combination of principles helped to bring down the nation-state system, one of the few remaining barriers to totalitarianism. While her account is often read as a critique of state sovereignty and a call for a right of citizenship guaranteed by humanity itself, I contend that she should be understood as issuing a warning against the idea that the simple defense of human rights can serve to prevent political violence. This paper will investigate whether human may have the opposite effect on international politics. We need to examine whether by presenting human life as the central political value of the international order, we have not politicized human life in a way that puts it at risk in conditions of competing claims to political legitimacy. This paper will use Arendt's argument as a starting point for looking at recent cases of ethnic cleansing and genocide. It will argue that human life and human rights have been the primary values of the modern international order, but that far from protecting individual lives this has resulted in increased violence directed against individuals by state. This paper is part of a larger project that seeks to identify the international causes of domestic violence. Most accounts of genocide and ethnic cleansing focus on the local causes of violence, such as the historical relations between groups and the local construction of political identities. While this is valuable, this project seeks to understand how the international norms that affect the relationship between citizen and state can, at times, exacerbate a local conflict.

Docherty, David - Understanding Reform of Canadian Legislatures: The Views of Canadian Legislators

Recent focus on the "democratic deficit" in Canada has brought with it a renewed interest in questions of parliamentary reform. Under the broader understanding of improving the role of the backbencher, most discussions of reform focus on two paths. First, the question of party discipline is not surprisingly viewed as the most popular road to reform. Whether it is Paul Martin's recent pronouncements about the need to examine the British three-line whip as a possible model for the Canadian House of Commons, or the Canadian Alliance's insistence that all votes save financial matters are non-confidence votes, there is growing support for decreasing party discipline. In terms of reform, relaxing party discipline is seen in terms of representation. That is, members of parliament can better represent their ridings, and the interests of their voters, if the shackles of party discipline are removed from their arms. The second path to reform runs through the committee structure. There are myriad options for reform, but most have the following features in common. They wish to place ownership of individual committees in the hands of committee members, and they wish to free up committees to investigate matters early on in the legislative process. Proposals for reform include secret ballot elections of Committee Chairs, pre-legislative scrutiny of Bills, and allowing caucuses and not leaders to select committee members. Committee reform is less concerned with representation (the relationship between elected officials and their voters) and more concerned with who runs committees - members or party leaders. Based on SSHRCC funded surveys of members of the House of Commons and MLA's from all provinces and territories, this paper examines both paths to reform from the perspective of Canadian legislators. The paper argues that there is more universal support among legislators for the second path. Members of all parties and jurisdictions are keen to take ownership of committees, particularly when they feel that committee work would be taken more seriously as a result. There is more reticence for the first path. The surveys

indicate that legislators are reluctant to admit that party discipline has prevented them from properly representing their constituents. In addition, members of governing parties fear that weakening party discipline could make their government seem weak. As a result, the paper concludes that any relaxing of party discipline can be initiated only after convincing the very members who appear most shackled, namely government backbenchers.

Dmitriev, Constantine - Russia, European Union, and Kaliningrad: What Does One do with Exclaves in the 21st Century?

This paper focuses on the impact of the Kaliningrad issue on Russia-EU relations in 2000-2002. The principle inquiry of the paper is whether the Kaliningrad issue helps to bring Russia and the European Union closer together or whether it has a potential to become an irritant, souring bilateral relations. The second half of the paper will contrast the Kaliningrad enclave situation with several other enclaves/exclaves, such as Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhichevan in the Caucasus, and West Bank/Gaza Strip in the Middle East. In conclusion, the paper will offer policy recommendations for resolving the political, economic and cultural issues that surround these few remaining enclaves/exclaves. The Kaliningrad region (former East Prussia) was absorbed into the Soviet Union after the Second World War. The region, surrounded by Poland and Lithuania, became a significant Soviet military center, housing the headquarters of the Soviet Baltic fleet. With the break up of the USSR, the Kaliningrad region became an enclave – a portion of Russian territory outside Russia's national borders, just like West Berlin in 1945-1990. Up until now, both Poland and Lithuania allowed for a liberal visa and trading regime with the enclave. However, the forthcoming accession of Poland and Lithuania into the European Union, and with it its Schengen agreement, will result in the current liberal visa and trading regime being replaced by a much stricter one. Thus, a portion of Russia will be completely surrounded by the EU territory, which has substantial security, commercial, and human implications for the both sides. The Russian government insists that the EU has no right to infringe upon the Russian citizens' freedom of movement, whereas the EU insists on its right to maintain tight border controls. The key issue to be discussed at the forthcoming Russia-EU summit is the status of the Kaliningrad enclave following the EU's decision to include Poland and Lithuania. Methodology! or the paper will be comparative in nature, relying on comparative analysis of official Russian and European documents as well as on other secondary sources. The existing literature focuses on individual cases and surrounding them regional dynamic. In contrast, this study will not only examine the Kaliningrad case, but also will also provide a comparative perspective of similar cases and offer several policy options to resolve the problem. The author's research interests include political and economic development of peripheral regions, Kaliningrad region included, as well as comparative foreign policy.

Doerr, Audrey - Perspectives on Policy and Science: Building Bridges for Sustainable Development

The need to reconcile economic and environmental goals in order to advance environmental objectives was identified as a major policy issue at the international level in the 1980s. The work of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) and its report in 1987 proposed an approach to help bridge environmental and economic concerns. The Commission provided an alternative approach to economic development that included "a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investment, the orientation of technological development and institutional changes are made consistent with future as well as present needs." The need for states to develop and implement effective policies of sustainable development was considered imperative. In Canada, a recent academic study of environmental trends and environmental governance sponsored by the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) Group in the Government of Canada has provided a comprehensive review of the current status of major environmental issues including the role of national and international institutions. Three central challenges in the successful governance of the environment in the years ahead were identified as: developing more effective ways to integrate objective scientific and technical information with key decision needs; learning more effective processes for managing under uncertainty and being adaptive to advances in knowledge; and, in coordinating effectively across multiple levels of government and between diverse public and private actors. The purpose of this paper will be to explore some of the interfaces between policy and science with a view to addressing some of those future governance challenges. Two policy concepts -- systems and networks -- originally borrowed from science will be examined. A consideration will be made whether the integration of ecological attributes in those concepts might enhance their practical application. Understanding the inherent tension between policy and science in a conceptual and a practical setting might help us determine where to focus on improving linkages especially as they might apply to sustainable development policy and policy management. In conclusion, the discussion will set out a number of areas in which 'best practices' including the use of technology in decision-making might be enhanced. The methodology will include a review of current approaches in the analysis of environmental policy making. An 'ecological systems' approach developed by Sir Geoffrey Vickers will be used to assess how current issues of sustainable development might be managed and to provide a framework within which the role of science in policy might be considered. Whether, conceptually or practically, there is a valid basis to reconcile differences between the needs of science and those of policy especially in the management of risk and uncertainty will be considered and hopefully contribute to the on-going debate on these issues. As a long-standing student of public administration and public policy, the development of ideas and their practical application especially in the area of sustainable development is of great interest to me.

Doucet, Marc G. - Deterritorializing the Democracy Imaginary: The Hemispheric Social Alliance and Its Alternatives for the Americas

One of the most notable and common signifiers accompanying the recent surge of civil society opposition to economic globalization and the various state sponsored organizations that sustain it is democracy. Despite the wide array of groups and people involved the democratic imaginary seems to circulate throughout the 'anti-globalization' movement. Many have seen within this evidence of cosmopolitan democratic practices. What is often missing however, from the various readings of the possible democratic energies of the anti-globalization movement is a more thorough reading of the movement's own vision of democracy. It is one thing to say that there is an opening towards cosmopolitan forms of democracy, but we need to examine if, or how that opening is being seized. In other words, what are the salient features of the democratic imaginary being deployed, and more specifically how is the relationship between democracy and territoriality being drawn in the anti-globalization movement's view of democracy? In its alternative vision(s), does the anti-globalization movement view democracy outside the nation-state form? Based on a reading of democracy informed by authors such William Connolly, Bonnie Honig, Chantal Mouffe, and Claude Lefort, the objective of this paper is to examine one such account of the anti-globalization movement's alternative vision in order to explore how the movement manoeuvres through the democratic imaginary, and whether the moves it selects lead to deterritorializing democracy. The account in question is the one found in the document Alternatives for the Americas prepared by the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA), a large coalition of civil society groups located throughout the Americas which have been at the heart of the civil society opposition to the negotiations of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

Dubique, Acéphie Venise - Les élections dans la transition démocratique en Haïti

La vague de transitions de l'autoritarisme à la démocratie, qui a touché successivement les nouveaux pays industriels d'Europe du sud (1973-1978), d'Amérique latine et d'Asie de l'Est (1980-1988), les Etats communistes de l'Europe centrale et orientale et les pays en développement de l'Afrique (1989-1995), ce processus a provoqué le 7 février 1986, après 29 ans de régime dictatorial, le départ du Président Jean Claude Duvalier. Parmi les faits sociaux et politiques qui ont facilité la chute de la dictature, on peut notamment citer: a- la politique de libéralisation économique entamée par le régime en 1971 ; b- la nouvelle mission sociale de l'église catholique haïtienne ; c- la politique de défense des droits humains de l'administration Carter (1976-1980). Entamé sur les traces d'innombrables inégalités sociales dominant l'histoire de ce pays, la transition haïtienne s'est orientée dans un premier temps vers la sacralisation d'une nouvelle constitution et la tenue des élections libres, honnêtes et démocratiques. L'objectif de ce travail est d'analyser, à la lumière de la Constitution de 1987, le poids des élections dans le processus de transition vers la démocratie en Haïti. Cette étude se caractérise par une analyse de la littérature sur les transitions démocratiques et par une synthèse des travaux spécifiques sur la réalité haïtienne, particulièrement ceux se rapportant sur la période de 1986-2000. L'observation de certains faits tels : l'avortement des premières joutes électorales de novembre 1987 par un massacre sanglant, l'existence du couple «violence-impunité» et la permanence des crises politiques découlant des élections de 1995, 1997 et 2000, conditionne la survie de cette transition et empêche à cette fébrile démocratie de se consolider. L'analyse du poids de l'histoire dans la construction du binôme «Etat-Nation » et l'étude des faits sociaux et politiques qui ont marqué le pays au cours de la période de 1986 à 2000, laissent croire que la transition haïtienne se heurte à de grandes difficultés. Elle n'a pas encore trouvé les voies et moyens pour l'émergence des normes, des valeurs et attitudes indispensables à la constitution d'un Etat démocratique. Face aux mutations géniques que connaît le cas haïtien «autoritarisme – démocratie en herbe – retour de l'autoritarisme », l'étude suggère la mise en œuvre, sur le plan méthodologique, du modèle transitoire consensuel pour repenser l'implantation de la démocratie en Haïti. Mots clés: Transition, démocratie, élections, crises politiques, Haïti.

Dumoulin, Michaël and Saint-Martin, Denis - Ministerial Staff and the Groupaction Affair: An Unreformed Part of the Public Service Employment Act

Ministerial Staff and the Groupaction Affair: An unreformed part of the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA) Abstract: Following the discovery of missing documentation and extensive non-compliance with government regulations in the course of the federal sponsorship program, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (OAG) was mandated to audit three contracts awarded by the federal government to a communication agency, Groupaction Inc. The Report of the OAG concluded that senior public servants demonstrated an appalling disregard for the Financial Administration Act and the rules designed to ensure prudence and probity in government procurement processes. The government explained the existence of this program by the necessity to raise the profile of the federal government in Québec after the 1995 referendum. These circumstances justified why, according to the public servants, they've "bent [the rules] a little bit". This affair undeniably raises ethical concerns between what constitute the appropriate balance between public servants' duty to maintain loyalty to the government of the day and! upholding principles of integrity and impartiality. However, the conclusions of the OAG Report do not make a distinction between the career public servants and the individuals responsible for managing the contracts in this affair. The individuals described as senior public servants by the OAG, were, before joining the permanent ranks of the public service, member of staff in a Minister's Office. Commonly referred as "exempt staff", they are employed in the public sector, paid from the public funds, but perform tasks largely for partisan purposes. Section 39 of the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA), introduced for the first time in the 1867 Civil Service Act, allows this staff to be exempt from the provision of the PSEA, namely from the appointment under the merit system, and entitles them to be reassigned into equivalent rank in the permanent public service. The Groupaction Affair exposes

possible outcomes from this “derogation” included in the PSEA regarding the fundamental premise of a non-partisan public service as a necessary condition of good government. Despite the undeniable importance of loyalty to the government, a careful account must be taken of other values, namely probity, neutrality and transparency. Thus a distinction has to be made between career public servants and this “special Canadian breed of demi-bureaucrat demi-politicians.” An assessment of Section 39 of the PSEA and its current design will be made.

Eagles, Donald Munroe and Carty, R. Kenneth - Small Worlds and Local Heroes in Canadian Federal Politics: Local Deviations from General Patterns of Party Support in the 2000 Election

It is striking that in all parties some candidates manage to build local support bases that are considerably greater than their party's average performance in the region or in similar types of electoral districts. In this paper we identify who these candidates are in Canadian politics and seek to determine how they manage to accomplish their local successes. We accomplish this by using an unusual application of what are familiar and robust statistical techniques. We begin by estimating (using OLS regression) an ecological model of support for Canada's five major federal parties in the most recent (2000) election. These models, which incorporate a full range of socio-demographic, economic, political, and geographic controls, provide estimates of the general pattern of support for each party. Rather than focus on the general model parameters themselves, however, we are interested in using residuals recovered from these models (the difference between the actual level of party support observed in a riding and the level of support that would be predicted based on the estimated parameters of the general ecological model and the riding's characteristics). We use these highly positive residuals to identify candidates and ridings in which the level of support obtained in the 2000 election was significantly higher than what would be expected based on the characteristics of the riding and its electorate alone. We then examine these candidacies by party and attempt to determine how and why these locally deviant pockets of support exist. We use this 'residuals analysis' to address three often neglected questions in Canadian electoral and party politics: a) to explore the extent to which local candidates/politicians can build strong independent bases of local support; b) to identify which politicians can become 'local heroes' and determine the bases of support that they have established; c) to determine whether power in Ottawa (cabinet positions or leadership roles) can be transformed into local political capital that has an electoral value to the member and his/her party association.

Erickson, Lynda and Matthew, J. Scott - The Mass Politics of Social Citizenship

Much has been written recently on the reformulation of social policies in Canada in the last decade. Although opinion as to the determinants of change is diverse, one important theme that has emerged is that the ideational context of welfare state politics has been substantially altered. From claims about ideological shifts to accounts of the embedding of a neo-liberal discourse to descriptions of change in the “understandings” guiding social policy decisions, this theme has been reiterated in a number of different ways. For some, consideration of a changing ideational context is limited to elite politics. For others, although mention is made about changes in public opinion/values relevant to welfare state politics, the nature of this opinion and changes in it are rarely documented empirically. In other words, notwithstanding the considerable attention to changing welfare state politics, there is surprisingly little evidence about the public's (changing?) orientations to the policies and politics of the welfare state. It will be the purpose of this paper to attempt to address this lacuna by looking at opinion structure and change at the mass level across the last decade. Informed by a concept of “social citizenship” developed in the literature on the welfare state, the paper will look at opinion concerning two aspects of social rights: “conventional rights” to state provision of social welfare services and benefits, and “new social citizenship rights” that address forms of inter-group inequality that cannot be reduced to economic class divisions (e.g. gender and ethnic group inequalities). The paper will look at the level of public support for policies relevant to these two kinds of rights, examine whether and how these attitudes are related and whether the attitudes have changed significantly over the past generation. The data to be used in the paper come from the Canadian Election Studies from 1988 to 2000. Lynda Erickson has done work in the area of public opinion in Canada as well as on gender politics (new social citizenship issues). J. Scott Matthews did his MA project on class and attitudes to social policy in Canada.

Farrelly, Collin - The Challenges the New Genetics Raises for Egalitarians

Advances in genetic and biological knowledge bring us closer to a world where we will have the ability, or at least a much greater ability than we currently have, to manipulate our genetic make-up. With this new ability will come new questions concerning what the demands of distributive justice are. Distributive justice concerns the just division of benefits and burdens in society. At the present time the genes we have are the result of the “natural lottery” of life. No one has the ability to manipulate the genes we are born with and thus the different advantages and disadvantages that our genes confer on us are the result of brute luck. Some people are born with genetic diseases, or have a higher risk of developing certain diseases than other people. Some are born with genes that increase their chances of developing valued physical and behavioural traits. These people have advantages that others, for example those whose genetic profiles impede their ability to develop these valuable traits, do not have. No one is responsible for this unfair division of the advantages and disadvantages that our genes confer on us. There is nothing we could, collectively as a society, do about it. But as our knowledge of how genes work increases, and with it the prospects of being able to successfully intervene in the natural lottery of life, this will no longer be the case. The decisions we make regarding the regulation of biotechnology will determine who receives the greatest share of the benefits these technologies confer. This paper examines the challenges the new genetics raises for egalitarians. The question that I address in this paper is this: what distributive principle should

egalitarians endorse regarding the distribution of our genes in the post-genetic revolutionary society where the successful utilisation of gene therapies and enhancements is more of a reality than it is today? I do not put forth a conclusive answer to this question but instead explore some plausible candidates in the hopes of revealing the different kinds of considerations egalitarians must address as they begin to take the idea of genetic intervention seriously. Utilising the taxonomy of equality put forth by Derek Parfit, and applying it to the issue of genetic intervention, I argue that Telic Egalitarianism, Deontic Egalitarianism and Prioritarianism give rise to three distinct principles. These are, respectively, genetic equality, the genetic difference principle and a genetic decent minimum. An examination of these three principles reveal the myriad of questions egalitarians must now tackle. For example, which particular genetic advantages/disadvantages they wish to include within the domain of distributive justice and how other values (e.g. utility) should be balanced against considerations of equality. By considering these abstract theoretical questions egalitarians will be in a better position to tackle policy issues concerning the regulation of genetic information and technologies.

Fast, Travis and Albo, Greg - Varieties of Neoliberalism: Trajectories of Workfare in the Advanced Capitalist Countries
If there was one bright spot raised by the challenges of neoliberalism and economic internationalization, it was the potential for comparativists to reassess the constraints and imperatives embedded in the processes of capitalist accumulation on the redistributive agenda of the welfare state. This would have meant examining the distinctive structures of 'market control' that existed in individual advanced capitalist countries, the limitations of these policies in meeting social needs and distributing work in the new context, and also the politics and strategies that would advance a 'market-disengaging' strategy for work and income. Instead, debate over the future of the welfare state quickly became locked into static oppositions – convergence versus divergence, national versus international, systems versus environments, and liberal market economies versus coordinated market economies – and their empirical statuses and merits. Neoliberals, argued that globalization signalled the death knell for European 'welfare capitalism'. They were joined by 'Third Wayists', and virtually all social democratic governments in the advanced capitalist zone, who contended that globalized markets required the construction of new multinational systems of governance in Europe, North America and East Asia, and national market-enhancing 'productivity pacts' for competitiveness. This has been the analysis of socio-economic convergence which, with the end of communist authoritarianism and the impasse of social democracy, carried numerous connotations that egalitarians of all persuasions were bound to oppose. Three overarching questions, therefore, have been raised by the rise of neoliberal welfare policies over the last two decades. First, how do we conceptualize the convergences and variations between national social formations within this distinctive phase of capitalism? The first section below addressed this issue. The convergence thesis is rejected as it structurally projects changes at the international 'level' into the future of national capitalisms, as if there was only one possible adaptation to the organizational rationality of global capitalism. But the causal structure of institutional analyses which posit lines of causation from the empirical specificity of institutional arrangements to the ideal-typical characteristics of national capitalisms to draw theoretical claims of general variations within capitalism, without reference to more abstract and general contexts, constraints and imperatives of capitalist development, is also contested. Second, what are some of the constraints and imperatives of this context contributing to the reconfiguration of employment and welfare policies? In the second part, it is suggested that the changes to employment and welfare policies must be placed in the context of the long downturn and the rise in unemployment and labour slack across the advanced capitalist countries. The institutional particularity of each national capitalism was predicated on a certain level of economic and productivity growth, and employment and labour force participation rates, which no longer obtained from the mid-1970s onwards. As a consequence, the stability of the various postwar distributional compromises became unhinged and new patterns of distribution and production slowly established. In this respect, institutional variation between advanced capitalist countries persist, but substantively these 'varieties of capitalism' have become incorporated into the processes of neoliberalism under the constraints and imperatives of the present phase of capitalism. The 'varieties of neoliberalism' are addressed in the third part. Four of the modal cases in the advanced capitalist zone are briefly assessed in terms of their workfare trajectories. Workfare is, in this assessment, one of the modalities of governance specific to neoliberalism. Workfare is an employment centred social policy focused upon individual skill development, deregulation of labour markets, increasing market dependence for income by extending selectivity and means testing for income security payments, and increasing market incentives through decreasing benefits and eligibility for the unemployed and marginalized. Third, given the long history of accommodation to market imperatives, would social democratic work and welfare strategies remain oriented to regulating wealth production, to raising productivity and taxes to meet social needs, and to redistributing income growth within capitalism? The concluding section takes up this question in returning to some of the conceptual themes of the paper.

Findlay, Tammy - State Feminism and Democratization: Theorizing the Canadian State

One of the most important feminist interventions into the discipline of political science has been to expand our definition of the 'political' beyond the institutions of the state to include other political terrain such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and social movements, and those relations previously considered to be private, like the family. This success in demonstrating that 'the personal is political,' while essential in pushing the borders of political science, is nevertheless fraught with feminist ambivalence about the state. Catherine Mackinnon has boldly stated that "feminism has no theory of the state," and it is true today that there is still no comprehensive feminist theory of the relationship between gender, class, race, sexuality, ability, and the state. But rather than feminism having no theory of the state, more realistically, the

problem seems to be the lack of a theoretically practical approach to the state. Much feminist theorizing on the state has centred around the debate over whether women should 'engage' with or 'disengage' from the state. This debate has largely been posed as one between liberal feminists, who prefer the former, and radical, socialist and Marxist feminists, who demand the latter. This is too crude a characterization of these feminist positions, and fails to capture the specificity of Canadian feminism, where there is significant overlap in feminist practice where the state is concerned. As such, my paper looks specifically at the structures of state feminism in Canada, and attempts to intervene in feminist theorizations of the state in a practical way. I will explore feminist approaches to democratization of the state by examining, among other things, discussions of 'femocrats,' or feminist bureaucrats, and their relationship to the women's movement; state funding of women's groups; feminist policy analysis and gendering budgets; representative bureaucracy; the impact of neoliberal restructuring of the public sector, including downsizing, privatization, and managerialism on women's paid and unpaid labour; and bureaucratic organization and women's experiences of 'intersectionality.' These concrete feminist engagements with the state will be the basis for developing a practical feminist approach to the state, and for elaborating a broad agenda of gender democracy. This paper is part of my dissertation and my overall doctoral work which combines Canadian Politics and Women and Politics, gender and public policy, gender and democracy and feminist political economy.

Fournier, Patrick - Persuasion and the 2003 Quebec Provincial Election

Studies of political behaviour are increasingly attentive to the notion of persuasion (Mutz, Sniderman & Brody, Political Persuasion and Attitude Change, 1996). Yet, "there is precious little evidence specifying who can be talked out of what beliefs, and under what conditions" (Mutz, Sniderman & Brody, 1996: 8). I seek to fill some of this gap by identifying the factors that can lead voters to change their minds about their vote choice. The list of potential determinants of persuasion includes: - issue importance - cross-pressures - opinion strength - time-of-decision - risk-aversion - indifference - emotional anxiety - and political sophistication. The analysis will focus on the 2003 Quebec provincial election and will rely on university student surveys, an inexpensive but valuable source of data. A first wave will be administered in January to first year political science students, and possibly students from anthropology, economics, history, psychology and sociology. This paper-and-pencil questionnaire will probe electoral preferences, various vote correlates, and the potential determinants of persuasion. It will also contain survey experiments which try to modify respondents' vote choice by challenging them with information that comes into conflict with their opinions. A second wave will occur after the election (if it takes place before the end of the spring term), will reinterview the same respondents, and will obtain second measures of electoral preferences and of other dispositions which may be affected by the passage of time (such as information about parties). This design will allow me to capture changes in vote choice through two different ways: experiment-induced movements and over-time panel dynamics. I will use these opinion changes to identify who can be persuaded to switch sides in the upcoming Quebec three-party race.

Franceschet, Susan and Macdonald, Laura - Women and Citizenship in Latin America: Lessons from Mexico and Chile State-society relations throughout Latin America have been dramatically transformed in recent years as countries in the region undergo democratization, neoliberal restructuring, and regional economic integration. Many feminist scholars have noted that these processes are not gender-neutral, but affect men and women in very different ways. While the effects of democratization and economic restructuring on women's lives have been fairly well-documented, there has been less attention to the ways in which organized women's citizenship demands are embedded in and shaped by these processes. The purpose of this paper is to explore the way different political and economic contexts affect women's movements and their strategies for demanding rights associated with citizenship. The case studies of Mexico and Chile are well-suited to such an exploration because of their contrasting experiences with democratic transition, and because of the differences in the timing and extent of structural economic reform. The two countries also play different roles in the process of regional economic integration. These differences have produced different types of women's movements, with diverse strategies for achieving their goals and varying degrees of cross-class unity. One of the arguments the paper will make is that movement strategy with respect to alliances (either across classes or with traditional political organizations like parties) will influence the type of citizenship demands it makes. Multi-class women's movements are more likely to emphasize social rights in addition to political rights. Additionally, strategic decisions about alliances with political parties will also affect the type of demands feminists make. We hypothesize that while feminists may enjoy expanded opportunities to promote women's interests through alliances with political parties, they will also abandon some of their more radical citizenship demands, as well as emphasis on social citizenship rights. Much of the evidence for the arguments that we will make in the paper is drawn from interviews with leaders of women's movements in Mexico and Chile as well as secondary sources that document women's organizing in the two countries.

Frost, Catherine - Difference Without Dichotomy: Using Nationalist Writings to Challenge Ideas About Nationalism

Based on an examination of Irish and Quebec nationalist writings, it appears that two formulations of the nationalist claim (by which is meant how nationalists identified and justified the objectives of their project) predominated in the period from 1780 to the mid twentieth century. While the two are reminiscent of the standard dichotomies involving political/cultural, or civic/ethnic, nationalism, this paper argues that these formulations represent a different kind of pairing because they contain the same elements as one another, just differently combined. This paper forms part of a larger project, concerned with identifying the common theme in different ideas of nationalism. Between 1780 and the mid nineteenth century,

leading nationalists in Ireland and Quebec argued that their populations would be better governed if they were governed by those who lived in the same territory. They held that these people would have a greater understanding of, and interest in, the affairs of the territory. Notably, this "good government" formulation also held that the population should prove themselves worthy as a nation in order to merit self-government rights. This meant demonstrating that they had the attributes of a 'national civilization,' and suggested that the population must first establish itself as a worthy nation, and then claim political power. Beginning in the mid- to late-nineteenth century a new formulation of the nationalist claim appeared in both Ireland and Quebec. This formulation held that for the population to thrive they needed to live in a certain manner, and demonstrate certain characteristics (such as adherence to a particular religion, language, and lifestyle). Achieving political power was, in this case, seen a way to restore the populace to this distinct national character. Thus the "national character" formulation held that the population needed to first achieve political power, in order then to constitute a worthy nation. These formulations reflect to a degree the distinctions made between political and cultural nationalism, or between ethnic and civic nationalism. But neither represents a pure type. Even the more politically-driven "good government" formulation entails a cultural rallying cry, and the culturally-driven "national character" formulation entails a political agenda. By returning, therefore, to actual nationalist writing we develop a more nuanced view of what motivated nationalists, and we learn that while important differences existed, an approach based on dichotomies will not - at least in these two cases - accurately reflect what distinguishes different styles of nationalism.

Fry, Earl H. - Prospects for Future North American Economic Integration: A US Perspective

Canada, Mexico, and the United States have formed the largest free trade area in the world. Should NAFTA be expanded to include controversial areas such as agriculture, lumber, and cultural industries, and other countries such as Chile and Australia? What are the prospects for the free movement of labor, a pegged or single currency, or a customs' union? This paper will examine the various options available to the three major countries in North America, with special attention given to the position of the United States. The options will be considered within the framework of globalization, interdependence, and unprecedented technological change, and will look at institutional and procedural factors as well as the positions of non-central governments and non-state actors in the three federal systems. The first major section will indicate the degree of integration which currently exists in terms of import and export activity, foreign direct investment, the cross-border movement of people, and policy convergence or harmonization. The next section will look at potential policy alternatives (status quo, further integration, revival of the Third Option for Canada or Mexico or both, etc.) and their costs and benefits. The final section will examine U.S. policy and perspectives toward its NAFTA partners and what might be expected in the future in terms of policy initiatives and the implications for both Canada and Mexico.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward - The Socio-economic Impact of the Privatization of the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines
Until recently, Copper accounted for over 90% of Zambia's foreign earnings and copper production was the linchpin of the country's diminishing industrial sector and the economic lifeblood of the Zambian Copperbelt. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the state owned mining company, the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd. (ZCCM) was broken up into nine properties and sold to various transnational mining companies, with Anglo American Pls. acquiring the largest assets. Suddenly, the economic reliability of the grand old ore has been called into question with few answers on the horizon. The paper will explore the socio-economic impact of the donor-driven privatization program on the mineral-dependent communities of the Zambian Copperbelt. It will critically analyze both the process of privatization and the enabling policy framework, enacted under a neo-liberal regime that seeks to impose capitalist regulation on a global scale by the incorporation of the previously state-led economy of the Copperbelt and its mining communities in the global circuits of capitalist accumulation through (a) the global rationalization of privatized copper production (b) debt conditionality (c) the imposition of export-led development and economic liberalization and (d) the privileging of private property rights through legislative reform. Based on fieldwork interviews and surveys, it will discuss the socio-economic and political responses of the workers (miners and mining supply sector workers) and their communities, and consider the coping strategies they have employed in the now fully blown socio-economic crisis as well as the forms of resistance that have emerged against the privatization policy.

Gallagher, Stephen - A Best System Not Imitated: A Comparative Analysis of Canadian Asylum Policy

It is not difficult to show that Canada is the most generous developed country in the world in terms of its refugee acceptance rates, resettlement programs and treatment of failed in-country refugee claimants. It is much more difficult to explain why this is the case and why the politics of refugee determination is less politicized than elsewhere. Unlike European countries Canada has no extreme right party demanding tightened controls. Unlike the US, Canada has neither a populist backlash nor organized opposition to immigration. Focusing primarily on large English speaking democracies, including the US, UK and Australia, I examine the factors that cause Canadian refugee policies to be significantly more generous and significantly less controversial than those found elsewhere. In the works of Christian Joppke, Garry Freeman, James Hollifield and others, numerous factors are identified that may explain 'why liberal states accept unwanted immigration.' These include such factors as a liberal judiciary, anti-populist bias and client politics. Arguably these arguments have applicability to Canada with some modifications. My intention is to first review this literature to reach a conclusion on the applicability of these analyses to the Canadian case. Secondly, I will suggest modifications to these interpretations to take into consideration Canada's unique approach to refugee questions. Finally, I reach a conclusion on whether Canada's relatively humanitarian policy approach is being sustained in the aftermath of September

11, 2001 and given that new legislation has recently been passed. This study will add a theoretical dimension to my recent publications on Canadian and European asylum policies, which have been, for the most part, descriptive.

Gallant, Nicole - Positions sur la sécession du Québec chez de jeunes membres de minorités ethnoculturelles de la province : la différence entre ne pas souhaiter et s'opposer

Positions sur la sécession du Québec chez de jeunes membres de minorités ethnoculturelles de la province : la différence entre ne pas souhaiter et s'opposer » Une série d'entrevues semi-dirigées auprès d'un échantillon non représentatif mais diversifié comprenant 85 jeunes membres de minorités ethnoculturelles au Québec révèle certaines positions surprenantes concernant la sécession du Québec, thème abordé lors de discussions plus générales sur le droit à l'autodétermination. Comme le suggèrent les résultats de sondages et les analyses courantes, les femmes interrogées de même que les répondants issus de l'immigration s'opposent généralement à la sécession du Québec ; c'est le cas de près de deux tiers de chacun de ces sous-ensembles. Toutefois, les répondants anglophones ne s'opposent pas à la sécession du Québec davantage que les répondants francophones. En outre, près de la moitié des 41 répondants autochtones sont favorables au droit du Québec à la sécession. Ces résultats s'éloignent quelque peu des interprétations courantes selon lesquelles les anglophones, « allophones » et autochtones sont « almost unanimous in their vehement opposition to Quebec's secession » (Cairns 1999 : 8), interprétations généralement basées sur des inférences à partir des résultats de référendums ou sur des sondages. La divergence des analyses est probablement attribuable à trois principaux facteurs : la jeunesse des répondants de l'étude, la définition démographique plutôt que linguistique de l'appartenance à une minorité ethnoculturelle et, de manière plus intéressante, catégorisation des positions sur la séparation du Québec utilisée ici, qui ne repose pas sur le vote ou les intentions de vote concernant la sécession du Québec. Plusieurs répondants estiment que la sécession du Québec est légitime, mais ne souhaitent pas personnellement qu'elle se réalise. Ils voteraient peut-être « non » dans le cadre d'un référendum sur la question (dans la mesure où ils prendraient la peine de se déplacer pour l'exprimer), mais ce « non » ne manifeste pas nécessairement une « opposition virulente » à la sécession du Québec, comme certains le croient, probablement en généralisant par projection le discours de certaines élites à tous les membres de minorités ethnoculturelles. Ces résultats sont tirés de la thèse de doctorat de l'auteure (Université Laval, décembre 2001), qui porte sur les sentiments d'appartenance et la conception des droits des minorités chez des membres de minorités ethnoculturelles du Québec. L'auteure s'intéresse plus globalement à des questions de sociologie politique des minorités ethnoculturelles et linguistiques.

Galleguillos, Nivaldo - Re-establishing Civilian Supremacy Over Military and Police Institutions: An Analysis of Recent Reforms of the Security Sector in Chile

The paper is part of a research undertaken to examine the pattern of civil-military relations during the democratic transition. It addresses the question of the state's capacity to restore liberal-democratic principles of military subordination to elected civilian authority. It argues that such capacity was unavailable during the first two post-Pinochet administrations. The Pinochet affair, however, and the ensuing examination of the role of the military in the commission of human rights abuses, and the overall discomfort with the armed forces' self-appointed role as guardians of the constitution, generated a consensus among political parties regarding the need to re-establish civilian supremacy. The current government's attempts to restore civilian control have translated into a constitutional amendment recently sent to Congress. A minor victory has already been achieved though: A December 2001 constitutional reform placed the uniformed police, known as Carabineros, under the administrative jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, rather than the Ministry of Defense, where they had been placed during the dictatorship. What are the political implications of this reform? What allowed for the renewed capacity of the government to succeed this time, given the failure of previous administrations? What explains the armed forces's willingness to accept this reform? Given the Carabineros' resistance to the reform (majority of Generals resigned in protest), what explains the relatively easy approval of the amendment by Congress? What kind of agreements were reached between the government, the armed forces, and the political opposition? What was the essence of the "give and take" approach that permitted such reform? Is this minor reform an indication that the most important change, the restoration of civilian supremacy, is also likely to succeed? If so, what would explain the retrenchment of the armed forces and the corresponding ascendancy of the civilian government? Methodology. Research is based on examination and analysis of primary sources: interviews with military officers and government officials; legislation sent to Congress; parliamentary debates; newspapers coverage; newspaper editorials; armed forces' publications, including websites. It also analyses secondary sources (books, articles, conference papers). Theoretical significance. Chile continues the efforts to consolidate democratic institutions and values within its society. Until now, democratization has been hampered by excessive military autonomy. Analysis of the changes underway shows that civilian governments are steadily regaining the political capacity needed to re-establish their supremacy over the military institutions. Chile's success in accomplishing this will have positive repercussions in Latin America. It also allows for a critical re-appraisal of the larger literature on democratic transitions, civil-military relations, and the effects that globalization processes have on judicial and security apparatuses reforms.

Gandesha, Samir - European Right-wing Populism and the Politics of Fear

Since the attacks of 9/11 the question of "security" played a crucial role in shaping debates within the public sphere. Nowhere has this question been more starkly posed than in the recent successes of political parties and social movements of the radical right in the European Union. Last Spring, Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National won an

unprecedented 17% of the first poll in the Presidential Election dealing a devastating defeat to Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin. While for the French political establishment and media, Le Pen's victory was a crisis for the Fifth Republic, it only served to highlight the shift of gravity to the far-right already effected by Jörg Haider's FPÖ in Austria which in 1996 won 22% of the popular vote and 27% three years later. In Italy, after last year's election, media mogul Silvio Berlusconi included in his Forza Italia-led government, Gianfranco Fini and Umberto Bossi, leaders of the neo-fascist National Alliance and the xenophobic, anti-southern, anti-immigrant Lega Nord respectively. In Denmark, the Dansk Folkeparti now plays a pivotal role in the coalition Government as does a similarly rightist party in the coalition government in Norway. After the assassination of Pim Fortuyn, his Lijst Fortuyn Party took nearly one fifth of the seats in the Dutch election last Spring. Taken together, these forces, are poised to fundamentally alter the political and ideological map of Europe. This paper argues that the phenomenon of right-wing European populism must be viewed in the context of "globalization." While highly contested, the concept of globalization denotes, above all, a process of by which the global and the local progressively inter-penetrate one another. I suggest that globalization intensifies concerns not only with physical and economic security but also a problem that has always been part of the modern experience, namely, that of what Giddens calls "ontological security." I suggest that, capitalizing on the accumulation and intensification of the unease resulting from ontological insecurity, right-wing populist discourses pursue the specific strategy of transforming the pervasive yet diffuse anxiety deepened by the effects of globalization into a determinate fear of a particular object around which the various economic, political, cultural, corporeal anxieties can then coalesce: the figure of the "stranger." In a final section I pose the question as to the challenge of right-populist discourse for liberal-democratic regimes. I argue that neo-populism seeks to address intensified anxieties over the breaking down of borders and the inter-penetration of the local and the global by transforming the "stranger" into the enemy which is said to threaten the "people's" "way of life." In the process, populism seeks to re-establish borders and re-define sovereignty in a way that begins to decouple it from the formal institutions of the modern nation state.

Gandesha, Samir - Writing and Judging: Heidegger, Arendt, and Adorno

This paper examines the conflicted affinities between two of the most influential exiles from Nazi-Germany, namely Hannah Arendt and Theodor W. Adorno. It argues that Arendt and Adorno both appropriate Heidegger's decentering of the subject by situating it within the web of its worldly engagements; at the same time, however, they distance themselves from Heidegger's particular interpretation of temporality. Thus, if the epistemological tradition consistently attempts to establish the subject as transcendental by "bracketing" its a priori embeddedness, then Adorno seeks to show how such a subject must be understood as the result of a set of dominant social practices—namely, those geared to self-preservation at all costs. Similarly, Arendt argues that "Heidegger's philosophy is the first absolutely and uncompromisingly this-worldly philosophy." However, Arendt transforms Heidegger's essentially instrumental understanding of the "world"—a context in which the "knowing how" takes precedence over the "knowing that"—in such a way as to emphasize its inter-subjective dimensions. In the process, Arendt transforms Heidegger's ambivalent notion of "mit-Sein"—being-with-others-in-the-world—into an understanding of the political as the space in which differences between individuals can be disclosed, recognized and acknowledged without being reduced to a more general, unitary identity or essence. In Adorno's and Arendt's critical engagements with Heidegger we find, then, a doubling of Heidegger's decentering of the epistemological subject. On the one hand, there is the decentering and re-embedding of the epistemological subject whose involvements and concerns are shown to be irreducibly prior to the cognitive relation between subject and object. Yet, at the same time, rather than being grasped as "ontological" such an re-embedding is understood historically, or to be more precise, in terms of the intertwining of nature and history--an intertwining that Adorno and Arendt experienced all-too directly. If Heidegger's philosophy is a decisive turning away from Novalis' definition of philosophy as "the desire to be at home everywhere in the world," then we might say that Adorno and Arendt can be said to "leave home" twice over: first, as a break with the Husserlian project of recovering the unity of Being and Thought in the intentionality of consciousness, second as the critique of Heidegger's fundamental ontology. Adorno's and Arendt's respective attempts to understand the 20th century, then, are, at the same time, inextricable from reflections of their own experiences amidst the natural-historical ruins that it has left in its wake.

Gaon, Stella - Difference Differend, *Différance*: Post-Structural Investigations of Social Identity

The insight that personal identity is a discursive construct is not unique to post-structuralists; for example, Hegel always maintained that identity is socially produced. Indeed, he argued, diversity is only ever "mere" diversity – that is to say, it is not yet a difference that matters – until it is brought into discourse. What is arguably indebted to poststructuralism, however, is the insight that to bring into discourse is to construct, it is not merely to represent or to make rational and thus fully real (in Hegel's sense), the object itself. In this paper, I examine two post-structural approaches to social identity and to the political discourses that ensue from it: that of Jean-Francois Lyotard, and that of Jacques Derrida. I argue, in the first place, that Lyotard's understanding of the "differend," and Derrida's understanding of "différance" both provide tools with which to radically interrogate the liberal discourse of an identity politics of difference. In the second place, I argue that these interventions owe their political radicality to the Marxist tradition. I consider in particular such texts as Wendy Brown's reading of Marx's "On the Jewish Question" and, in a similar vein, J. Hillis Miller's and Étienne Balibar's reading of Capital in order to draw out the links between Marx's critique of ideology (Balibar), the logic of identity politics and its deconstruction (Brown, Douzinas), and the relationship between the speech act, its analysis, and radical political intervention (Miller). As a radical form! of critique, I contend, both the Lyotardian and the Derridean deconstructions of

"difference" focus critical attention on the social conditions and political effects of the social production of identity. They are able to do so, I show, precisely because the speech act itself has a performative aspect and, consequently, a material, political effect. My conclusion, however, is that Derrida's is the more fruitful approach of the two for radical, emancipatory politics, because *différance* undoes the sameness-otherness dichotomy on which liberal conceptions of "identity" and, ultimately, Lyotard's understanding of the "differend," both depend. The play of *différance* in the very meaning of "identity" is, I suggest, what makes room for radical critique.

Garcea, Joseph - Canadian Citizenship Policy: The Continuing Search of the Holy Grail

On October 30, 2002 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration introduced a new Citizenship Act. Its introduction constitutes the fourth time since 1993 that the Chretien government has attempted to reform the existing citizenship act. In fact, many of the key provisions in the proposed Citizenship Act, are very similar to those contained in the Citizenship Act which made it through third reading in the House of Commons, but did not receive approval in the Senate and ultimately died on the Order Paper when the election was called. The continuing effort to produce an optimal citizenship policy in Canada during the past decade might be characterized as "the continuing search of the holy grail". Critics on all sides, of course, are likely to suggest that it might be more appropriate to characterize it as the "continuing search for the unholy grail". Regardless of where one stands on the issue, all would likely agree that it is very important that this most recent reform initiative. The overarching objective of this paper is to examine the determinants, content, and political dynamics surrounding the most recent proposal for reforming the existing Citizenship Act.

Gecelovsky, Paul - Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Security: The Unexplored Connection?

While there is a burgeoning literature concerning other actors and human security, the corporation has failed to attract attention. For example, in a recent publication, *Madness in the Multitude*, Fen Osler Hampson et al. argue in favour of adopting a 'portfolio diversification strategy' as the most propitious means to provide human security. The authors contend that the participation of 'a diverse portfolio of institutions and actors' is characteristic of successful efforts to increase levels of human security. It is ironic that while the authors draw from the business literature the portfolio diversification concept, they do not address the importance of corporations in the portfolio of actors needed to help heighten levels of human security. This oversight is not particular to Hampson et al. but illustrative of a more general pattern in the human security literature, a silence concerning the role of corporations in the debates surrounding human security. While there is silence in the human security literature regarding corporations, the inverse holds in the business literature; that is, coverage of corporations but little pertaining to human security. There is, however, a growing body of work pertaining to the obligations of corporations to pursue policies and actions that are desirable not just to corporations and their shareholders but to the wider society, domestic and international, in which corporations operate. This is the notion of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The current literature concerning CSR tends to focus on anecdotal examples of corporate malfeasance (e.g. the use of sweatshop labour by Nike and Wal-Mart, in the case of the latter to make clothing under Kathie Lee Gifford's brand name) or corporate humanitarianism (e.g. the formulation and adoption by a number of companies of 'triple bottom line' accounting practices that combine financial, social and environmental profits and losses into a more complete statement of corporate performance). Missing from most of these works on CSR is a discussion concerning the extent to which corporations are agents of human security. The connection between corporate behaviour and human security has largely escaped analysis. The paper will help fill this lacunae. The paper will examine the links between human security and CSR with a particular focus on Canada and Canadian corporations. It will be demonstrated that MNCs as agents of human security have been largely overlooked as a subject of analysis and it will examine the role that MNCs play in providing human security. Particular attention will be paid to the role corporations play in the transference of norms from home to host state. The paper will draw data from numerous sources, primary and secondary and it will also build upon previous work completed by the author.

Gensey, Guy - Protecting the Public Good: Canada's Standing Policy on Foreign Financial Institutions

The purpose of this paper is to explore the evolution of Canada's policy on foreign financial institutions. Through successive international trade agreements, Canada has gradually liberalized its regulatory regime in this regard, but still places restrictions on foreign bank branching and the closely related issue of domestic bank mergers. In maintaining these restrictions, the government has recognized its responsibility to ensure that regulatory policies are prudential, that they balance conflicting social and private interests, and that they must effectively manage the system. On the other hand, industry contests such restrictions based on the arguments that they inhibit efficiency and that markets will naturally find equilibrium. My hypothesis argues that Canada's guarded financial policy framework has evolved from political and economic considerations particular to Canada. In maintaining these important restrictions under continued criticism from industry and its trading partners, Canada has managed to exercise its domestic regulatory authority in the financial services sector. A historical comparative analysis is developed from documentary analysis including secondary literature, personal interviews, financial legislation, and free trade documents. Existing literature tends to be highly critical of Canada's progress in both autonomous liberalization and that committed in trade agreements. My view recognizes the difficult choices that are faced when considering changes to sensitive financial legislation in a country with a highly concentrated banking sector, a dependency on natural resources, and a relatively small population. This paper is adapted from a chapter in my doctoral dissertation entitled "The Liberalization and Regulation of Trade in Financial Services: Exercising Domestic Regulatory Authority". My dissertation compares the cases of Canada, India, and Singapore as they

have negotiated services access commitments and liberalized their national financial services regulations. The overall purpose is to provide an overview of the knowledge in financial services trade up to this point and specifically to examine the process of financial services liberalization. My hypothesis argues that while the WTO financial services agreement provides a useful framework for continued liberalization, the advantages of liberalization had generally been recognized and initiated by most Members prior to its coming into effect. I argue that this discredits the anti-globalization (i.e., structural) view which argues that the combined pressures from the developed countries, the international financial organizations, and corporations have been responsible for essentially forcing developing countries to open their financial markets and change their regulations against their wishes and beyond their capacities.

Gildiner, Alina - Conceptual and Methodological Issues in International Comparison of Disability Policy Systems
Our research team has recently received three-year funding from the Canadian Institutes of Health Research to conduct a comparative analysis of disability policy systems in advanced industrial nations. The study will have two phased components: the creation of a typology of such systems; followed by testing of the typology with empirical questions that highlight processes and dynamics of change, e.g., in policy development. The paper for presentation at this conference will address conceptual and methodological issues facing the first phase of this study. The dominant strategies for comparative policy study have been either cross-sectional or historical. In either case, however, much of the key literature in recent years has focused on highly discrete areas of decision-making: monetary policy (Hall, 1986); physician services (Immergut, 1992); housing, old-age pension, and income support, each taken separately (Pierson, 1994; Myles and Pierson, 1997); core health care policy (Ruggie, 1996; Tuohy, 1999); agricultural policy (Coleman et al., 1997); and taxation policy (Hallerberg and Basinger, 1998). Yet there are large areas of contemporary policy concern that cannot be linked easily to single areas of policy development and accountability (Bardach and Lesser, 1996). Disability policy systems (DPSs) - defined as the organization of policy making relevant to populations who are temporarily or permanently disabled from labour-market participation - are a prime example of this, comprising as they do overlapping arrangements of public and social policy that yoke together insurance, labour, and health across public and private sectors. A strategy for conceptually organizing such policy systems into types would add to our ability to understand and compare areas of policy that are often highly dynamic and yet easily obscured (perhaps precisely because they do not operate as discrete policy arenas). The challenges in conceptualizing and operationalizing policy system (rather than arena) components, and then organizing them in categories with face validity, are obvious. This paper would review the relevant literature, highlighting the contributions and limitations it poses for such a goal, e.g., the limitations of Esping-Anderson's (1990) typology, which is based on a single axis or dimension. This would be followed by a discussion of how the research team plans to develop the typology via the literature and an iterative process with an international advisory panel, as well as about any developments in the research thus far.

Grace, Joan - Has the NDP Government in Manitoba Been "Good" for Women?
How well are political parties responding to the demands of the electorate? More specifically, how well are political parties representing the interests of women? These kinds of questions informed a recent article on the Canadian party system by Lisa Young, wherein she argues that the party system that emerged after the shock of the 1993 federal election is not as accommodating to the representation of women, either numerically (number of women elected) or substantively (the attention paid to women's issues) as was its predecessor (Lisa Young, "Representation of Women in the New Canadian Party System" in William Cross, ed., *Political Parties, Representation, and Electoral Democracy in Canada*, Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 181). With Young's argument in mind, I am led to wonder to what extent this situation is playing out at the provincial level - that is, whether there has been a decline in attention to women's issues. This thought becomes all the more interesting if we consider that just prior to the provincial election in Manitoba in 1999, some political observers were questioning whether the NDP, and probable future government, would be any different from the predecessor PC government. This suggestion is all the more salient if we consider recent arguments that social democratic political parties around the world have increasingly confronted a political reality that necessitates a "turn to the right" politics to ensure electoral success. With that in mind, it worth our intellectual time, then, to consider whether the policies and programs of the current NDP government in Manitoba have indeed "turned to the right". To do so, this paper intends to frame its analysis around the following research question: Has the NDP government been "good" for women? To answer this question, this paper will first investigate who the women of Manitoba are, particularly important given the high aboriginal population. Once that is established, we can get a sense of the kinds of policies that can benefit women. The paper will then use a number of case studies, such as minimum wage policy, child care funding and poverty measures, to ground this investigation, all in an effort to argue that the NDP government is staking out a social democratic agenda - of sorts. A qualitative approach to research and analysis will be employed in order to discern the language, motivation and political strategies of the NDP government. This will entail a close reading/analysis of government policy papers, legislative debates and ultimately policy outcomes. The author has also already begun conducting personal interviews with key informants of women's groups and government officials as part of a broader research project which is studying women's political activism.

Graefe, Peter - Broadening the Options: The Social Economy and Québec Post-Industrial Trajectory
Dominant interpretations of post-industrial economies and welfare states chart two paths to a full-employment future: a high road based on publicly-supplied personal services, and a low road based on flexible, low-paid service employment

(Iversen and Wren 1998). The route taken has important ramifications for the quality of work in the service sector, and the quality and professionalism of services provided. As women make up the majority of workers in the personal services as well as the majority of clients (Aronson and Neysmith 2001), the road taken has significant consequences for issues of gender-based inequality. Yet dominant interpretations argue that path dependency largely predetermines the path selected (Esping-Andersen 1999; Scharpf 1997), leaving those living in liberal welfare states on a low-road trajectory. This last element is problematic in its evacuation of how political agency can over time change national policy trajectories (Palier and Sykes 2001) or embed programmes and policies which diverge significantly from the precepts of the overarching political economy (O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999). If we reject strong forms of the path-dependency argument, we are led to consider the contributions of a wider range of actors in elaborating the contours of new policy trajectories (Dobrowolsky and Saint Martin 2002). This paper considers debates in Québec over the role of the social economy in delivering personal services, and particularly homecare, and illustrates how the high-road and low-road post-industrial scenarios map closely onto the two competing projects for building the social economy (Graefe 2001, 2002). On the one hand, women's organizations and community-based organizations have put forward a variant of the high-road strategy, focusing on public or not-for-profit provision and delivery of personal services, quality work in the social economy, and non-substitution of jobs with the public sector. In so doing, they have attempted to shift labour market restructuring onto a new path of lower inequality, including reduced economic inequality between men and women. On the other hand, centres of power within the state have favoured low-road strategies, consistent with Québec's insertion in a continent of liberal welfare states, and have avoided the issue of gender ramifications. While policy to date has done little to shift paths away from the low road, the paper concludes that the actions of the women's movement and the community movement have created policies and institutions that continue to make a transition to the high road feasible. This paper draws on an ongoing postdoctoral project comparing the social economy in Ontario and Québec, and builds on previous research on Québec's social economy.

Grenier, Yvon - Freedom in Art and Politics: Carlos Fuentes, Octavio Paz, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Salman Rushdie
This paper analyses the interface between art and politics in the prose of four writers and intellectuals: Carlos Fuentes, Octavio Paz, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Salman Rushdie. It will examine how their thoughts on, and practice of, art and literature have influenced their political dispositions and positions over the years. We will be looking primarily at their essayistic works. The case will be made that an appreciation of the emancipating power of art and literature led them to imaginative espousals of key liberal principles. Finally, a systematic comparison between these four authors will allow us to speculate on how art and literature may contribute to renewing modern political ideas, by enriching our comprehension of what constitute the foundation of modern politics: the free individual, the interplay of memory and forgetfulness, the plurality and connectivity of cultures, and the likes.

Guzina, Dejan - Serbia's National Narratives

The essay surveys various attempts of Serbian intellectual and political elites to define Serbian national goals in relation to a socialist Yugoslavia. I suggest that even though rhetorical devices and policies applied throughout the entire socialist period have appeared to be the same (e.g., that all Serbs should live in one state), different contexts in each of sub-periods of the socialist Serbia and Yugoslavia yielded entirely different results (e.g., in favour of Yugoslavia, or in favour of a Greater Serbia). In the paper, I identify four distinct, yet interrelated, Serbian national discourses: conservative-socialist, socialist-reformist, national-liberal and openly nationalist. They are evaluated in relation to four moments of particular relevance for understanding the mutations of Serbian nationalism: official Yugoslavism in the early 1960s, Serbian reformist policy of civic nationalism in the late 1960s-early 1970s, debates over 1974 Constitution and, finally, Serbian intellectual and political responses to the Yugoslav political crisis in the mid. 1980s-early 1990s. The essay concludes by arguing that different contexts in each of sub-periods concerned yielded entirely different results, effectively demonstrating the limitations of approaches to Serbian nationalism that are based on an overtly schematic differentiation between civic and ethnic, or modern and anti-modern types of nationalism. In fact, an exploration of Serbian nationalism demonstrates the usefulness of the two models of nationalism (ethnic vs. civic) in analyzing the currents of a single nationalism, rather than as labels for differentiating nationalism in one country from another. In this respect, this paper is primarily an examination of the competition between the ethnic and civic nationalisms within a single state – Serbia.

Haklai, Oded - Emergence of Palestinian Arab NGOs in Israel

In the 1990s, a new phenomenon of NGOs of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel (PAI) has emerged. The central question of this proposed paper is : What accounts for the appearance of PAI NGOs? The main argument is that PAI NGOs have materialized in response to this community's enduring underdevelopment caused by state policies. Their birth has been facilitated by the changing institutional framework of the Israeli state, including the decentralization of authority and the constitutionalization of civil rights. Thus, the approach applied in the analysis is historical-institutionalism. The birth of the Israeli state in 1948 saw two communities with distinct socioeconomic and political characteristics come together under the jurisdiction of one polity. The majority Jewish community was largely urbanized and educated with modern economic infrastructure. The administration that it had established during the pre-state period largely transformed into the new state's institutions. Thus, the Israeli state was controlled by the Jewish national movement. The Arab minority was rural and relied on self-sufficient agricultural practices for its livelihood. The political life of Palestine Arabs revolved around the extended family. Thus, while cooperation between various clans existed, the PAI were not a politically organized

community. The state, with extensive capacity, nationalized large quantities of Arab-owned land and designated it to causes other than Arab agriculture. Most of the land expropriated was the best land for cultivation. Additionally, the state gave decisive preference to the Jewish sector in all its resource allocations. These policies had a significant adverse effect on the means of livelihood of the Arab minority. Most male workers were employed as unskilled labor in Jewish metropolitan areas while the Arab community did not have the resources to modernize its own economy. Politically, state policies led to the erosion of the clan structure. As a result, the PAI politicized as a more cohesive unit to contend against the enduring discriminatory allocations of resources by the state. In the 1970s and 1980s, the struggle took place primarily in the parliamentary arena. However, this did not yield results because coalition governments during this period did not require the support of the Arab parliamentarians. In the 1990s, however, changes occurred in the institutional framework of the state. A "constitutional revolution" set limits to the authority of the government and its bureaucracy vis-a-vis the civilian population and empowered the courts to conduct extensive judicial review of government policies. This opened up new opportunities for the PAI community. Indeed, most of the NGOs that have emerged are composed of PAI legal experts and operate in the legal arena. They challenge the state's discriminatory allocation of resources by appealing to the Supreme Court against policies they claim violate their constitutional rights. This strategy has yielded several favorable results and, hence, PAI pursuit of this avenue is likely to continue. The case of the PAI indicates that decentralization of authority can facilitate the emergence of an efficient civil society to struggle against underdevelopment.

Hallstrom, Lars K. - Ever Closer Union? Gendering the Democratic Effects of European Integration and Enlargement
With the recent announcement of the accession of the East Central European candidate states to full membership in the European Union (EU) in 2004, a major change to both the structure and functioning of the EU will soon occur. Since the Copenhagen Criteria of 1993, states such as Poland have engaged in substantial political, economic, and social changes in an attempt to meet the demands of membership. In doing so, the states of ECE have gradually been included into a still emerging system of multi-level governance, with policy and decision-making power increasingly distributed both horizontally and vertically between multiple political bodies. As this inclusion has taken place, it has become apparent that there are both positive and negative democratic effects affiliated with the institutional and decision-making reforms of European integration, as well as substantial changes to the participatory and associative patterns of behaviour within post-Communist civil society. This paper examines these changes from the perspective of gender, and explores how the gender gap in ECE has been affected by almost a decade of gradual integration, policy transfer, and democratic transition. Using longitudinal survey data from the Polish General Social Survey (1992 - 1997) this paper examines the causal relationships present between integration and an increasing gender gap during the 1990s in terms of tolerance, civility, communal interaction, and participation in public life. Specifically, it maps the ways in which the democratic effects of European integration and the emergence of multi-level governance in the EU have contributed to gender-differentiated forms of political and civil involvement. As a result, a substantial portion of the Polish population has become removed and isolated from Polish and European politics. This study contributes to a number of literatures, including those addressing the relevance of gender to theories of global and supranational governance. It is also an exploration of the European democratic deficit within the context of multi-level governance, and its export to the East as integration has occurred. Finally, this study is an attempt to contribute to understandings of post-Communist transition, and the importance of gender to the socio-psychological elements of democratic citizenship. This study is a new line within an already existing body of research by the author. Specifically, it is a preliminary investigation into the ECE gender gap that stems from prior research examining the democratic and policy-making effects of integration on the Czech Republic and Poland. It is also part of a larger research agenda that is concerned with how civil society and participatory policy-making can contribute to democratic consolidation, and the opportunities for participation that multi-level governance afford.

Hamilton, Paul - Converging Nationalisms: Support for Continental Integration in Quebec, Scotland, and Wales
Ethnoregionalist movements break with both anticolonial nationalisms of the developing world and their historical antecedents in their enthusiasm for continental integration. Pooled/shared sovereignty is viewed as an opportunity rather than a denigration of the ambitions of nationalists. This paper is an attempt to explain the convergence of these nationalist discourses by examining a number of explanations for this apparent convergence. Among other things I propose pragmatic electoral considerations, assertive modernizing tendencies among nationalists themselves, and the desire to reduce the power of the state in which these parties operate. I employ a methodology of discourse analysis which simply means analyzing the party manifestos, speeches and policy positions of each party. This research is an extension of my doctoral thesis on the Scottish National Party which examined the changing discourse of the party in light of globalization (cultural, economic and political). My research agenda is concerned with the malleability of nationalism and its potential role in maintaining the link between sovereignty and democracy. This research is my contribution to research on new configurations of power between regions, nations and states in the contemporary West.

Harasymiw, Bohdan - Putting Organized Crime in its Place...Within Political Science
This paper argues for the addition of organized crime into the political science paradigm. After reviewing the multiplicity of definitions of "organized crime," it conducts a tour d'horizon of the existing literature on organized crime and its manifestations in various countries around the world. From this, it concludes that organized crime is indeed an integral part of politics and hence deserves proper acknowledgment from political scientists, as well as incorporation into our

thinking and theories of politics. It distinguishes the "criminal state" from the "criminalized state," and suggests their theoretical utility for understanding the character of such emerging democracies as Russia.

Harris, Stephen - Korea in the Post-Crisis Period: Institution Building and Governance in Financial Services

My earlier research on the factors that pulled Korea into the 1998 financial crises suggested that weak institutional structure and an absence of robust policy capacity in the areas of economic policy generally and financial sector policy in particular were the main contributors to the Korean problems. Corporate governance and risk analysis in the commercial banks and the chaebols was also very fragile. Presently, the conventional wisdom is that with the Korean economy having recovered from the lows of 1998 the state has resolved its governance problems. This project will examine the extent of the progress the Korean state has made in strengthening the key institutions involved in the area of financial sector policy and governance: the Bank of Korea (the central bank), the Ministry of Finance and Economy (the policy formulator), the new financial services regulator, and the industry department. Governance in the banks as well as changes in risk assessment procedures will be assessed. In addition to reviewing official government documents, the most crucial empirical part of the project will be based on interviews with government officials, financial market participants, researchers in the private and public institutes, officials in the multi-lateral institutions (especially the BIS, IMF and OECD), and financial services regulators in a number of the better regulated OECD countries. Public policy-making is a process of learning and adaptation. Events leading up to the Asian crisis suggest that policy-makers are slow learners. So the objective of this study to help policy-makers understand why the world unfolded the way it did in 1998 and what can be learned from this calamity for future governance. The lessons are not only for the countries at the center of the 1998 upheaval, but also for the countries that appeared to be on the periphery, but whose financial market actors were key participants in the events leading up to the crisis.

Hataley, Todd and Nossal, Kim Richard - Challenging the Human Security Agenda: Canada and the Crises in Kosovo and East Timor

It has been argued that Canada's response to the Kosovo crisis of the spring of 1999, and in particular the willingness of the government of Jean Chrétien to use force without UN Security Council authorization was a vindication of the "human security" agenda pursued by Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's foreign minister from 1996 to 2000. At the same time, however, the Canadian policy marked a sharp break in the approach to the multilateral use of force, which was to seek Security Council approval. The outbreak of violence in East Timor later that year provides a case of humanitarian intervention that was at once similar and different to the Kosovo case. It was also a test of the Canadian government's commitment to the "human security" agenda, though in this case the initiative was taken not by the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, but by the Liberal government of John Howard, backed up by back-channel diplomacy by the US administration of Bill Clinton. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Canadian response to the crisis in East Timor, and to explore the similarities and differences in the Canadian participation in the humanitarian crises of 1999. We will argue that while it appears on the surface that Canada's participation in each case was driven by humanitarian concerns, in fact factors other than the human security agenda explain Ottawa's involvement in the bombing campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and INTERFET in East Timor. We will show that these two cases provide important lessons for the way in which humanitarian concerns in foreign policy are pursued.

Henderson, Ailsa - Northern Political Culture? Political Attitudes and Behaviour in Canada's Territories

Research on the existence of regionalized political cultures in Canada have typically examined provinces while leaving aside the territories. This has often had more to do with the availability of data than a desire to exclude the Canadian North. The establishment of a third territory encourages an investigation of how Canadians in the North perceive their relationship with their governments and fellow citizens, and how, if at all, such a relationship differs from that forged south of the 60th parallel. To this end, this paper examines the markers of political culture in Canada's three territories to determine whether, if northern political culture is indeed different, this stems from institutional, or social-demographic factors; do we have a territorial or northern political culture in Canada? This paper is part of a larger research project on political culture and institutional change in Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand.

Henderson, Ailsa - Embedded Political Cultures in Canada and the United Kingdom: Subcultures or Regional Variations

Recent examples of institutional design, articulated as a form of 'new politics' have sought to alter the relationship between the citizen and the State. Electoral reform in New Zealand, devolution in the United Kingdom and the establishment of Nunavut have each been articulated as a form of 'new politics'. In each case, change was promoted as an opportunity to alter the political culture. This paper argues that the impact of institutional change on political culture depends in part on the locus of the change and the existence of sub-State political cultures. Sub-State change, in the case of devolution, attempts to alter a political culture that exists within a larger, unchanged, State culture. This paper examines the existence of sub-State, or embedded, political cultures in Canada and the United Kingdom. In so doing it revisits research conducted by Simeon and Elkins into the existence of provincial political cultures in Canada, and work by the British Social Attitudes survey team into territorial sub-cultures. It examines the process by which sub-cultures are identified and using data from the election studies in both Canada and the UK, argues that both case studies possess embedded political cultures. This work is part of a larger research project on political culture and institutional design in Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand.

Hennigar, Matthew A. - Government Appeals as "Dialogue": Expanding a Contemporary Debate

Considerable scholarly attention has been directed recently to the relationship between governments and the courts under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The dominant metaphor used to describe this relationship is that of a "dialogue" over constitutional interpretation (see, for example, Hiebert 2002; Hogg and Bushell 1997; Hogg and Thornton 1999; Manfredi and Kelly 1999, 2001; Morton 1999; and Roach 2001, and the Supreme Court of Canada's decisions in *Vriend*, *Corbiere*, *Mills*, and *M. v. H.*). However, the form of governmental expression within this dialogue that has been examined to date is legislative "sequels," or legislation passed in response to judicial decisions. This approach conceives of dialogue in purely inter-institutional terms, with the judiciary "speaking" through rulings, and government through legislation. This overlooks the important, on-going dialogue that occurs through government litigation. In contrast to inter-institutional dialogue, dialogue via litigation brings the two parties together within the court setting, with government lawyers arguing legal interpretation before judges. While dialogue via litigation can occur in several scenarios (including references and intervention), the proposed paper, based on original research from my doctoral dissertation, addresses one important form of dialogue with lower courts: appeals to higher courts. Manfredi and Kelly are exceptional for their acknowledgment of this form of dialogue, observing that "[a]n appeal explicitly communicates a democratic actor's judgment that a judicial decision is wrong in some sense." (1999, 524) The paper will proceed in two parts. The first will review the existing literature on the dialogue metaphor, with special attention to the various attempts to define "dialogue" and the normative implications of these definitions. The second part will measure the degree of dialogue between the federal government and the lower appeal courts, by tracing both legislative and "litigative" sequels to judicial decisions. This will provide the first systematic analysis of government dialogue with lower appeal courts, and incorporate the concept of appeals as a form of dialogue. Following Hogg and Bushell, whose 1997 article sparked the emergence of the dialogue metaphor in Canada, I will assess the timing and complexity of legislative responses to lower court decisions.

Hiemstra, John - Domesticating Catholic schools (1885-1905): The Assimilation Intent of Alberta's Separate School Policy

In the 20 years before Alberta became a province, a battle raged in the Northwest Territories over the place of diversity within the schools. The population of the Territories was diverse. How should the government shape its public policies in order to deal with this diversity? Initially, the Territorial government recognized the plurality of schools that had been created and officially treated Protestant and Roman Catholic schools as two equal types of schools, similar to the Quebec school policy of the time. Agitation by the Anglo elite, however, led to a series of policy amendments that whittled away these equality provisions. Some opposed diversity in schooling so strongly that they sought to extinguish the educational rights of the Catholic minority. In the end, a political accommodation in 1905 led to the adoption of the Ontario school model originally developed by Egerton Ryerson. This model established a dominant public school system and a separate school system, both under the tutelage of the majority-controlled, provincial Department of Education. The underlying intent of the school reformers who adopted this Ontario model was to assimilate the (French) Catholics. This paper examines this early policy history with a view to analyzing the philosophical paradigms that the policy makers used to understand and solve these problems. The paper argues that the original North-West Territories model, as well as the model that was gradually adopted and finalized in 1905, were each grounded in contesting paradigms--i.e. worldviews or climates of opinion. Each paradigm offers differing responses to fundamental social and political questions and thus to policy issues: What is the nature of society? What constitutes acceptable and unacceptable plurality within a society? How does the desire for unity relate to the reality of plurality within a society? What is the basis for unity, solidarity, and toleration within a society? How should plurality relate to the public and/or private realms? How and by what means should a society strive for unity? What is the distinctive role of the state in dealing with plurality and achieving unity? The paper concludes that the policy framework for Catholic separate schools that had been developed by 1905 was implemented to control and ultimately assimilate the Roman Catholic and French minority. Today, this paper argues, this school policy and structure continues to pressure Alberta's Catholic schools to conform to many majoritarian educational views. This paper will take a historical approach to public policy, seeking to unpack the deeper philosophical and ideological meanings that have been historically built into Alberta's school policy and school structure. This paper will make a contribution to our understanding of the sub-field of school policy. It will also be of interest for those in policy studies who examine how fundamental values become entrenched in public policies. The paper should also be of interest to political theorists dealing with the question of the state's role in relationship to fundamental ideological and religious diversity within its citizenry and boundaries.

Hill, Tony - The Ternary Map: A Methodology for Mapping Three-Way Elections

Binary election maps (those representing two candidates or parties) have long been a staple of political analysis, among both political scientists and lay users. These are not suitable for analyzing three-way elections. This paper proposes an operationalization of colours based on the ternary graph which political scientists could use to understand and analyze three-way elections using graphs and maps. The usefulness of this research is to provide a tool to enhance personal and professional understanding of phenomena in elections. This tool might also lend itself to being taught on the undergraduate level. Three-way elections are the norm in Canada on the national level and in most provinces, and they are increasingly becoming common in the United States as well. Existing research tools for analyzing three-way elections are statistical in nature and not readily understood. Visual means are lacking. Proposed methodology is easy to learn and understand. Ternary mapping has not been developed as a tool in political analysis, and the paper proposed would be an

addition to the toolbox of scholars of elections. The author has used maps in his previous research not as ends in themselves but as tools to illustrate political information geographically. The author's previous research includes a paper on analyzing racism within aggregate electoral behaviour and a popular book, "Canadian Politics: Riding by Riding: An In-Depth Analysis of Canada's 301 Federal Electoral Districts," to be published in December by Prospect Park Press.

Hoogensen, Gunhild - The Impact of International Trade Liberalization on the Canadian Fisheries Industry

This paper examines the extent to which trade liberalization has impacted the Canadian fishing industry. It argues that it is not the international trade agreements themselves that have initiated any impact on the fisheries, but the presence of the liberal ideological component in the governing of fisheries within Canada, which was subsequently reified in the NAFTA and WTO agreements. Regardless of late developed efforts to scientifically manage the fisheries resource, the neo-classical ideological agenda created a fisheries industry that paid little to no regard to sustainability of fish resources, resulting in the decimation of the groundfish industry, with the salmon industry soon to follow. Historical accounts of the development of the Canadian fishing industry will be used, along with primary material from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. In addition the NAFTA and WTO agreements will be consulted to examine the roll these agreements play in the development of! fisheries management and the industry overall. This paper constitutes the first stage in a three stage research project examining the impact of trade liberalization on the Canadian and Norwegian fisheries, exploring the varying techniques both countries have employed to sustain their fisheries, and the extent to which ideological factors such as the neo-classical economic agenda have played a roll in their fisheries development and in their participation in international trade agreements. Present scholarship pays relatively little attention to the impact of trade liberalization and the neo-classical agenda on the fisheries, at least in countries of the north. More information on these impacts can be found in research done at UNDP for example, pertaining to the fishing industries of southern states.

Hyson, Stewart - VLT Gambling Policy in New Brunswick: Morality Politics and the Legitimation of Vice

Legalised gambling has emerged during the past thirty years as an especially controversial issue, and is already the largest source of "sin" tax revenues for the provinces and territories. Gambling, however, has remained primarily the research domain of both social psychologists studying the consequences of gambling addiction, and economists looking at the feasibility of gambling as a means to promote economic development and to generate government revenue. But what can be said about the politics of legalised gambling? New Brunswick's policy on video lottery terminal (VLT) gambling poses an intriguing case for examination, since it was the first province to legalise this form of gambling as well as the first to hold a province-wide referendum on the matter. A number of political questions come immediately to mind: Why did New Brunswick legalise VLTs? What have been the socio-economic results of the VLT policy? How dependent on VLT revenue has the provincial government become? Why, despite strong vocal criticism, did the pro-VLT side win the referendum of 2001? How does New Brunswick's VLT policy compare with the VLT policies of other provinces - and also in comparison with policies on other forms of gambling? Why did New Brunswick change its policy implementation instrument in 2002 from one based on industry self-regulation to one delivered by a crown corporation? And from the perspective of morality politics, how was a subject that was once considered a social taboo legitimised to be a mainstream public policy? These questions are the basis of a research project that I have been recently pursuing, which has already resulted in two conference papers and one published article that have examined the history of VLT gambling and the VLT referendum. I have also taught a university political science course on New Brunswick's VLT gambling policy. The proposed paper will thus proceed a step further by focusing specifically on the choice of governing instrument in the area of morality politics, based on the case of New Brunswick's VLT policy. It is an interesting case where the provincial government (in this case New Brunswick but it could have been any other province), dependent upon the revenue generated by legalised gambling yet faced with no public consensus on the morality of the matter, decided to switch to a crown corporation (the Atlantic Lottery Corporation) as its governing instrument. This raises the research question, do the attributes of the crown corporation mechanism make it the most appropriate instrument to be employed in a situation involving the legitimisation of vice?

Ihrke, Douglas - The Economy and Governance in Saskatchewan: Perceptions of Municipal Officials

The literature on the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of Canadian municipal government officials, particularly those in Saskatchewan, on issues of governance is relatively sparse. We can learn a lot about the economic, social, and political conditions across Canada by virtue of asking political actors about these aspects of life in their communities. The purpose of the proposed paper is to help scholars and practitioners learn more about the challenges of governance at the local level in Canada, based on the perceptions of elected municipal officials. Communities in Saskatchewan are under a great deal of stress for at least three reasons. First, since the 1930s the province has had a fairly steady out-migration rate with mainly the younger, more educated individuals leaving for better opportunities elsewhere in Canada. Second, the poor state of the traditional farm economy over the last two decades has discouraged many young people from farming. Third, there has been a large internal migration rate to the larger cities. The combination of steady out-migration of young people, and aging, shrinking farming populace and poor commodity prices, along with massive internal migration to larger cities has severely effected most rural communities in Saskatchewan. As the above description suggests, several factors are working to put new pressures on municipal governments in urban and rural areas. Interestingly, there is much conflict in the municipal system currently, in part because of the significant changes in population levels, and also in reaction to the decline in the rural way of life. Within local councils, elected members are unable to agree on policy solutions for

persistent problems. At the same time, many citizens are blaming their municipal and provincial governments for the negative effects of large-scale population change. Where one would expect citizens to embrace remedies to the current governmental dysfunctions, in fact most rural people are resisting all proposals to rejuvenate their local government structure. The challenges are many, and the solutions are few, or so it seems for local government leaders in Saskatchewan. But what do these leaders really face on a daily basis, and how are they meeting these challenges? These are the kinds of questions that will be answered in the proposed paper. Data for the paper come from a survey of elected officials in Saskatchewan municipal governments.

James, Matt - Redress, Recognition, and Redistribution: The Changing Moral Contours of Contemporary Canadian Citizenship

This paper focuses on movements seeking reparations for the morally impugned policies of elected governments from the past. Canadian evidence of this new "redress politics" includes the 1988 Redress Agreement on Japanese-Canadian internment and the 1998 Statement of Reconciliation on Aboriginal residential schools. More recently, Canadians of African and Chinese ancestry have sought financial redress and apologies for historical injustices inflicted on their communities by Canadian authorities. The success of at least some of these attempts to secure apologies and compensation for historical injustices is striking because it coincides with a seemingly contradictory development; the diminished focus on redressing economic injustice that is highlighted by the shrinking of the welfare state. This apparent contradiction reflects the larger scholarly debate to which this paper is addressed: is, as many argue, and as Nancy Fraser claims in particular, a new politics of recognition displacing an older politics of redistribution? Informing this paper is the author's contention that the recognition-versus-redistribution debate is unduly abstract. The debate revolves around idealized models of "recognition" and "redistribution" while offering little concrete analysis of actually existing recognition struggles themselves. The paper is thus intended as a preliminary step toward remedying this deficiency. First, by focusing on contemporary redress struggles in Canada—which appear to be recognition struggles par excellence—the paper aims to demonstrate concretely a point that James Tully has argued theoretically. Tully's point is that recognition and redistribution comprise always-present aspects of social movement struggles in general. Second, and more specifically, the paper goes on to ask whether the recognition component of contemporary Canadian redress politics shares the deficiencies that many critics associate with contemporary recognition struggles in general. These alleged deficiencies are: a tendency to ignore distributive injustices; an unduly culturalist view of recognition that obscures the material character and institutional rootedness of misrecognition and disrespect; and an essentialist view of identity that militates against the coalition-building that social justice inevitably requires. To answer these questions, and thus to bring a more empirically grounded focus to the recognition-versus-redistribution debate, the paper puts the methods of social movement analysis in the service of critical theory. Overall, the paper reflects the author's wider interest in the role of equality-seeking social movements in Canadian citizenship, and in the interrelationship between socialist goals and contemporary progressive politics more generally.

Janara, Laura - Sex-gender as Machiavellian Mask: The Politics of Elizabeth I

Recently for the first time, the political writings of Elizabeth I have been collected and published (University of Chicago Press, 2001). This collection provides grounds for an analysis of how Elizabeth, as prince, was bound by and manipulated prevailing notions of sex-gender to secure her political power. Elizabeth's Italian contemporary, Niccolò Machiavelli, offers us the notion of mask-wearing as essential to a prince; sex-gender identity will be explored in this paper as an example of such mask-wearing. More broadly, this study of an alien historical context will serve as material for a contribution to contemporary theorizations of sex-gender as both social performance and as constraining social structure; and of politics as a site of both performance and constraining necessity. The method involves both textual analysis and contextual exploration. Prevailing norms of sex-gender will be explored by way of historical writings from, and historiographies of Renaissance England, and Shakespearean plays. Elizabeth's use and manipulation of these norms will then be probed, through her political writings and poetry. Observations and understandings of Elizabeth, found in historical accounts of her rule and in portraits of her, will also be considered as evidence of then-popular ideas of political power, "female" political power, and Elizabeth as an individual prince. This interpretive, historical work will then be assessed through the lens of Machiavelli's agent-centred idea of mask-wearing, and critically probed in relation to contemporary theories of sex-gender as performance and/or social constraint on the individual. I expect that the alien context of the English Renaissance and its monarchical system will provide good material for illustrating the contingent and malleable nature of the meaning of sex-gender, and the relationship between sex-gender and political power.

Jansen, Harold and Thomas, Melanee - www.mp.ca: Members of Parliament and Constituency Communication Using the World Wide Web

Using the World Wide Web There is a sizable body of literature examining the effects of the Internet on the political process (Davis 1999; Kamarck and Nye 1999; Hague and Loader 1999; Wilhelm 2000; Hacker and van Dijk 2000). However, relatively little of this literature addresses the ways in which elected representatives are using the Internet for the purposes of political communication. This paper will try to address this question through an analysis of MP web sites in the 36th and 37th Parliaments. The first part of the paper will examine the extent to which MPs have developed web sites for the purpose of communicating with their constituents. It will look at the number of MPs who had web sites in 2000, prior to the prorogation of the 36th Parliament. It will consider how many of those MPs who ran for re-election used

web sites during their 2000 federal election campaigns. It will then look at the number of MPs who have web sites as of Fall 2002. The paper will look at whether there is a growth in the number of MPs with web sites and whether any such growth occurred among re-elected MPs who did not previously have web sites, or whether it is due primarily to rookie MPs setting up sites. The paper will also consider which factors (i.e., gender, region, party affiliation, age, length of time in office) explain the likelihood of MPs developing web sites. The second part of our paper will analyze what MPs are doing on-line to communicate with their constituents. We will look at the information presented on-line, the use of various Internet technologies on their sites, and the use of the interactive elements of the Internet. Our methodology for this will largely consist of content analysis. In particular, we will focus on the representational roles that MPs emphasize in their web sites, tying this to the general literature on MP role orientations (Docherty 1997; Clarke and Price 1981). We will also examine whether there has been any shift in the content of web sites and the roles presented through them between the 36th and 37th parliaments. This is part of a project that we have been pursuing over the last two and a half years, looking at the way the Internet is or is not transforming the practices of representative democracy in Canada.

Jayman, Jayantha - Japan's Positively Changed Relations in Asia: Problems for the Pillars of International Relations Theory

Japan's 19th century exposure and response to Western colonial power, left it a seething entity of imperialist desire, and by the mid-20th century it subjugated entire peoples in the region from Manchuria in the North to Indonesia in the South, thus winning their enmity. After WW II, Japanese relations with Eastern Asia began by Japan joining the Colombo Plan. During the early years of the Cold War, these contacts with the region was merely those of convenient economic exchange given the common threat faced from communism by all conservative regimes in the region. Indeed, violence against Japanese presence in the early 1970s suggested worsening relations. However, by the 1980s there were few remarkable events in international relations than Japan's positively changed relations with Eastern Asia, as Tokyo rapidly improved its regional relations, with suggestions of even leadership by the end of the decade. Common sense suggests Japan's positively changed relations in the post 1980s period compared to the period before is due to Tokyo's co-operative modus operandi adopted towards Eastern Asia. Indeed, it is well known that in contrast to the earlier period, when Japan acted without adequate regard to the economic needs of Eastern Asia, from 1977 successive governments in Tokyo have acted differentially to the politics of Eastern Asian anger by making overt political and economic concessions. As part of this common sense explanation, one might say Tokyo has ably assisted Eastern Asian countries to achieve their ambition of rapid economic growth—and supporting this assertion is a voluminous literature on Japanese models of “developmentalism” and its use in Asia. However, this common sense view, which explains changes in Japan's relations with Eastern Asia has not made its mark in international relations dominated by the three pillars of realism, liberalism and Marxism, thus requiring theoretical focus on the causes of positively changed relations in the discipline. This paper delves into possible Marxist-dependency, realist and liberal ideas explaining or understanding Japan's positively changed relations with Eastern Asia in the period after 1980 when compared to the negative period following events at San Francisco in 1951. Section shows that realists make the case that the emergence of China has allowed Japan to play a more central role as a balancing power, thus allowing it to develop de facto positive relations with Eastern Asia. However, while balances of power are important, this view cannot address Japan's positive regional relations independent of China, that is, as a result of Japanese policies directed to Eastern Asia because of regional demands for proper reparations. Section two shows how ideas of Dependencia do not undermine Japan's positively changed relations, particularly as the region lacks a comprador bourgeoisie allied to Japanese capital. Section three argues liberals are unable to account for Japan's positively! changed relations either, as for them acceptance is assumed in political and economic transactions rather than being conditional on post-colonial states' relative gains aim of catching-up with the colonial metropole nations. Section 1.4.0 speculates that consent to dominant actors is possible in international relations when power is used in legitimate ways, conditional on critical standards set by sceptical, but open minded theorists, thus leaving us asking for a better way to address the issue of positive relations between former imperial powers and post-colonial states.

Jimenez, Jimena - Trilateral Dysfunctions: Management Issues Related to the Creation of a North American Community

This paper will focus on some of the policy and management issues emerging within the context of trilateral talks and negotiations between Canada the United States and Mexico. I will argue that the two-level bargaining that characterizes international talks is informed by another level based on the cultural, social and historical makeup of the actors themselves. This third level is crucial in understanding how a particular state actor views and approaches an issue, and in turn, attempts to construct an agenda and a process for working with its counterparts. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement launched the three countries into a process of economic integration that subsequently prompted all three partners to explore other forms of cultural, social and political linkages or what some refer to as a North American Community (NAC). The discussions have revealed fundamentally different ways of of both approaching and managing issues that are informed by social, cultural and historical context. The result is a dysfunction in the trilateral process that has prevented the three partners from constructing a process to manage trilateral issues, to agree on an agenda that all three can work with, and to develop a common understanding of how to work together. It also means that relatively little progress has been made on a NAC. This paper adds to the theoretical literature on the nature of international negotiations by proposing that behavior, decisions and overall approach is not just informed by domestic and international preferences, or by a rational choice framework, but by a cultural framework that policy makers must consider if they wish to fully understand negotiations. A constructivist approach supplements existing theory by adding a different level to the analysis,

one that is based on cultural context. Domestic and international constraints may be at work but two-level bargaining models leave out values, interests and ideas from the process (Meyer, 1998: 164). This paper will map out the context in which trilateral talks take place and explain what led the three countries to sit down and develop a North American agenda. Second, it will describe the different approaches to managing North America and situate them within the context of both Robert Putnam's two-level bargaining model and a constructivist perspective. Third, I will then construct a framework that includes a third cultural level. And finally, I will suggest recommendations on how the three governments might go about constructing a way of better understanding each other, working together, and developing a genuinely trilateral agenda.

Johns, Michael K. - Baltic Paradox: The Costs of European Union Membership

This paper examines the apparent contradictory choices the Baltic states face as they prepare to enter the European Union. While the Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia are used in the case study analysis, the decisions they faced are the same as the other newly democratized states of Eastern Europe. After years of Soviet control the Baltic states won their independence in 1991. Soviet domination was preceded by German, Russian and other foreign control. Prior to 1991 Estonia and Latvia had only enjoyed full independence from 1919 till the Molotov-Ribbentrop Act of 1939 gave control of the region to the Soviet Union. With their new found independence in 1991 the Estonian and Latvian governments took the opportunity to try to reinforce control on language, culture and citizenship laws. The constitutions therefore were discriminatory towards the large Russian minorities living in the region. Only Russians who could prove they or their families had been in the Baltic states prior to World War Two were allowed citizenship. Those denied citizenship could apply for it only after several years and after they passed a language test. These tests were made to be extremely difficult to pass. Beyond protecting their language and culture, the other key goal of the Baltic states was to join the European Union. The EU was seen as the gateway to economic prosperity and long term protection from Russian interests. This is where the paradox occurs that the paper addresses. In order to join the EU, the Baltic States have been forced to change many of the laws it enacted concerning language rights and citizenship. The states in Eastern Europe must choose what is most important, acceptance in Europe or cultural protection from minority groups. This paper briefly outlines the history of the Baltic states to illustrate why each of these goals was as important as the other. The paper also traces the accession process the Baltic countries followed leading to their offer of admittance. Relying on primary and secondary sources, as well as data collected by the Minorities at Risk Project, the paper also demonstrates how the Baltic states were held to a higher standard for membership in regards to citizenship laws than the current member states. The paper concludes with a discussion of the long-term ramifications for the Baltic states in Europe due to this process, and minority groups as a whole within the EU.

Johnson, Genevieve Fuji - From Hindsight to Horizons: Perspectives on the Evolution of the Normative nature of Policy Analysis in North America

All public policy has both empirical and normative dimensions. Implicit in policy is a descriptive story about how things are and a prescriptive story about how things should be. The identification of a policy problem, choice of policy design, and evaluation of policy involve both empirical and normative activities. When formulating, implementing, and evaluating policy, policy makers seek to make sense of real-world phenomena. But, they also seek to change them for, presumably, what they consider to be "the better." In the mainstream, students and analysts of policy developed and employed frameworks, methods, and tools derived from the hard sciences to articulate and test hypotheses, and to identify and predict trends, relevant to processes of policy. During the 1950s and 1960s, these approaches were thought to provide value-free insights into the functioning of the real-world that, in turn, could provide a neutral basis upon which to make recommendations for a specific policy option or for specific policy processes. More recently, however, these positivist approaches have been revealed as necessarily based on certain values and norms that pre-structure observation, understanding, and evaluation of empirical reality and corresponding recommendations. Thus, in their very employment, ostensibly value-neutral approaches to policy are seen as biased toward a vision of how social, political, economic, or environmental phenomena should be ordered. Postpositivist approaches to policy suggest that the normative orientation of contemporary mainstream policy studies and analysis is insufficient to address pressing problems associated with risk and uncertainty, such as energy shortages, climate change, and a loss of biodiversity. This paper will trace, from "hindsight to horizons," the tension between the empirical and normative dimensions of policy studies and analysis from the early policy sciences through the so-called postpositivist turn in North American political science. The basic questions that this paper will seek to address include the following: 1) "what happened to the normative orientation of the early policy sciences?" 2) "was the atrophying of this normative orientation a consequences of the positivist revolution on the study of policy?" 3) "are postpositivist approaches adequately addressing the need for a sound normative orientation in policy brought on, in part, by policies problems associated with high risk and uncertainty?" The objective of the paper is to provide a sense of where policy studies and analysis have come from and where they are going in terms of addressing pressing policy problems of a normative nature associated with energy, climate change, and biodiversity.

Johnson, Jeffrey Alan - Two Imperatives for Democratic Technology?

Contemporary science and technology poses a host of social challenges. The Human Genome Project is especially difficult in this regard because of its connection to strongly held values regarding human life and society. Ethicists and political philosophers have used moral theory to try to answer these questions since the inception of the Human Genome

Project; an integral part of the research is the project's Ethical, Legal, and Social Implications program. But what contribution can political theory make? I argue in this paper that the most important contribution from political theory is to some extent outside of the realm of political ethics—questions about justice, equality, or liberty. Rather, those concerned with the social impact of technologies can gain much by looking to democratic theory. Democratic theory provides two important kinds of arguments for asserting some form of democratic governance over technology. The first of the two arguments is rooted in the liberal political thought that forms the basis for Western democracy. Assuming that the most technologically oriented societies, those of the advanced industrial world, are committed to some form of liberal democratic governance and that this commitment obligates these societies to uphold these principles (either because they are right in themselves or because, having chosen to accept liberal democracy, failing to uphold them is an act of bad faith), these societies are obligated to make technology democratic because of the liberal imperative: technology, as an object of public choice and a factor shaping society, ought to be subject to democratic governance. But in addition to this there are practical reasons to call for democratic technology. One assumes that a society committed to any activity prefers doing that activity as well as possible given the constraints on that activity to doing so poorly. We want the best society that we can have, and our activity is directed toward that. At this most basic of levels, Aristotle's belief that all activity aims at some good rings unquestionably true. Hence in developing and using technology, it seems reasonable to say that we should develop and use it as well as possible. The second, pragmatic, imperative is rooted in these reasons: democratic technology is to be preferred to undemocratic technology because technology is best for society when it is governed democratically. I evaluate each of these arguments in light of the practical challenges posed by the Human Genome Project.

Johnston, Richard and Cutler, Fred - Divided Government in a Federation: The Case of Canada

Division between the federal government and the provinces is a Canadian commonplace. Within each level, party domination is often so complete that effective opposition can be found only at the other level. For all that, the very pattern of division, much less its source, remains little studied. This is true notwithstanding the fact that early conceptualization in the domain was almost exclusively by Canadians. More recent work is dominated by US-based scholars. This paper attempts to bring the Canadian case back on stream. The paper introduces a body of aggregate electoral data linked between federal and provincial arenas and spanning nearly a century. Exposition begins with indicators of division and by outlining the basic morphology. Divided voting has been ubiquitous for at least a century and there is no obvious trend one way or the other. It is particularly characteristic of the biggest provinces. The paper then canvasses three models of voter behaviour that might produce divided outcomes: separate agendas for each electoral tier, such that outcomes diverge simply by drift; outcomes in one tier as referendum-like judgements on the other, especially as national electoral coalitions erode; and self-conscious balancing by some voters. The first two are clearly part of the story, but the third probably is not.

Johnston, Richard, Soroka, Stuart and Banting, Keith - Multiculturalism and the Welfare State

The modest body of cross-national work on the welfare state suggests that diverse societies have relatively small welfare states. One possible explanation is that diversity itself reduces commitment to the nationality on the part of the ethnic "majority". Another is that, locale by locale, ethnic diversity undermines interpersonal trust, which makes collective action problems harder to solve. Both explanations suggest that diversity undercuts the willingness to pool risk that is at the heart of the welfare state. A third explanation focusses on a narrower calculation of cost and benefit: "majority" persons see new immigrants as an actual or potential net drain on the system, so they decline to authorize contributions to it. In earlier work, we have shown that neither of the first two explanations seems to work for Canada. Differences between "visible minority" Canadians and others are modest and those that appear do not follow easily from either model. This is so in spite of the fact that Canadians exhibit many of the patterns predicted by micro-models of ethnic contact. And the Canadian welfare state is more elaborate than is typical of societies with Canada's diversity. Moreover, it has become more elaborate, not less, as the society has diversified. This paper explores the third explanation, that Canadians do not link the welfare state to immigration and diversity because the link is not there at the level of policy: new Canadians tend not to draw on the system, in contrast to the pattern in many other countries. Do Canadians perceive things this way and do perceptions drive judgments on the system? Our exploration will use the Equality, Security, and Community survey, which combines elements of the Canada Labour Force survey, the Survey of Labour Income Dynamics, the Census, and a broad range of attitudes and perceptions in the domains of ethnic diversity and welfare policy. In addition to a national probability sample, the study includes oversamples in the most diverse parts of Canada's three largest metropolitan areas as well as in a set of BC resource communities. Linked to the study is census information at the census tract and census statistical district level.

Kellogg, Paul - After Left Nationalism: The Future of Canadian Political Economy

At its zenith, in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, left-nationalist political economy in Canada was a self-confident, forward looking tradition which laid down profound challenges to both traditional politics and economics. That moment is long past. The key predictions of left-nationalism (Canada's deindustrialization for instance), failed to materialize. The key paradigm – that Canada was to be theorized as one of the world's dependent economies and not as one of its advanced capitalist economies – has proven to be inadequate. Left-nationalism as a consequence – both as an ideology and as a distinct intellectual current within political economy – has been in crisis and decline for some years. At a political level, this

has been graphically captured by the different trajectories of figures like David Orchard and Maude Barlow. Both emerged out of the left-nationalist stream. But now Orchard is entrenched in Canada's second party of big business, the Tories, while Barlow has openly embraced the anti-capitalist movement that emerged after the 1999 demonstrations in Seattle. That being said, no other school of political economy has emerged to fill the vacuum left by left-nationalism's decline. Too often, attempts from the left to think through and replace left-nationalism, have stopped short of challenging its core assumptions. There has for some years been a need for a sober reconceptualization of this once dominant paradigm, and a recasting of a left political economy in a non-nationalist framework. This paper will argue that the root of left-nationalism's problems was its acceptance of one of the key aspects of the dominant economic tradition in Canada – that Canada-US relations form the essential starting point for Canadian political economy. Once world economy – and Canada's place in it – is taken as the starting point, Canada can no longer be conceptualized in any way as one of the world's dependent economies. This provides the beginning of an intellectual framework that can complement the insights that have developed out of both the anti-capitalist and the anti-war movements. The burgeoning literature of the anti-capitalist movement has targeted Talisman, no less than McDonald's. The anti-war movement has drawn the links very quickly between corporate power and the military face of imperialism. Here too, Canada's role (an active participant in three wars in one decade) has exposed it clearly as a member of the core of the system. This paper is part of the research for a book on the same subject.

Kelly, James - Legislative Responsiveness to Judicial Supremacy: Parliamentary and Bureaucratic Activism in Canada, Australia and New Zealand

In much of the debate surrounding human rights and the role of the courts there is an assumption that judicial activism is necessary to ensure the full protection of constitutional guarantees. Amongst political scientists, however, the issue of judicial activism has led to considerations of judicial power and the appropriate role of the courts in interpreting constitutional documents. Indeed, this debate has considered whether judicial activism has facilitated the emergence of judicial supremacy, the rise of jurocracy, and has concluded that judicial activism has resulted in a notable decline in democratic practices and processes of decision making. In this paper, I challenge the dominance of the judicial-centred approach to the issue of rights protections and also the assumption that judicial activism facilitates judicial supremacy. What I contend is that the debate surrounding judicial activism and the rights revolution has generally ignored the parliamentary arena, and has failed to appreciate the attempts by parliamentary and bureaucratic actors to be activist in the area of rights protection. As such, I contend that the focus on judicial activism is too narrow and a more holistic approach that considers parliamentary and bureaucratic attempts to protect rights and freedoms is needed. Thus, judicial activism is simply one manifestation of rights activism and the judiciary is simply one institutional actor attempting to protect rights and freedoms. To facilitate an analysis of the rights revolution in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, I introduce the concept of rights activism to move beyond the judicial-centred paradigm of the role of the courts in a mature democracy. What I suggest is that rights activism has three dimensions – democratic activism: the political decision to seek greater protections for rights and freedoms; judicial activism: the attempt by the courts to respond to the democratic demand for greater rights and freedoms, and legislative activism: the attempt by parliamentary and bureaucratic actors to ensure that acts of Parliament are respectful of rights and freedoms and advance these values in legislative schemes. In effect, the distinct dimensions of rights activism function as checks and balances and prevent the emergence of judicial supremacy. Perhaps more importantly, judicial actors do not monopolize the protection of rights and freedoms but share this responsibility with the parliamentary arena. Indeed, what makes a successful rights revolution is not simply the entrenchment of human rights or the explicit authorization of judicial review of constitutional protection but the advancement of rights activism by political, judicial and bureaucratic actors. To illustrate the importance of rights activism in limiting judicial supremacy and ensuring the effective protection of human rights, I have chosen three Westminster democracies that have approached the protection of human rights in unique ways. For instance, Canada has an entrenched Bill of Rights, New Zealand has a statutory Bill of Rights and Australia has rejected a Bill of Rights in any form. However, both Australia and New Zealand have sophisticated parliamentary scrutiny committees that attempt to ensure that legislation advances domestic and international rights commitments of each nation. The judicial-centred approach to the rights revolution would conclude that Canada has the strongest commitment to the protection of rights and freedoms, as it entrenched a Charter of Rights in 1982 and explicitly authorized judicial review and invalidation of legislation that was considered, by the courts, to be inconsistent with constitutional rights. What I contend in this paper is that the level of protection for rights and freedoms does not vary between these countries but simply the distribution of rights activism between its judicial and legislative components. By focusing on the role of parliamentary scrutiny committees in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as the role of the Department of Justice in each nation and its activist attempt to ensure parliamentary compliance with rights obligations, I will analyze the varied attempts to protect rights and freedoms in three mature Westminster democracies. Perhaps more importantly, this paper will suggest that the judicialization of politics may not be necessary in mature democracies that are committed to the protection of rights and freedoms and attempt to demonstrate this commitment, not by empowering the judiciary, but by reconfiguring the legislative process to ensure that parliamentary, bureaucratic and judicial actors advance the democratic commitment to fundamental rights and freedoms.

Kennedy, Geoff - Agrarian Capitalism and the Political Economy of Improvement

The rise of classical political economy has often been portrayed as a relatively natural outgrowth of developments in the agrarian economy of England. The 'science' of economics is said to begin after the Civil War period, through the theoretical developments of William Petty. Recent scholarship, however, has sought to trace its roots back to the sixteenth century writings of the Tudor Reformers. With Petty and Locke as theorists of agrarian capitalism on one side, and Fortescue, Dudley, More, Starkey and the Commonwealth men as the theorists of an reforming interventionist state on the other, we are still faced with a conceptual void during the first half of the seventeenth century. The enclosure tracts of the mid-seventeenth century can provide us with the tools we need to understand the fundamental shift in the way issues of political economy were understood. The debates over enclosure represent the ideological clash between conventional 'Tudor reformist' conceptions of political economy, and the emerging political economy of improvement. The former, utilising a form of moral critique of economic individualism and a Christian concern for the poor, was superseded by a new political economy of improvement which re-articulated conventional understandings of property, labour and the pursuit of self-interest. The latter found the solution to the social and economic problems of the commonwealth in the enclosure of the commons and the subjection of customary property rights to the exclusive rights of improving landlords and tenants. In the midst of this debate, an alternative understanding of political economy – albeit unsystematic and under-developed – emerged in the writings of Gerrard Winstanley. Rejecting the calls for enclosure in the interest of improvement and profitability, Winstanley also refused to embrace the nostalgic critiques of the Tudor Reformers. Rather, Winstanley presented an alternative critique of the emerging capitalist order that was subsequently lost in the triumphalism of the victory of the capitalist 'improvers'. Thus, the ideological developments that laid the basis for the 'scientific' study of economics, rather than being a natural outgrowth of economic development, entailed a struggle over the very understanding of political economy itself. By using a social history approach to the history of political thought, this paper seeks to illustrate the ways in which the conceptual development of political economy was rooted in the concrete struggles over property during the enclosure movement of the mid-seventeenth century. The significance of this argument is that conceptual approaches to an understanding of political economy are, like developments within the economy itself, the outcomes of social struggles.

Kershaw, Paul - Does 'Social Inclusion' Comprise Domesticity?

As a normative objective, "social inclusion" presumes an answer to the question: Inclusion where? Citizenship literature that builds on the liberal tradition of T.H. Marshall (1949) and John Rawls (1971) generally prioritizes inclusion in public spaces such as the political arena, civil society and the marketplace. The latter has received particular attention in the social inclusion literature, moving Keith Banting (2001, 5) to conclude that "the new [welfare] paradigm assumes that inclusion is achieved through movement into the paid labour force." While labour force participation is one important element of inclusion, this paper advances the social inclusion debate by arguing that obstacles to participation in one's network of domestic relations are just as much impediments to the practices of full social membership as are barriers to inclusion in the market. The starting point for this argument is a stream of feminist literature represented by Patricia Hill Collins (1994). The literature diverges from the depiction of domesticity as primarily an obstacle to gender equality by examining the frustration that some women of colour express about the lack of time they have to participate in their own domestic sphere due to long hours in the labour force. Implicit in this frustration, the author suggests, is the insight that participation in one's family network is an essential element of social belonging that has yet to be fully appreciated by contemporary theorists of inclusion. The domestic sphere is a place where many citizens care for relationships that validate their sense of self worth and, in some cases, provide a reprieve from the forces of discrimination or the hardships of economic misfortune. The validation of personal worth empowers citizens to cope with individual challenges and broader systems of social oppression, while it simultaneously develops and strengthens the collective identities of the ethnic groups to which individuals belong. The paper's investigation reflects the author's broader interest in work-family balance as a principle for welfare regime reform (see Nancy Fraser 1994). Working in this framework, the paper identifies the need for further research to examine how domestic time can be embraced as a critical element of social inclusion without reinforcing (i) the patriarchal division of labour; or (ii) the cultural perception that children under six are primarily a private responsibility of those who bear them which underpins limited state support for child care in Canada as compared to much of Europe.

Kinder, Jeffrey S. - Science and Governance in Canada: The Evolution of Science Advisory Structures in the Policy-Making Process

The pervasiveness of science and technology in all facets of our lives and the greater complexity of policy issues in the knowledge-based society have underscored the importance of sound science advice as a key input to public policy formulation. The public expects government to seek the advice of science experts to foster innovation, promote sustainable development, protect the environment and ensure the health and safety of Canadians. In recent years, however, controversies relating to contamination of blood and water supplies, responses to climate change, and fish stock assessments have shaken public confidence in the ability of government to effectively address science-based issues. Public interest groups and the media have used these high profile issues to pressure the government to improve its science advisory processes. At the same time, greater emphasis on public participation in collaborative decision making complicates the traditional use of expert advisory bodies. With this increased focus on the use of scientific advice in policy making, there is a need to better understand the variety of science governance mechanisms that the Canadian government employs or is considering for the provision of scientific advice. This paper will explore the evolution of science

advisory structures in Canada with a view to developing a classification scheme that can be useful in understanding the underlying elements of science advisory processes. The elements of analysis will include structural features including mandates, roles, reporting relationships, composition, and operating procedures. The analysis, however, must go beyond these basic structural elements. It is also critical to examine the underlying principles which guide the functioning of advisory bodies. These include considerations of transparency and openness of process, flexibility in remit, reliance on public consultation, etc. In particular, it will be important to examine how traditional concerns for confidentiality are resolved with the ongoing shift towards greater transparency, openness and public participation in government decision making. The analysis will be based on a review of documentation and interviews of officials associated with key science advisory bodies to the federal government. The study complements the dissertation work of the author which relates to government science and science governance in Canada.

King, Loren - Making Cities Safe for Democracy

How can we make cities more democratic? In this essay I elaborate the democratic ideal of political equality in light of the local politics of land use in major urban economies. Urban democracy requires that we think of political voice in terms of effective influence over local land uses. This leads to a more democratic account of eminent domain authority, but also a vision of democracy that is more sensitive to the spatial dynamics of urban regions: making cities safe for democracy requires (inter alia) a more urban account of democracy. Or so I shall argue.

Kiss, Csilla - Constitutionalizing the Revolution

The paper will focus on democratic consolidation after the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Contrary to those approaches that stress the importance of political culture and socioeconomic requisites, and assume that the Leninist or even pre-communist authoritarian legacies are the determining factors in the region, the paper will take an institutionalist approach. I will argue that political institutions played a fundamental role in the consolidation process, not only as constraints on politicians, but also as actors themselves. One of the most significant institutions of the consolidation process was the newly established constitutional courts. While judicial review can boast of a long past in North America, it is a relatively new (post WWII) introduction in Western Europe and even more recent in the former Soviet-dominated countries. In the region, just as in Western Europe following WWII, judicial review was introduced first and foremost as a safeguard against authoritarian political efforts (Alec Stone) and also to underline the importance of separation of powers as opposed to unqualified majority democracy. Once in place, the courts became one of the most important actors in the consolidation process. The paper will argue that there are three main (though often overlapping) areas where the courts' activity is particularly noteworthy. 1) "Stabilizing" role: political actors turn to the courts to resolve issues they cannot resolve within the framework of "normal politics" due to deep ideological divisions, rather than employ extra-institutional methods to find solution to their grievances. 2) "Corrective/safeguarding/balancing" role: they serve as an arbiter in many institutional conflicts and thus safeguard against power-seeking institutions, overly strong governments/presidents/parliaments, often defending the principles of liberal democracy. 3) "Constituent" role: through their decisions they do not only settle the particular case in question, but also act as a constituent power, by determining or modifying the path of consolidation, defining basic institutional relations or such fundamental concepts as the rule of law. The paper will analyze the constituent role of the constitutional courts in post-communist Hungary and Poland through the cases of transitional justice/decommunization, which in both countries illustrated the far-reaching consequences of the courts' decisions regarding basic constitutional issues, especially that of the rule of law. I will look at the discourse surrounding the efforts of introducing legislation against the representatives of communism and the court decisions that resolved the issue. The study's general significance is to focus on institutional variables in studying democratic transition (as opposed to civil society and party politics/voting behavior) and argue that institutions can be regarded as actors in the political process. In particular, it will provide an East European component for the study of the "judicialization of politics" (Stone) in Europe. My wider research interest is the development of liberal/constitutional democracy (or lack thereof) in post-communist Eastern Europe of which the current study is an integral part.

Knafo, Samuel - The Social and Political Origins of Modern Banking

Starting from the observation that 19th century financial developments have profoundly influenced contemporary financial structures, the paper explores the emergence of modern banking in Western Europe and, more specifically, 19th century England. I pursue two interrelated objectives. First, I explore the ways in which these financial practices differed from previous banking practices, and how they profoundly shaped the forms of national financial regulation and financial crises that emerged in the 20th century. This is significant, I argue, because there is a tendency to underestimate the historical specificity of financial developments in the 20th century as if they simply marked an intensification of previous patterns of financial growth. Second, I offer a social explanation for these innovations. Generally, the traditional paradigm views innovations in financial techniques as merely the result of a drive for more efficient and profitable operations. By contrast, I argue that modern finance emerged out of a specific set of social relations in England that shaped finance in a distinctive way. These financial innovations, I contend, represented solutions to monetary problems raised by the emergence of capitalist social relations in England. In my conclusion, I stress that these transformation in England reshaped the nature of international finance in the late 19th century when most European countries appropriated English financial innovations to develop their own financial system. In the process they would establish the basis for international financial regulation in the 20th century.

Kukucha, Chris - The Provinces and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy: British Columbia and Softwood Lumber

This paper will review the challenges facing British Columbia in terms of the current softwood lumber dispute with the United States. B.C.'s foreign trade policy on softwood lumber is defined by both international and domestic variables. External factors include market forces, the dispute settlement mechanisms of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as the protectionist policies of the United States. Internally, a highly politicized institutional environment limits policy options for decision makers, including those who want to drastically alter this sector of the provincial economy. Pressure also comes from well-organized and vocal sectoral and societal groups, including industry, municipalities, environmentalists, and other elements of civil society. The interplay of international and domestic factors creates tension not only within Canadian federalism but also presents transnational challenges as both federal and provincial officials are active participants at the international level. Complicating matters is the fact that numerous non-state actors also attempt to directly engage the policy process both within Canada and at the international level. In order to substantiate this argument the paper will adopt a method of analysis incorporating primary and secondary sources and interview material. In terms of the literature on Canadian foreign trade policy it will provide information on a sectoral issue not usually covered from this perspective. Theoretically, it will also serve as an addition to the literature on the globalization of public policy and the role of sub-national governments in international trade relations.

Ladner, Kiera L. - The Impact of Globalization on Treaty Federalism

The transformative effects of globalization and economic integration are nothing new for Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal peoples have been experiencing globalization first hand since 1492 when Europeans began the process of integrating Aboriginal peoples, their lands and resources into the European/global economy and the European political order. Despite the efforts of Europeans and their colonial offspring, Aboriginal peoples have never been fully integrated into the global economy and the political order of the colonial nations. In fact, in recent years, Indigenous peoples have been attempting to renew their nations and reclaim their status as self-determining nations. Globalization and economic integration continue to wreak havoc on these attempts. Renewing and decolonizing national communities and national political systems are again being transformed and/or shaped by economic realities, western-eurocentric notions of territoriality, colonial political agendas, policies, practices and the 'alien' political and economic systems. Acknowledging the continuing political, legal and economic realities of Indigenous nationhood, I will engage a discussion of current attempts to re-integrate Indigenous nations that have been divided by the Canada-US border. In so doing, I will examine the use of federalism by Aboriginal peoples to renew their nationhood and their relationship with the colonizer, and the use of Canadian and American federalisms and their political integration to stifle these attempts. In so doing, I will look at the effect that Aboriginal nationhood, sovereignty, treaty relationships and Aboriginal rights have on political and economic integration and the effect of globalization on Aboriginal nationhood, sovereignty and treaty relationships within Canada. In short, this paper would contribute greatly to the study of Indigenous politics as it begins to address a topic (globalization), which has largely been ignored in the literature. Similarly, it would also introduce Indigenous politics into the discussion of globalization, and more particularly globalization as it pertains to Canada. This project expands upon my existing work on treaty federalism, the colonial regime, and self-determination while adding a new theoretical lens and analytical perspective – globalization.

Laforest, Rachel - Towards Evidence-based Politics: Implications for the Voluntary Sector

The shift towards governance and greater reliance on third parties in the design, implementation and evaluation of policy have created new pressures in Canada to ensure that policies are designed and delivered in a consistent and effective manner. In the interest of improving transparency, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, the federal government has begun to emphasize the need for evidence-based policy. As a result, knowledge and research have become key assets in the production of policy. Yet, with its current capacity and knowledge base wanting, the federal government has increasingly relied on the knowledge and information of external actors and has afforded greater authority to them on this basis. It has in effect created a situation in which evidence based inputs are given greater weight. This shift has particular implications for voluntary sector organizations whose basis for intervention has historically lied with the interests that they represent. Already, many national organizations in the field of social development have seen their work focus increasingly on research activities. Moreover, through new funding initiatives, the federal government is now explicitly encouraging activities grounded in knowledge and policy analysis in order to enhance the sector's capacity to contribute to the development of policy. This paper will explore some of the ways in which voluntary sector organizations have had to adapt to these new pressures. The first part of the paper will focus on the general context of governance in Canada and the move towards evidence-politics. The second will examine the challenges that this poses for voluntary organizations in key policy areas of social development and social services. The final part of the paper will raise some issues which arise from moving towards evidence-based politics for the relationship between the federal government and the voluntary sector in Canada.

Laliberté, André - Crush "Buddha Law", Welcome "Buddhist Compassion": Two Contrasting State Responses to Religious Organizations in China

This paper situates the campaign against the Falungong launched by the CCP in 1999 in the broader context of the central authorities' attempts to establish welfare policies that do not rely primarily on State provision. It first discusses the main goals of this policy, its achievements, and its limitations, and focuses on non-governmental organizations allowed to

participate in social work. It then emphasizes two factors that have led religious institutions to involve themselves in health care and other forms of welfare during the 1990s: a greater acceptance of religion by intellectuals, and official recognition of the social capital that could be tapped in religious organizations. The paper subsequently argues that neither the organizational capacity of the Falungong, nor its transnational links, nor the charismatic leadership of its leader Li Hongzhi are sufficient to explain the policy of the regime. Empirical evidence about the activities in China of the Taiwanese-based Tzu Chi foundation are introduced to demonstrate that religious associations with comparable organizational skills, foreign links, and charismatic leadership do not necessarily elicit an hostile response from the State. The last section argues that the Falungong and other Qigong movements recently repressed by the State express an implicit critique of the regime legitimacy because the activities of their adherents point to the State's failure to offer adequate health care and relief to the poor. It represents a rebuttal of the policies that rely on non-profit organizations and, more importantly, a critique of the regime's attempts to establish a symbiotic relationship between State and society. This paper relates to previous research on Buddhist organizations in Taiwan and China, and explores the relations between State and society at the local level in the area of health care. This research critically examines theories of civil society and welfare orientalism.

Lam, Carla - Hobbes and the Retooling of birth Appropriation for the Modern State: Strategies for Accessing the Canon for Feminist Pedagogy

In this paper I am interested in the constitution of modern sex/gender regimes in state discourse, particularly that of early modern English political theorist, Thomas Hobbes. The significance of Hobbes' political theory is often overlooked in feminist theory. Those teaching the canon from a feminist perspective often take polarized positions regarding his contribution to a history of ideas in patriarchal discourse. Hobbes presents a paradox on "the Woman question" opening up the liberal trap door of "consent" regarding the political legitimacy of patriarchal regimes, yet clearly articulating a "sovereign" maternal power in the state of nature. Hobbes is understood as a hallmark modern thinker regarding his separation of nature from civil society, and the absolutism of his notion of sovereignty. His positive depictions of female-male equality in the state of nature, and more radical suppositions about maternal power in the pre-state environment, often make him a favored contract theorist for feminist pedagogy. Carole Pateman's analysis of the "sexual contract"(1988) has, however, shed significant light on any simplified understandings of Hobbes' work, and prevented any easy feminist appropriation of his theory. An examination of Hobbes' notion of female reproduction, as it relates to political practice and power, when placed in a framework of a history of birth appropriation offers a new angle by which to consider Hobbes' contribution to a history of western political thought, and its presentation to students of feminist theory. Understanding Hobbes as participant in a western paradigm of birth appropriation - a dialectical process by which the power of female reproductive capacity is symbolically, theoretically and practically detached from women, enables those engaged in feminist pedagogy to make his work relevant and timely. Ultimately, Hobbes' separation between the state of nature and civil society instates a modern sex/gender regime based on sex (the biological) as severed from gender (the social). From the perspective of my broader project which relates changing sex/gender regimes to changes in state forms, the transition is important because only when our biological sex and women's bodies are seen as different and severable from our gender can we conceive of state and market control over our reproduction (through technological or other means).

Lamba, Rinku - 'Internal Reasoning' and the Secular Ideal

The liberal secular state in India is quite unique. It has been involved in the process of reforming religion, especially Hinduism. In addition to the usual liberal-secular reasons, the Indian state has, in a unique way, invoked religious reasons to support the liberal reform of aspects of Hinduism. My questions are: 1) Is it justified for a liberal secular state to be involved in the reform of religion? 2) What is the value of the offering, by the state, of religious reasons for reforms especially in a context like India's? Based on my previous research, I believe that the option of adducing religious reasons in addition to justification based on public reason may help consolidate an overlapping consensus on (imperative) liberal-secular principles, especially in multi-religious polities like India where religion is constitutive of personal identity. I classify this option as internal reasoning. In my paper I wish to further explore the option of internal reasoning and examine its value in societies with a nascent liberal public political culture. Insofar as liberal secular norms are viewed as 'impositions' on groups with illiberal worldviews, does internal reasoning present liberals with a normatively desirable way of engaging/reasoning with illiberal others? If religious reasons do have value in such societies, is it merely strategic or are there moral considerations too? One of the primary ways by which I will explore the option of internal reasoning in this paper is by analyzing some judgments of the Supreme Court of India – especially those that have invoked scriptural injunctions to justify the reform of religion by the state. My analysis will draw on the conceptual resources of contemporary liberalism. Also, and importantly, I believe that just as theory may enable addressing the aforementioned questions, engaging with the constitutional politics of India will enrich the discussion on the role of internal reasoning. Indeed, debates in contemporary liberal philosophy have much to gain from the experience of polities like India, which, in the background of incommensurable but coexisting worldviews, are seeking to realize liberal ideals. Such cross-references can only assist in a genuine search for trans-cultural ideals. The above project fits into the larger plan for my doctoral thesis in which I wish to examine the conceptual basis for secularism in India. The Indian model of secularism does not fall neatly into the mode of strict separation of religion and politics. The idea is to look at how the Indian case may provide us with the possibility of conceiving and upholding the secular ideal in a manner that is different from, and perhaps an

alternative to, the mode of strict separation that is generally assumed to be only way to realize the commitment to secularism.

Lazar, Nomi - Moral Reason of State: Human Rights Under States of Emergency

My paper provides an account of the moral relationship of an ideology of order to the normal moral framework of liberal democracy. It develops a means of understanding how it could ever be just for liberal democratic states to act through emergency powers. Given the ubiquity of States of Emergency, they are under-theorised. In the 20th century, only Carl Schmitt provided a sustained, theoretical account, and his work is hardly appropriate to liberal democracies. This paper constitutes the theoretical core of my dissertation research on the ethics of emergency powers in liberal democracies. I develop a conception of 'moral reason of state,' as the principle governing order in liberal democracies under emergency conditions, without superseding human rights. This concept stems from a distinction between quotidian and existential political circumstances. By an existential circumstance I mean one in which the creation or preservation - i.e., the existence - of a political community is at issue. Quotidian political circumstances obtain within the normal framework of civic life. This distinction has been latently drawn in the history of political thought, but largely lost in 20th century normative political thought, even though the actualities it once served to acknowledge remain as ubiquitous as ever. Existential political ethics show the role of order in liberal democracies. Moral conditions within a political community differ from those outside of it. A political community like any encompassing community, creates new moral subjects with new duties and human possibilities. Moreover, states fulfill or coordinate important moral obligations, such as social welfare, and promote security, helping enable individuals to behave morally. Ensuring its existence in a functional and just incarnation is therefore, arguably, a necessary condition for worthwhile moral life in general. Nonetheless, it is critical not to allow moral reason of state to function as a trump, even if rights must be derogated. It cannot simply take precedence over liberal rights, as this would both remove the state's status as a liberal democracy and render the state unjust. It is for this reason that the complexities allowed by the differentiation of existential and quotidian ethics is so critical. It allows, for example, for critical mediating forces such as boundedness and accountability. Moral reason of state allows us to confront order and human rights without simply reducing the problem to some claim about the lexical priority of state or individual, or the idea that utilitarianism is suddenly true, even for human rights advocates, when the numbers get big enough. My aim is to illuminate these moral complexities in a way that allows a liberal democracy to remain a liberal democracy, even when faced with serious threats to order.

Lecours, André and McEwen Nicola - Voice or Recognition? Accommodation Dilemmas in Multinational States

Nationalist movements have presented a challenge to many Western states for over a century. Historically, the chosen management strategy was 'integration' into the larger national community, evident in efforts at nation-building largely underpinned and stimulated by wars and the welfare state. In the postwar period, this strategy had to be accompanied by efforts at accommodating national minorities within the structure of the state. The politics of accommodation bring with them some dilemmas, most notably with regard to the form such accommodation should take. This paper identifies two distinctive methods of accommodating national minorities within multinational states: recognition and voice. Recognition of national minorities is expressed primarily at a symbolic level, in the discursive articulation of multinationalism (Kymlicka, 1993; Taylor, 1992). Voice is expressed primarily at the constitutional level, in the granting of political autonomy (Hirschman, 1970; Lapidot, 1996). This paper will examine the contrasting strategies of territorial accommodation in the United Kingdom and Canada. In the United Kingdom, expressions of multinationalism have long been common in the political discourse but political autonomy has taken longer to follow. In Canada, autonomy was always part of the constitutional framework but there have been considerable difficulties in meeting demands for, firstly, the recognition of Quebec's national status within the Canadian 'national' state, and, secondly, the national recognition of the First Nations communities within the territorial framework of Quebec. The paper will seek to explain why different accommodation paths have been chosen in each case, and will consider the consequences and constraints these choices have had for the successes and failures of territorial accommodation. The empirical study will draw primarily upon discourse and documentary analysis, including constitutional documents, party political publications, and political speeches. It will also draw upon, and ultimately contribute to, the literature on national identity and territorial management (Keating, 1988, Rokkan and Urwin, 1983). References Hirschman, Albert, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty. Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations and States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). Keating, Michael, *State and Regional Nationalism. Territorial Politics and the European State* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988) Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Lapidot, Ruth, *Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflict* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, 1996). Rokkan, Stein and Derek Urwin, *Economy, Territory, Identity. Politics of West European Peripheries* (London: Sage, 1983). Taylor, Charles, *Rapprocher les solitudes. Écrits sur le fédéralisme et le nationalisme au Canada* (Ste-Foy : Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) About the authors: Nicola McEwen completed a doctoral thesis (University of Sheffield, UK, 2001) on the territorial implications of welfare state development in the United Kingdom and Canada, and has had a number of publications from this research. She is engaged in ongoing comparative research examining territorial politics and governance in Scotland/UK and Quebec/Canada. Andre Lecours (Ph.D. Carleton, 2001) is assistant professor at the department of political science of Concordia University. His central research interest is nationalism and he has published articles in *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics*, the *CJPS*, the *Canadian Review of Studies on Nationalism*, *National Identities*, the *Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development and Space & Polity*.

Lee, Martha F. - *Nesta Webster: Conspiracy Theorist, Fascist, and Feminist?*

Early twentieth century Britain saw the emergence of numerous far-right political groups. Women played a significant role in many of these movements. In 1923, Rotha Lintorn Orman founded the British Fascisti, and during the 1930s, the British Union of Fascists' membership was at least twenty-five percent female. Among these right-wing women, however, activist and author Nesta Helen Webster stands out. During her lifetime (1876-1960), she was a woman of considerable influence, and through her many books and articles, that influence continues today. Her work is the foundation for many modern American far-right political ideologies, including those of Pat Robertson, the John Birch Society, and the Militia and Patriot movements. She effectively popularized complex conspiracy theories and in so doing, provided a framework for political action. This paper examines Webster's life – which has not yet been the subject of academic study – and considers her political ideas, as expressed in her major publications: *The French Revolution, A Study in Democracy* (1920), *World Revolution: The Plot Against Civilization* (1921), and *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (1924). The particular conditions of her life, and the political backdrop against which she wrote, shed light on her political ideas. The paper also considers Webster's ideas on the nature and function of women, and considers them from a feminist perspective. While Nesta Webster was a conservative writer and Fascist activist, she held distinct and progressive ideas on the nature of women. *This research was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Leo, Christopher - *Rethinking Urban Governance in the 21st Century*

It has become a cliché that globalization - whatever that means - has vastly changed the world we live in. It has been used as a justification for instituting policies that are entirely conventional - for example, sharp cuts in taxes and social services, lowering of trade barriers - but that would have been unlikely to gain voter support a scant few years ago. However, if globalization is truly a world-changing phenomenon, it suggests the need to look beyond the conventional, to think about changing the way we organize ourselves politically and the policies we pursue, in new ways. The paper argues that the freeing of world markets and vastly increased mobility of people, ideas and money, has had the effect of weakening the position of national states, while thrusting urban regions, perhaps more obviously than at any time since the Hanseatic League, into the centre of economic development. It is more obvious today than ever before that the economic health of nations rests in large part on the prosperity of their urban-centred regions. However, each region requires an economic strategy appropriate to its particular mix of natural, locational and human attributes and that mix in turn calls for a unique set of social measures. Thus nationally centralized economic strategies and social policies are losing much of the salience they once had. Some political leaders and commentators are arguing that cities must be given autonomy and constitutional status in order to come to terms with these realities. This paper explores an alternate approach, involving the provision of central government support for policies that are largely generated at the local level. It briefly examines three attempts to work toward such an arrangement in the areas of housing renovation, immigration and welfare and offers a preliminary assessment of programme initiatives that are in many ways promising but remain, on the whole, an unrealized ideal. I have published extensively within various sub-areas of urban politics. This paper represents the early stages of a new project, involving a reconsideration of intergovernmental relations, primarily from a bottom-up perspective, rather than the usual top-down approach. I have done preliminary research in the area and have recently applied for a SSHRC major research grant to pursue the subject introduced in this paper submission. The proposed research involves a comparison of central-local relations in Winnipeg, Vancouver and St John.

Levesque, Richard - *Explaining the Existence of Policy Networks by Means of a Public Choice Approach*

A communication on how the way in which public choice theories measure the welfare effects that are caused by public policies affects their predictions concerning the way in which actors should rationally be led to act and behave within the policymaking process. Public choice theories seek to predict the way in which the different types of actors that are involved in the policymaking process (such as politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups, voters, etc.) should rationally be led to act and behave within it. To do so, public choice theories make assumptions concerning the preferences that these different types of actors hold regarding the effects that the policies that emanate from the policymaking process should ideally cause on the level of welfare that certain, specific, entities experience. In most cases (such as in the case of bureaucrats, interest groups and voters) public choice theories assume that the preferences of these actors solely concern the effects that public policies should ideally cause on their own level of welfare (this of course explains why many claim that public choice theories depict these type of actors as being self-interested). In the case of politicians though, this type of actors is usually not assumed by public choice theories to have preferences concerning the effects that policies should ideally cause on their own level of welfare but on the level of welfare that their voters experience. One thing that often goes unnoticed about the way in which public choice theories express the preferences of actors that are involved in the policymaking process is that it fundamentally rests on the idea there exist a causal relationship between, on the one hand, the policies that emanate from the policy process and, on the other hand, the level of welfare that certain entities experience. Yet this thing is most important to stress since the predictions that offer a given public choice theory concerning the way in which a particular type of actors should rationally be led to act and behave within the policy process are in fact heavily influenced by the properties that this theory will attribute to the causal relationship that links the policies that emanate from the policy process and the level of welfare that is experienced by the entities which this theory assumes are the ones that this type of actor care about the level of welfare that they experience. The properties that a public choice theory will attribute to the causal relationship that links the public policies that emanate from the policy

process and the level of welfare that experience some entities will in large be determined by the dependant variable that this theory will choose to use to represent and measure the level of welfare that they experience. In the vast majority of public choice theories, it is the resource endowment of entities (such as the goods and services that they can consume, the income they earn, and, more generally, their wealth) that is used as a dependant variable to represent and measure the effects that public policies cause on their welfare. In my presentation, I will seek to demonstrate that it is possible to make public choice theories offer different predictions concerning the way in which many type of actors should rationally be led act and behave within the policymaking process by using a different dependent variable to record and measure the effects that public policies cause on the level of welfare that experience the entities that these theories assume are the ones that these type of actors care about. More precisely, I claim that it is as well possible to make use of the extent to which entities exercise and submit to power to represent and measure the effects that public policies cause on their welfare. In my communication, I will focus more particularly on the case of interest groups to demonstrate the effect that making use of this alternative dependant variable to record and measure the effect that public policies cause on the welfare of these policy actors (since they are assumed to only care about their own welfare) will radically change how public choice theories will perceive and predict the way in which interest groups should rationally choose to act and behave within it. Firstly, I will show that it would be illogical to predict that interest groups should rationally be led to form policy networks within the policy process in a context in which the impact that public policies cause on their welfare is recorded and measured with the help of their resource endowment. This, I believe, explains why public choice theorists have never heard of policy networks as well as why they never cared to study this empirical phenomenon. Secondly, I will show that it would be most logical to predict that interest groups should rationally be led to form policy networks within the policy process in a context in which the impact that that public policies cause on their welfare is measured according to the extent to which they exercise and submit to power. This last result should be of interest to public choice theorists first and foremost since none of them has ever heard of policy networks but it should as well be of interest to political scientists that share Dowding's view that the policy networks are an empirical phenomena that has no real theoretical basis and substance since this demonstration is solely theoretical (deductive) in nature and hence it has the effect of giving it one. Moreover, I will not go in detail here, but this last demonstration can also be used to explain why most policy networks are associated with regulation policies.

Lindsay, Peter - Neutrality and the Myth of Free Markets

Justifications of the laissez-faire state are often made with appeals to neutrality-the notion that the state must not privilege any particular conception of 'the good.' Theorists such as F. A. Hayek, Robert Nozick and John Gray have argued that if individuals pursue economic activities via relatively unrestricted property rights (rather than rights limited by various social concerns), the ensuing distribution of resources will, in principle, reflect no official state position on what constitutes worthy economic endeavors. This paper examines the validity of these arguments. The primary question is, 'Does concern for neutrality with respect to moral ends actually commit liberals to a free market economy?' I argue that it does not, at least if liberals understand what neutrality must mean in the context of the property rights that give rise to economic activity. The argument is structured as follows. I begin with a brief overview of the argument for neutrality as it is made with specific reference to the market. Following this overview, I pursue a line of questioning suggested by one of the free market's most famous defenders, Robert Nozick. The discussion here centers on a conceptual difficulty free markets encounter. Specifically, I argue that the property rights of laissez-faire require very definite state sponsored decisions regarding their specific terms. In the absence of such decisions, such property rights would be left in a state of untenable ambiguity. Yet, and herein lies the problem for liberals, the need for these decisions renders all property rights emphatically non-neutral. Given this conceptual difficulty, I argue that the ground of neutrality must be shifted from that which avoids privileging any particular conception of the good to that which avoids unfairly doing so. With that shift in mind, neutrality can be seen in more consent-based terms-i.e., terms that recognize a legitimate foundation of property rights as being that to which individuals with different conceptions of the good could agree. I conclude with a few remarks about the sorts of economic relations that would arise were such agreement to be taken as the source of liberal legitimacy. (Note: I would be happy to chair a panel as well as be a discussant. (Question 8 did not allow you to choose both.)

Loepky, Rodney - Marketing Malaise: Two Worlds of Biomedical Production

My paper aims to shed light on the differing political economic contexts in which science and technology emerge in the contemporary era. As of late, a robust literature has emerged dealing with the regulatory and ethical challenges raised by the groundswell of genetics and biotechnology over the last two decades. In particular, there has been an overt concern with the question of societal 'medicalisation' – a process whereby various features of human existence are increasingly re-defined as medical 'conditions'. Consequently, much has been written on the need for state-based policy deliberation and regulation. However, this literature (much of it bioethical or sociological) has afforded very little space to examine the politico-economic context within which such research and technological application proceeds. As for historical specification, there is almost no literature on the comparative development of such processes in different regions of the world. My paper will ! undertake just such a comparison, utilizing the cases of the United States and Germany. While broadly comparable due to their predominant positions in the advanced industrial world, these two countries have evinced remarkably different paths in genetics research. And using political economy as a guide, it may be the case that the effects of such research will vary considerably in different geographical spaces. The point will be to explore whether

political economy might show us far more about the social limits of 'medicalisation' than any other field of study. In the broader setting of my research, exploring the various modalities of communication between the state, corporate actors, organisations and the public enhances our understanding of the motivating social forces which underpin genetics research. There can, after all, be little doubt that different states, to varying degrees, have put themselves in a peculiar position – attempting to strategically promote genomic scientific advance in the name of corporate and national aspirations for trade and strategic economic advantage while, at the same time, declaring a central role in the well-being and public safety of the general population. Ultimately, better understandings of the politico-economic grounding of scientific innovation can offer a basis for more compelling social criticism, identify pathways for efficacious forms of public involvement, and contribute to effective and beneficial forms of public policy.

Loizides, Neophytos G. - Why Nationalism Succeeds or Fails: A Boolean Test of Major Hypotheses in Greece and Turkey (1983-2003)

The primary focus of this paper is the study of majorities in times of crises, particularly of contentious events or episodes of majority nationalist mobilization (MNMs) from Greece or Turkey tested with the Boolean method. Majority nationalist mobilization is the process of enticing collective activity on the part of a majority group, or those who claim to represent it, for the ethnopolitical objectives of the group. MNMs rely at least in part on noninstitutional forms of interaction with elites, opponents, or the state, such as rallies, petitions, protest voting, and boycotts. I use the term majorities (or majority groups) for those politically dominant groups in a sovereign state and refer to 'demographic but not dominant' majorities for groups like the Blacks in apartheid S. Africa. Unlike minorities whose objectives often include the creation of a new state, majorities manifest national feelings in the maintenance of the already achieved state sovereignty, the protection of ethnic kin elsewhere, and the safeguard of national culture. While most of the literature in the study of contentious ethnic politics deals with the study of movements oppositional to the state (e.g. by secessionist minorities), there are few studies of political movements that support state ideologies and goals (e.g. by aggrandized majorities). In addition, despite the presence of a wide range of alternative perspectives on ethnic mobilization, testing competing hypotheses using comparable cases has been extremely rare. The topic of majority nationalism offers the opportunity to compare and contrast competing perspectives that generate determinant and testable propositions grounded on institutionalized politics, socioeconomic variables, ethnic antipathies, rational choice, and collective action frames. Using Boolean analysis, I check these perspectives against a set of event data from either Greece or Turkey or both. In spite of a number of important limitations, this method allows for testing of these hypotheses to illustrate whether they are qualitatively true or false or whether they result in contradictions across a larger number of cases. This test will distinguish between theoretical perspectives, which require no further investigation because they fail to identify adequately the conditions conducive to MNMs and those perspectives which provide important cues and require further theoretical and empirical support.

Lynch, Peter - Marriage versus Divorce: Political Parties and the Costs and Benefits of Secession and Union in Scotland After Quebec, Scotland offers the most likely contemporary example of secession in an advanced industrial democracy. Though Scotland has experienced 3 years of autonomy within the UK, public support for secession has remained stable. Devolution has neither killed off secessionist sentiment nor encouraged it. Despite this, the issue remains a live one and a major theme at the 2003 Scottish election. This paper will examine the changing debate over the economic and political consequences of Scottish independence amongst the political parties using party documents and speeches. The paper will utilise the cost/benefit approach of Viva Ona Bartkus's Dynamics of Secession to analyse the contending strategies of the Scottish National Party and Labour Party in either promoting or opposing Scottish secession. In doing so, it will link up with a wider literature on secession that focuses on the issues of economic and political transitions and the case of Quebec. The paper will focus on the SNP's evolving position on secession which has moved away from stressing the benefits of secession and minimising its costs, to emphasising the costs of Union and the economic weaknesses of devolution. The paper will examine SNP strategy over the economic dimension to independence from the 1970s onwards, with a special emphasis on the party's strategies at the 1999 and 2003 Scottish elections. The paper will also examine Labour's responses to independence and its attempts to play up the costs of secession by claiming that 'divorce is an expensive business' which would bring economic and political uncertainty. In particular, the paper will examine the altered strategies of the two main parties evident in 2002-3 to focus in the Union rather than independence. Instead of focusing on secession, the SNP began to campaign on the costs of membership in the UK Union. It focused on the limited tax and economic powers of the Scottish Parliament, the historically low growth of the Scottish economy and a host of related economic and social problems which devolution cannot solve. The logic of this position is to improve the economic powers of the devolved parliament to move towards independence. Labour, meantime, has begun to emphasise the benefits of membership in the UK Union with reference to shared values and identity, citizenship, economic success, common institutions and the importance of the welfare state as a binding UK institution. The paper falls within the author's interest in Scottish Nationalism and minority nationalism in general and is drawn from research completed for the book SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party, published in 2002 by Welsh Academic Press.

Maas, Willem - Conflict Among Concitoyens: Managing Differences in EU Constitutionalism

European elites have been actively engaged in creating European citizens, epitomized by the recent introduction of a common EU citizenship. Although sceptics at first dismissed it as unimportant, the realization has fast grown that a shared

EU citizenship is an important development in the history of European integration. The common European identity flowing from common EU citizenship might be seen, to borrow from David Miller, to “foster the mutual understanding and trust that makes democratic citizenship possible.” Its result might be to transform the EU into what Will Kymlicka, writing about Canada, terms “a multination state and the feelings of common loyalty it engenders reflect a shared patriotism, not a common national identity.” Or perhaps not. European policymakers and those who study European integration have been remarkably silent about the potential negative effects of common rights. This paper examines the limits of European citizenship and sketches out ways in which its introduction could lead to increased rather than decreased tension. Using the current constitutional convention as a touchstone, I argue that there are risks to a common citizenship and that these risks will require responses grounded in the comparative experience of managing conflict and difference.

MacDonald, Douglas - The Business Campaign to Prevent Kyoto Ratification

In July, 2001, the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change agreed to allow Canada to include carbon stored in the sinks of forests and agricultural lands as part of its Kyoto commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 6% below 1990 levels. This allowed Prime Minister Chretien to then give the clearest statement yet that he intended to ratify the Protocol. In response, a number of business sectors, including the fossil fuels, automotive and chemical industries, joined broad-based associations such as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in a major lobbying campaign to prevent ratification. That campaign intensified, including use of full-page newspaper advertisements, following the Prime Minister's statement on September 2, 2002, that the House of Commons would vote on ratification by the end of the year. The proposed paper will examine this effort to influence a federal environmental policy decision as a case study of the larger subject of the role played by business in the Canadian environmental policy process. Several themes will be explored. The first will be organization as a source of political power, since business is divided – nuclear, renewable and hydro-electric power industries support Kyoto. Secondly, the paper will explore the influence of federalism upon business influence, by examination of the ways in which business has co-ordinated its political campaign with provinces such as Alberta and British Columbia which are opposed to ratification. Finally, the paper will explore the effectiveness of the lobbying tactics used. The research method to be used is a combination of primary document analysis and interviews. The foundation for this research will be research on national climate policy making done during the past year with SSHRC and university funding. My theoretical perspective is qualitative and pluralist, resting on the assumption that while business enjoys considerable structural power, flowing from its perceived legitimacy in a capitalist society, there are limits to its political influence. It is my hope this paper will contribute to scholarly understanding of both that initial power and its limits. This research is part of my ongoing examination of business as an environmental policy actor, which has provided the basis for two previous CPSA papers and will, eventually, culminate in a book to be published by Broadview Press.

MacFarlane, Jonathan - Political Philosophy in Canadian Confederation: Montesquieu and Locke or Montesquieu vs. Locke

This paper explores the philosophical roots of confederation. The paper can best be seen to have two constituent parts. The first section of the paper addresses the "Hindsight and Horizons" theme of this year's conference by undertaking a comparative review of the existing literature on the philosophical influences of Confederation. Canadian scholarship can be seen to take its bearing either from American politics, American political science, or both. Just as Canada's founders took important cues from the American experience, cues about both what to emulate and what to avoid, so too have Canadian scholars taken cues from studies of the American constitutional experience. This paper argues that Canadian scholarship can be seen to follow the American scholarship. The American scholarship has shown Canadians effective theories and methods of constitutional study, and has equally been instrumental in accenting bases for contrast between the two countries. The second section of the paper seeks to situate itself within that same Canadian scholarship by assessing the philosophical character of the political institutions established by the British North America Act, 1867. Scholars of Confederation and of Canadian political culture such as Gad Horowitz, George Grant, Charles Taylor and James Tully assert that John Locke was the dominant philosophical influence on Confederation. Philip Resnick argues that Montesquieu is the more instructive philosophical guide. This paper contends that it is more fruitful to see Confederation as a conjunction of philosophical influences. Rather than argue ascendancy for one political theorist over another, this paper concentrates instead on identifying the particular character of the philosophical amalgam present in Confederation. This identification begins with an exploration of the political institutions laid out in the BNA Act, accompanied by an analysis of the specified reasons for adopting them as found in various of the Confederation debates. The political documents and historical context are compared with the constitutional writings of Locke and Montesquieu. The theoretical significance of the paper is two-fold. First, the paper contributes to and hopefully advances the existing debate about the philosophical character of confederation, and deepens our understanding of Canada's political tradition, such that its full resources become more readily available to us. Second, the paper uses Canadian constitutional history to try to learn something about Locke and Montesquieu. The philosophical amalgam present in Confederation can serve to illuminate the question of whether these two thinkers are really as similar as has generally been assumed. The paper grows out of the author's research interests in Canadian politics, political theory and history. Essentially, this paper combines some of the author's understanding of Canadian constitutional history with political philosophy.

MacIvor, Heather - Levelling the Playing Field: The Impact of the Figueroa Ruling on Canada's Election Regime

In the fall of 2002, the Supreme Court of Canada is expected to issue its ruling in the case of *Figuroa v. Canada* (Attorney General). The *Figuroa* case may force the Justices to resolve a conflict among (and within) several provincial courts. That conflict concerns the legal status of political parties and, specifically, the degree to which the law may legitimately discriminate against smaller or newer parties. Some lower-court judges espouse the "party equality" approach, under which laws which discriminate against smaller or newer parties violate sections 2(b), 3, and/or 15 of the Charter. Examples include the 1999 trial ruling in *Figuroa* and the dissenting judgment in the 1995 Reform Party appeal. Other judges have embraced the "two-tier" approach, which justifies legislative discrimination against smaller parties on the grounds of "effective representation". Because the larger parties have a monopoly on Parliament, and they are the only credible contenders to form governments, they may legitimately craft laws which deprive their smaller rivals of crucial state benefits. Such laws include the 50-candidate threshold for inclusion on the Register of Parties, the airtime allocation formula which denies TV access to new parties, and the restriction of candidate reimbursements to those who won at least 15 percent of the vote. The 2002 *Figuroa* ruling could transform the Canada Elections Act, if a majority of the Justices adopts the "party equality" approach. On the other hand, a majority ruling in favour of the Crown would permit even more blatant legislative discrimination against parties such as the Greens or the Communists. The proposed paper would describe the conflict between the two judicial approaches described above, and analyze the impact of *Figuroa* on the future of our electoral and party systems. (Note: I was told by Mr. Justice Bastarache that the ruling would come down this fall. However, there are few certainties in the Supreme Court schedule; if *Figuroa* proves particularly controversial, the ruling may not come down until the spring of 2003. This could pose problems for the writing of the paper. Therefore, I have prepared an alternative topic just in case. The contingency paper would compare the development of Canadian and American jurisprudence on electoral-finance laws, including the regulation of "third-party" campaign spending. I will draft a more precise proposal on this topic if and when it becomes necessary to do so.)

MacLean, George A. - Economic Multilateralism and the Canadian Interest

Given the tendency in Canada to integrate policies with other actors in the world arena, it has become axiomatic to suggest that there is a historical commitment to multilateralism in Canadian foreign relations. For substantive foreign policy analysis, the more critical issue concerns the causes for this multilateral commitment. Although there is a relative dearth of studies on the causes of multilateral commitments in Canadian foreign policy, it has often been suggested that Canadian multilateral commitments have resulted in a "dependent" foreign policy, where Canadian wishes and activities are tightly, or even overly, associated with its partners and allies. Drawing from this, one might conclude that the national interest in Canada – the pursuance of policies in the interest of the nation – is disregarded in the broader effort to coordinate policies with others. This paper suggests that Canadian multilateralism actually has led to a degree of independence in Canadian foreign economic relations. Given its middle power status, Canada has achieved a level of influence in its foreign policy through organizational links with other states that it otherwise would not have realized. Consensus-building and the ability to articulate independent views simply would not be possible were it not for institutional fora such as those referred to above. This paper seeks to demonstrate how the Canadian national interest has been supported through multilateral behaviour. The study will analyze objectives and obligations of Canadian foreign policy within the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the proposed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), and assess both the role played by Canada, and the implications of a concentrated role in the Canadian national interest.

Marland, Alex - Have and Have-Not: The Use of Political Marketing in Modern Canadian Federal Elections

For all the attention it has received in the United States and United Kingdom, the application of commercial marketing tactics to elections has yet to be examined in Canada. Few insights exist about the use of most political marketing tactics in Canada, or even about marketing at the constituency level in parliamentary systems. To what extent is American-style political marketing practised in this country? What are some of the trends in Canadian electoral communications? How do promotional tactics differ between parties, regions, and electoral districts? These and other questions remain outstanding in a fundamentally changing electoral environment. This paper begins to address these and other knowledge gaps by presenting data from mid-2002 depth interviews with 20 Canadian federal election campaign strategists. A range of political marketing indicators was conceptualized to identify some marketing activities that might provide insights into election campaigns' marketing thought, preparation, and execution. Specifically, in addition to probing conceptual/organizational concepts, five classic political marketing tools (comparative advertising, celebrity endorsements, direct mail stealth campaigns, oppo, pre-campaigning) and five newer tactics (Internet campaigning, push polls, robo-calls, paid phone banks, video imaging) were examined. It is found that although marketing research is used for national and constituency campaign strategy development, this is not the case among the many weak campaigns, whose promotional decisions are made spontaneously during the campaign proper. The suddenness of elections and by-elections has caught many organizations off-guard, limiting the amount of formal preparation in the form of strategic plans. The amount of preparation is often linked to the party's electoral support, which is often linked to financial status, expertise, and marketing knowledge. However it is explained that "political marketing" is an unfamiliar academic term to even the most senior strategists and that Canadian election decision-makers are discriminating in the American-style marketing tactics they adopt. For example, the backlash associated with the Tories' 1993 ads that "attacked" Liberal leader Jean Chrétien's facial paralysis continues to cause strategists to be wary of adopting American-style attack ads. The conclusion is drawn that regardless of electoral status that all Canadian campaigns are increasingly professionalized, but

that in part due to financial constraints, political marketing is currently practiced only by major parties at the national level and in those parties' winnable constituency campaigns. (This is a revised paper originally presented at the Political Marketing Conference 2002, University of Aberdeen, 19-21 September 2002)

Marois, Thomas - *Global Capital, Crisis, and the Role of State: The Emergence of Neoliberalism in Costa Rica*
Drawing on a historical materialist framework (Poulantzas 1978), the main objective of this paper is to critically explore the historical emergence of neoliberalism in Costa Rica since the apex of the 1982 debt crisis to present day. This critical exploration will be approached not by looking solely within the confines of the national borders; but rather by analyzing the emergence as a moment within the wider capitalist inter-state system (or, as some have referred to as the world market). The importance of this topic lies in rooting out the forms of political domination inherent to neoliberal restructuring and addressing the central question of "who benefits?" from this new form of domination. To this end, I argue that contrary to dominant 'common-sense' (cf. Gramsci) or mainstream understandings, the emergence of neoliberalism in Costa Rica is best understood as a historical class-based ideology that, in its central aim of overcoming recurrent barriers to capital valorization (i.e., labor), assumes all social, political, and ecological problems can be solved via increased forms of exploitation and by more direct exposure to market competition. I develop this argument in the following manner: a synthetic analysis of a triad of interrelated dimensions, namely crisis, global capital, and state, which are themselves moments of the wider social relations of capitalist production (cf. Poulantzas 1978; Bonefeld 1999; Clarke 1988; Panitch 1994; Soederberg 2001a, 2001b; von Braunmuhl 1978; Cypher 1989). To date, mainstream discussions on the emergence of neoliberalism in Costa Rica (and Latin America generally) have been framed in overly technical and narrowly economic terms (Agosin and French-Davis 1995;), often focusing on the so-called efficiency of the market and common-sense neoliberalism within liberal or institutionalist frameworks (cf. Lecuona and Momayezi 2001; Larraín and López-Calva 2001; Wilson 1998; Booth 1998). More critical accounts have tended to focus upon the so-called globalization thesis, namely the idea that states are withering away under the sweeping powers of transnational actors and corporations (Clark 1997; Robinson 1998). These discussions have tended to ignore the centrality of historical class struggle in social change and how neoliberalism's emergence is tied to the above triad of inter-related dimensions. This paper will address this unfortunate gap (cf. Goss and Pacheco 1999). Through an analysis of this inter-related triad, I will develop the thesis that neoliberalism is a class-based ideology that emerges as a new form of political domination.

Marschall, Melissa and Shah, Paru - *The Institutional and Social Context of Urban School Reform*
For every problem with the public school system, there is a corresponding reform solution. Indeed, as has been noted by many scholars in a variety of disciplines, episodic and incremental reform is the status quo in urban public schools (Schneider et al. 2000, Henig 1994, Chubb & Moe 1990). In scanning the landscape of school reform, one quickly becomes overwhelmed by the breadth and diversity of the efforts underway. As Hess (1999) noted, the resulting "policy churn" does not necessarily cause the urban school districts to perform poorly, but may inhibit the implementation of systemic school reform. A central question addressed in this literature is the extent to which civic capacity drives reform and thereby directs which problems are tackled and the nature of the solutions offered. Stone (1998) maintains that civic capacity is the mobilization of various stakeholders in support of a community wide cause. These stakeholders in most large urban systems include professional educators, parents, the business sector, community-based actors, and, in some cases, city hall. The building blocks for civic capacity are civic mobilization and shared understanding. The former addresses the degree to which various sectors of the community come together in sustained support of school reform and related efforts to improve educational opportunities and performance; the latter involves the extent to which stakeholders, or what Stone also references as the urban regime, share a common understanding of the education problem at hand. While Stone's approach to civic capacity and urban regimes provides a new and important framework for conceptualizing urban education reform, to date no study has sought to systematically test this theory. Interrelationships among civic capacity, institutions, social networks, and community organizations have neither been clearly specified nor analyzed empirically. Instead, extant research has primarily focused on case studies and more qualitative evaluations of school politics and school reform in a handful of cities. In our study we focus on operationalizing and measuring the key constructs of Stone's theory while also developing a set of testable hypotheses about how formal governing arrangements (e.g., municipal form of government, minority incorporation in local politics, local electoral systems, educational bureaucracy & governing arrangements) influence informal governing arrangements (e.g., composition of urban and educational regimes, structure of inter-organizational networks) and how both formal and informal arrangements influence education reform and schooling outcomes. In our project we supplement data collected by Stone et al. (2000) in the Civic Capacity and Urban Education Project with additional measures of municipal political, social, and educational institutions and outcomes at multiple points in time. We conduct careful empirical analyses to uncover the relationship between civic capacity, urban regimes, and urban education reform. We believe this research stands to make a significant contribution to the work on urban politics and local school reform.

Martin, Geoffrey - *Municipal Reform in New Brunswick: The Never-Ending Project*
For the last ten years, the legal framework within which New Brunswick's municipalities operate has been unsettled. In the Frank McKenna era there was considerable uncertainty because the provincial government undertook the forced amalgamation of a number of communities and also engineered the replacement of the City of Moncton Police Force with the RCMP. Further, in 1995, the McKenna government implemented a new Unconditional Grant system, that redistributed

a smaller total sum of money to municipalities and Local Service Districts (LSDs) based on a new, controversial formula. However, this new unconditional grant system was never fully phased in, as the Bernard Lord government, elected in 1999, responded to municipal discontent by freezing the phase-in. In addition, for the last five years interested parties have been discussing a new Municipalities Act, since the existing act dates back to 1968 and arises from the Equal Opportunity era. In the last four years, New Brunswick has been going through a constant series of meetings on municipal reform. This began with a Minister's Roundtable on Local Governance, and then the creation of three more committees on various issues, two of which are working groups operating in private, and one of which is a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly. This research project will be based on library research in addition to interviews with participants in the process. This paper will survey this process and the likely direction that the reforms will take, particularly in light of the reforms that have taken place elsewhere, including Nova Scotia. This reform process may lead to the most profound changes in New Brunswick local governance in the 35 years since Equal Opportunity, or the results may indeed be shelved.

Masson, Dominique - Engendering Regional Development Policy-making in Quebec

Restructuring in Canada is a more complex and heterogeneous phenomenon than can be perceived from the analysis of federal government decisions alone. Provincial governments benefit from a regime of separation of powers and of distinct systems of representation that makes for the possibility of considerable sub-national variation. What is increasingly called "the Québec model" of restructuring rests on a very different relationship between the state and civil society than at the federal level, and elsewhere in Canada. Rather than severing the links with civil society and its intermediary associations, Québec governments of both Parti Liberal and Parti Québécois have taken, since the early 1990s, a path to restructuring that has involved enrolling economic and social actors from civil society as "partners" in a variety of structures of "concerted action." Various mechanisms of quadripartite policymaking and policy implementation have been put in place that bring together regional actors representing the state, businesses, unions, and the community sector in projects of "shared governance." As part of this process of associating civil society actors to decision-making and service delivery, funding for women's movement organizations and recognition of their advocacy role have been reinforced in the 1990s. Using the example of the devolution to Regional Development Councils (RDCs) of provincial responsibilities and capacities in matters of regional development, my paper shows why and how these political opportunities have been seized by regional women's movement actors to "engender" the institutions and processes of Regional Development policymaking.

McDougall, Allan K. and Valentine, Lisa Philips - Sovereign Survival: Borders As Issues

After the Treaty of Paris of 1783, British control of the old northwest differed from the negotiated reality. Detroit was a central place for trade and remained under British control. The First Nations were ignored. This paper will trace trade and community patterns in the borderlands while the state was in flux between 1786 and 1796. It will then focus on the impact of the border as it was implemented by the US and British imperial authorities. The examination of the impact of the border on First Nations and on the spatial assumptions of the state authorities will illustrate the functions of borders as they emerge. By looking at the emergence of a border, the paper will offer a different vantage point from many contemporary studies of established borders and their impact on ongoing practices.

McIntyre, Kim - Gendering Campaign Financing: Implications for Canadian Democracy

This paper provides one piece of an examination of Canadian state structures which advances understandings of gender and democracy. Financing of a political party system has traditionally been recognized as an important area to examine when studying state institutions and their relationship to democracy. Rules and regulations regarding financing have been of particular interest to those scholars who critically engage with understandings of Canadian democracy and who are concerned that an "uneven playing field" in the political arena with regards to financing has implications not only for particular parties and candidates themselves but for the public as a whole. In fact, the study of campaign financing raises significant questions about what democracy means as well as what it requires. Unfortunately, comparatively little has been written paying particular attention to the role of gender in campaign financing. Further, when authors have considered it important to examine the gendered implications of campaign financing much of the work in this area has been done without empirical analysis. Therefore, using information collected by Elections Canada for the 37th general election in November of 2000, I begin to examine how gender affects campaign financing. Questions concerning amounts raised, number of donors, sources of donations and connections between amounts raised and election to office are all critical to understanding the potential role of gender in campaign financing. Furthermore, these questions must be raised within a context that takes into account the partisan nature of the Canadian political system and factors such as incumbency. Once the initial data has been formulated and examined, it is then possible to intervene into discussions of the state of democracy in Canada and to enrich these debates by providing crucial attention to gender. Examining the role of campaign financing in Canada fits within my wider research interests of understanding women's relationship to the state and gender and public policy. Further, much of my work examines economic implications of the situation for women in Canada and thus a study of campaign financing is a fitting area of inquiry.

McKeen, Wendy - The Child Benefits Debate in the Late 1990s/early 2000s: The Progressive Sector, the Discourse on 'Social Exclusion', and Welfare State Politics

Social policy and anti-poverty organizations and other social justice groups have long played a role in helping to shape public debate on social policy in Canada. Mobilizing under the theme of "child poverty," this sector was a major force in promoting reform of the child benefits system, albeit, within the confines of a targeting model. In this paper I explore the role and impact of the progressive sector on the contemporary welfare state debate in Canada by examining its activities in the context of the recent child benefits debate (i.e. late 1990s/early 2000s). My central question is how have progressive actors responded to the newly emerged discourse on "social exclusion"? While "social exclusion" is increasingly being pronounced by international agencies and in general terms by the Canadian government, I ask whether and how this discourse has penetrated the more particular debate on child benefits: is it giving progressive actors new leverage in challenging the narrow neo-liberal targeting agenda? What repercussions does it have for welfare state politics more generally and for the direction of policy change? The study will be based on an analysis of the debates on child benefits as reflected in the House of Commons Finance Committee hearings on the design of the National Child Benefit (1997/98) and the last few years of pre-budget consultations. I will also examine the recent educational campaigns (particularly conference material) by social policy organizations, and conduct interviews with a selection of informants within the "progressive" sector of the social policy community. Welfare state politics is too often attributed to "neo-liberalism" or to the faceless force of globalization, or, when political agency is considered, it is conceptualized in fairly narrow terms (eg. as politician-constituent relations). I argue that a more complex and nuanced approach to examining the politics of welfare state restructuring is needed - one that recognizes that policy choice involves a range of actors, both hegemonic and oppositional, whose demands interact and influence each other in shaping the parameters of the reform process. This study is a sequel to my previous analysis of the shaping of the child benefits debate over the mid-1970s to mid-1990s period. In this paper, I continue to explore how the marginalized opposition to neo-liberalism articulates its cause and to show that the particular discursive/strategic choices of these actors do indeed make a difference in shaping the broader universe of social policy debate.

McKenzie, Judith - The Failure of the Community Care Model in Mental Health Policy in Canada

The Failure of the Community Care Model in Mental Health Policy in Canada by Judith McKenzie, Ph.D, MCIP University of Guelph Although a number of scholars have examined health care policy in Canada (Tuohy, 1999; Gratzner, 1999; Boase, 1994; and Redden, 2002) through a variety of lenses, none have concentrated on the politics of mental health policy in Canada. Many initiatives in this policy area have de-emphasized programs that were particularly geared towards those who suffered from severe mental illnesses (SMIs) to programs aimed at minimizing stress in the workplace and workplace well-being. This trend continues to be an ongoing one in Canada whereby working citizens benefit from one set of entitlements whereas non-workers or part-time workers with episodic mental illnesses are only entitled to limited benefits. This trend is the outcome of the widespread popularity and implementation of the New Public Management (NPM), the downsizing and erosion of the welfare state, and its associated notions of public sector/private sector/voluntary partnerships and Alternative Service Delivery (ASD) that have dominated program formulation and policy-making since the mid-1990s in Canada. This paper will examine how the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill gave way to the community care and support model and will discuss how and why this model has failed. In particular, the paper will explore how supportive housing, income assistance, and supported employment opportunities have not been funded to the degree necessary to integrate those with SMIs into the communities in which they live. As the evidence mounts about the increased incidence of mental illness in our communities, the current situation of the failure of the community care model has important consequences for persistent homelessness and poverty among our citizens who suffer from severe and chronic mental illness. The methodology used in this paper will involve several steps. It will examine the rationale for the community care model in the first instance and identify its key principles. Second, the study will systematically expose the ways in which these core principles have been dismantled. In developing the argument, this study will include interviews with mental health practitioners, mental health advocates, and government officials involved in program and service delivery. Time permitting, the paper will conclude with a look at a 'best practice' of a community care model and why it has succeeded where others have not.

Mellon, James G. - Islamism, Kemalism and the Future of Turkey

The Islamist (or Islamic revivalist) movement has inspired support in Turkey for a more overtly political expression of Islam but the Turkish context differs from that in other predominantly Islamic countries in that the Kemalist Revolution in Turkey put in place an explicitly secularist politics limiting public expressions of religious faith. The Kemalist Revolution has emphasized the aspect of Turkey as a European state, has supported an explicitly Turkish nationalism to the point that even the existence of a Kurdish nation and language is denied, and has in recent years supported the movement for Turkish membership in the European Community. In contrast, Turkish Islamists have emphasized the aspect of Turkey as an Islamic and Middle Eastern state. For the Kemalists, an improvement in Turkey's human rights record and some sort of accommodation with Kurdish nationalists may be the price of admission into the European Community, and for the Islamists, influence in Turkish politics as more than a periodic voice of protest or a momentary beneficiary of a fragmented vote among secularist parties may be dependent on some accommodation to the secularist orientation of contemporary Turkish political culture so that non-Islamists will, at least, be inclined to accept an Islamist party or government as legitimate. It need not, of course, necessarily follow that simply because compromise is in the interest of both sides that it

will necessarily take place but indications at this point are encouraging. This paper will reflect a continuing concern with issues of religion and politics that commenced with my 1990 Ph.D. dissertation at Dalhousie on the intervention of the American Catholic bishops in the debate surrounding American foreign and defence policy. That topic was the focus of a paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association conference held in 1991 at Queen's. Other issues related to religion and politics were discussed in other of my papers, including "Religious Pluralism and Democratic Politics" (presented at the conference of the Atlantic Provinces Political Studies Association, October 1994), "Religion and World Politics: The Politics of the Cairo Conference on World Population" (presented at the conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1995), "Islam and International Politics: Examining Huntington's 'Civilizational Clash' Thesis" (published in the journal *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 2, no. 1, Summer 2001), and "Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism, and Inter-state Relations in the Arab World" (forthcoming in the journal *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*). There are a number of countries that I would like to consider more closely, and Turkey is one because of the circumstances set out above.

Meynell, Robert - CB Macpherson and a Canadian Intellectual Tradition: The Accidental Hegelians

The influence of idealism on Canadian political thought has been identified by a few intellectual historians and philosophers, including A.B. McKillop and Leslie Armour, but its status as a tradition and the extent of its influence after 1950 has been almost entirely overlooked. I seek to correct this oversight in my doctoral thesis where I study the importance of idealism in Canadian political thought after 1950 and explore its role in current debates on neo-liberalism, cultural pluralism and the roots of Canadian communitarianism. I argue that Canadian idealism promotes a distinct conception of freedom, community and history, and that the source of this perspective is G.W.F. Hegel. This essay, which will be a chapter in my dissertation, argues that C.B. Macpherson was a prominent representative of this tradition. Recent scholarship has described his perspective as a blend of T.H. Green's ethical liberalism and Marx's political economy. He looked to Green for his ontology, the notion of human fulfilment, and Marx for his analysis of the relationship between the property theory of classical liberalism and class oppression. What is not sufficiently appreciated is that Green and Marx both looked to Hegel for inspiration, one for his theory of an overarching unifying spirit, the other for his political economy. By bringing the two together, Macpherson unwittingly engages in a retrieval of the original and much maligned Hegel. I will draw the parallels between Macpherson's and Hegel's work, and I will also provide a brief biographical sketch to account for how Macpherson might have picked up his Hegelian idealism. For my interpretation of Hegel, I look to Robert Pippin and Robert Williams. According to Pippin and Williams, his infamous Geist is not the omnipotent spirit that negates individual will, but rather a term for the activity in which ideas, reason and action blend in a logical and dialectical fashion. I recognize that Macpherson and others of his generation would not have been aware of this interpretation of Hegel. As Peter Lindsay has rightly noted, Macpherson openly embraced certain metaphysical assumptions which underlay his critique of possessive individualism, but "metaphysics was neither his passion nor his strong suit." I contend that had he delved deeper into those waters he would have found himself drawn to Hegel as Pippin and Williams read him. By understanding Macpherson's work in this way we can get a more complete grasp of his perspective and where it might lead us. In Lindsay's superb book *Creative Individualism*, he often employs Hegel's formulations to shed light on Macpherson's theories. What we now need is to recognize Macpherson's similarity to Hegel for what it is, the extension of a tradition that has been a major force in defining Canada's political culture.

Michaud, Nelson - Les défis de la continentalisation : la réponse d'une entité fédérale canadienne

Les pressions croissantes de la mondialisation, de la continentalisation et de la globalisation interpellent doublement les entités fédérées : d'une part, elles doivent défendre des intérêts relevant de leur propre champ de compétence et qui sont de plus en plus souvent mis au défi venant de l'extérieur, et d'autre part, elles font face à un cadre opérationnel qui, de l'intérieur de la fédération, ne leur offre pas toujours, de façon statutaire, la possibilité d'intervenir en leur nom propre. La question est au cœur d'un débat pour lequel on trouve des défenseurs de l'ordre westphalien établi – le seul acteur international est l'État national souverain – et des promoteurs d'une vision adaptée aux menaces posées aux États infranationaux par les réseaux internationaux de toutes natures. Dans le cas particulier du Canada, les actions des provinces face à l'intégration continentale n'a pas encore été analysée, même si elles sont brûlantes d'actualité. En effet, si, depuis la fin des années 1980 avec son adhésion à l'OÉA, le Canada a entrepris une marche qui le porte vers une participation de plus en plus grande dans les affaires hémisphériques, que font les provinces face à ce phénomène? La signature de l'ALÉ avec les États-Unis, son extension en ALÉNA, les négociations pour établir semblable entente avec le Chili ou encore par la participation aux négociations en vue de l'établissement de la ZLÉA sont autant d'occasions où elles sont interpellées. Pour les provinces canadiennes, un tel engagement peut avoir des répercussions importantes, notamment au Québec. Comme Bernier (1996) l'a démontré, le développement de ses relations internationales s'est fait en fonction d'axes qui relient Québec à Paris et à Washington. L'ouverture sur les Amériques annonce donc bien davantage qu'un simple volet de la mondialisation. Que signifie alors cette intégration pour les relations internationales du Québec? Comment se traduit-elle? Les conclusions de Bernier prévalent-elles toujours ou le contexte force-t-il le Québec à modifier son approche? Cette communication tentera de répondre à ces questions en explorant deux dimensions de l'action du Québec sur la scène internationale. La première consiste en une analyse des orientations contenues dans les énoncés d'intention des principaux acteurs politiques telles qu'exprimées dans la politique gouvernementale du PQ et dans les énoncés programmatiques du PLQ et de l'ADQ. La seconde explore les récents développements dans l'action concrète du gouvernement québécois dans le domaine des relations internationales.

Miljan, Lydia and Howorun, Cristina - Media Ownership and the Coverage of Scandals

This paper explores the interplay between newspaper ownership and content. Canada has the highest press concentration of ownership in the industrial world, with 95% controlled by six chains. When Conrad Black assumed majority ownership of the Southam newspaper chain, many commentators were concerned that his well-known conservative views would infiltrate the news content. With the change in ownership from Hollinger to Canwest, there have been renewed concerns of owner control of the news. In the latter case the concerns have been whether the Asper family with its ties to the Liberal government have had an undue influence on editorial content. The questions we seek to address is: Does ownership matter? Can a difference be detected in newspaper coverage from one owner to another? This paper seeks to explore those questions using a content analysis of National Post and Ottawa Citizen coverage of the Liberal government's scandals. Notably we examine whether the tone and volume of coverage of the Chretien Liberals has changed since CanWest assumed majority ownership of Southam. The Globe and Mail will be utilized as a control variable.

Montpetit, Éric, Scala, Francesca and Fortier, Isabelle - Deliberative values and Policy Influence: An Analysis of Women's Organisations and Canada's Policy for Assisted Reproductive Technology

Protecting the physiological and psychological health of women and children features as the main justification for developing a Canadian policy for assisted reproductive technology (ART) in all official documents and inquiry reports sponsored by the federal government. Vulnerable women and children, these documents claim, are particularly exposed to ART-related risks, hence the urgency to build a regulatory system for this area. Nevertheless, after over a decade of policy development efforts, the federal government has failed to adopt a significant policy pertaining to ART. Two bills were introduced in the House of Commons since the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies in 1993, but federal policy-makers abandoned both. We argue that the value placed on deliberations by women's organisations undermined their capacity to develop a coherent position on ART, thus reducing their policy influence in the decision-making process. We propose a careful assessment of the participation of women's organisations to the Royal Commission and to the development of the two aforementioned ART bills. We will pay particular attention to the extent to which values of dialogue and deliberation are embedded within the network of women's organisations. A vast literature indeed suggests that women's organisations are often inclined to leave aside interest-based confrontational approaches in favour of pursuing such deliberative values. In order to respect diversity and satisfy a broad range of views, these organisations may temper their position on issues and even retrench behind an individualist discourse. In this paper, we will examine the effect of these discursive practices (to the extent we observe their prominence) on the influence of women's organisations over ART policy development in Canada. This paper builds on the empirical research Montpetit and Scala are pursuing in this policy sector and on the expertise of Fortier with feminist theory.

Mooers, Colin - Missing Bodies: Commodification, Identity, and the Public Sphere

The 'bourgeois public sphere' as set out in the work of Jurgen Habermas (1989) is premised on what Nancy Fraser (1993) has called a 'masculinist ideal': the logic of abstraction which defines its structure privileges the male, the white, the middle-class and the normal, as an 'unmarked identity' (Warner 1993). This paper traces the sources of this logic of abstraction to the capitalist commodity form. The silences and exclusions of bourgeois public sphere with regard to 'marked' forms of gender and other forms of identity, is finally rooted in the logic of abstraction which defines commodity production where concrete, embodied, acts of human labour are transformed into abstract, homogeneous, quantities of exchange value. The dialectic of embodiment and disembodiment between the productive sphere and the public sphere adheres to the same dialectic of visibility and invisibility which marks the commodity form itself. Those who do not conform to the 'unmarked identity' of the bourgeois male enter the public sphere at the cost of shedding their concrete, embodied identities. Full embodiment remains a privilege only of the 'unmarked' bourgeois male. In the sphere of production in contrast, workers are radically embodied in all of their gendered and racialized concreteness. However, as an embodied presence, the capitalist disappears from production appearing only as a 'personification of capital,' as an 'incarnation' of the valorization and circulation of capital.

Morris, Martin - The Concept of Communicative Power in Habermas and Deleuze

Habermas and Deleuze offer competing critical theories that draw centrally on the idea of communicative power. This concept of communicative power is used explicitly by Habermas to indicate the dynamic social basis of human communication. Deleuze does not use the term communicative power, but its presence can nevertheless be reconstructed in his work -- albeit in a very different form than in Habermas's theory. Communicative power, for Deleuze, acquires a (post)structuralist form in the operation of the network whereas in Habermas it is brought into being through the speech act itself. The paper will compare and contrast these authors' philosophies of communication via an analysis of the concept of communicative power and will argue that our understanding of both theorist's positions is enhanced with a proper grasp of this concept. Alongside this argument, the paper will also draw out key differences between (Frankfurt) critical theory and Deleuzian poststructuralist critical theory pertaining to their respective views of communication. Both Habermas and Deleuze find great theoretical value in the concept of the (social) system as a communicational network and hence a comparison of the two will be illuminating for developing critical social scientific analyses of political communication under current conditions of 'postmodernization' or 'informatization.' There have been very few

comparisons of Habermas and Deleuze in any form in English to date, and none of which I am aware that compare them using the concept of communicative power.

Murray, Karen - Provincial Government Reforms in Canada Since the Early 1990s: The Making of the Active Citizen
This paper surveys provincial government reforms since the early 1990s and shows how they are shaping the boundaries of citizenship. Most studies analysing the relationship between government reforms and citizenship focus on the repressive aspects of change. The negative effect of reforms on specific individuals and groups is critically significant. Yet, there is also a productive component that needs to be explored. Government reforms not only circumscribe previously held rights (such as those which promote equality of opportunity) but also encourage, and in fact require, new forms of subjectivities. As William Walters and Wendy Lerner point out, government is not simply imposed on people. Rather, an integral aspect of rule is self-government, which functions 'at a distance' from formal institutions of political authority. From this vantage point, government changes do not simply limit specific forms of public participation in democratic processes, but also they open up, shape, and engender a fundamental reorientation of how to be a citizen. Government reforms also have important effects on particular individuals and groups, often times resulting in exclusion or marginalization. These processes serve to create and augment social divisions, frequently along the lines of race, class, and gender. This paper draws on a Foucauldian-based perspective of government, which sees governance as including the multiple and heterogeneous practices founded on discipline, order, and organization that emerge not only from state institutions but also from "extra-governmental" practices. The paper demonstrates three main points. First, provincial reforms are not only transforming 'the state,' but also rendering domains 'beyond the state,' for- and non-profit organizations, families, and individuals, as increasingly important to promoting the 'public interest.' Secondly, these changes are promoting norms that encourage individuals to adopt the necessary skills and will to support this goal. Specifically, provincial government transformations promote active citizens, who are flexible, autonomous, and exercise freedom of choice in a more market-based society. Such processes are not, however, all encompassing. Hence, a third point raised in the paper is how government reforms also marginalize and exclude certain people along the lines of class, race, gender, and other social divisions. These exclusionary processes further highlight the ideal forms of citizenship embedded within provincial government reforms. This paper is part of the author's larger research programme that examines changing forms of governance in Canada.

Narine, Shaun - Great Power Rivalries and the Prospects for Regionalism in the Asia Pacific
The security environment in the Asia Pacific has begun to alter dramatically under the influence of the American "war on terrorism". Southeast Asia is fast becoming the next front in the American war. At the same time, other regional powers – notably China – are trying to assert themselves through economic and other means. After decades of gradually evolving multilateral cooperation, how will these new security pressures and emerging or established regional rivalries affect the prospects of regional institutionalism in the Asia Pacific? How will these factors affect the formation of a regional identity, a goal that many local statesmen have been pursuing for several decades? This paper argues that fundamental tensions between the United States, China and Japan severely limit the prospects of regional institutional development. However, other possibilities for cooperation outside of the multilateral framework do exist and may take the place of explicit institution-building in the region. Concerns with sovereignty and limited shared identification have traditionally been barriers to effective regionalism in the Asia Pacific. Nonetheless, the operation of security and economic interests, particularly concerns about political instability fuelled by economic uncertainty in the global economy, will probably provide greater impetus towards cooperation between Asia Pacific states than has been the case for many years. This proposal takes the debate in the literature in a slightly different direction than the norm. The more established debate is about whether or not the Asia Pacific can develop effective institutions. This approach fails to consider fully the alternatives to formal institution-building. This paper builds on the author's earlier work on regional institutionalism in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific. It is a continuation of a study of the effects of the Asian Economic Crisis on regional financial institutionalism. It is also rooted in a consideration of how regional financial and economic arrangements reflect the ideological and cultural dispositions of the Asian states. It examines how security and political complications arising from the American "war on terrorism" have the potential to seriously compromise the political environment of the Asia Pacific.

Narozhna, Tanya - Foreign Aid for Post-Euphoric Eastern Europe: The Problem of Models
A mixed record of foreign aid failure and success in post-socialist transition and growing discontent with reforms among East Europeans make the usefulness of western assistance increasingly questionable. In order to demonstrate how aid has shaped contemporary developments in the region, this paper will focus on transition as a transfer of western models - that is of concepts, symbols and representations. Following the end of the Cold War, two major models of western assistance to Eastern Europe were elaborated. The Bush administration called for a Marshall Plan-like assistance strategy with massive financial investments. Others advocated a so-called Third-World model based on limited bilateral, multilateral and/or non-governmental aid often tied to specific objectives or projects. A serious defect of both models was that they paid little or no attention to broader socio-cultural environment in post-communist countries. The key argument to emerge is that by disregarding cultural frames and codes, especially those shaped by socialist legacies, aid proved incapable of performing many of the objectives it was intended to achieve, leaving the nature and substance of democracy and market in Eastern Europe questionable. Values and perceptions, norms and implicit understandings are to be taken seriously. The paper will demonstrate that inter-subjective beliefs shared by the members of society may

facilitate or constrain what they actually think and do, and thus lead to broader socio-political consequences. The reference will be made specifically to the case of aid experience in Ukraine with a view how these relate to broader conceptual issues of development and foreign aid. My choice of methodology is determined by the nature of the project. The empirical portion of the paper will rely both on secondary literature, especially with the focus on different models of development, both Western and local; as well as on the governmental and non-governmental sources (for example, primary documents produced by Ukrainian government re. development strategy for the country, interviews with state officials, intellectuals, NGOs employees, and public opinion surveys). All the literature will be analysed from a critical constructivist perspective, major emphasis being placed on ideational factors ranging from culture, to inter-subjective principles and beliefs, on to interpretation of specific policy problems. The agenda for contributions into debates on development and foreign aid would be precisely to particularize, i.e. to show how an ideas and models that originate in Western intellectual and political discourse have different referents and implications within East European societies.

Nikolenyi, Csaba - Strategic Coordination and Party System Fragmentation in Post-Communist Central Europe

This paper examines the impact of electoral systems on strategic coordination and party system fragmentation in three Central European post-communist small states in : the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia. The paper will re-examine and test the conventional wisdom which stipulates that district magnitude (M) imposes an M+1 upper bound on the number of viable competitors at the district level (Cox, 1997). According to this wisdom, Slovakia should have the highest degree of party system fragmentation followed by the Czech Republic and Hungary. The paper will also consider three alternative hypotheses. The first is that various other institutional features, such as bicameralism, may affect the impact of the district magnitude. Second, frequent changes in electoral rules may slow down the learning of their optimal strategies by voters and elites. Finally, in a new democracy both voters and elites may take time to learn the expected and real effect of institutions. Therefore, the effect of the electoral system on the strategic calculation of actors in these states is expected to equilibrate over time. The three emerging democracies of Central Europe present an interesting set of cases for at least two reasons. First, their electoral regimes are both new and have gone through changes within a very short span of time. While Hungary has gone through four national elections since the inception of competitive multiparty democracy, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have had three elections each since the dissolution of their former federal union. As such, they present hard cases for the electoral system theory of strategic coordination. Second, the three small states belong to the same historically defined region, East Central Europe. Therefore, a number of cultural and sociological variables that might plausibly impact on the behavior of voters and elites can be controlled for. References Cox, Gary. 1997. Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the Worlds' Electoral Systems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noël, Alain - Democratic Deliberation in a Multinational Federation

In the last twenty years, the constitutional debate has contributed to broaden the scope of democracy in Canada. In this country, constitutional politics used to be primarily a bargaining game among elites. Gradually, it has become a more open process of democratic deliberation, where principles are invoked and where citizens are engaged and sometimes consulted. The first breach in this process was the 1980 referendum on sovereignty-association in Quebec, a referendum that was accepted as legitimate by the federal government but was not retained as a model for the 1982 constitutional reforms. At the federal level, it was the 1987 Meech Lake Accord, at first a typical closed-door bargaining exercise, that fueled demands for a more open process. The Quebec government's promise of a referendum and pan-Canadian pressures for a better process combined in 1992 to produce a first Canadian referendum, on the Charlottetown Accord. In Canadian political science, many applauded these democratic advances (Cameron, Cairns, Chambers, Noël, Resnick, Simeon, Tully), but some also deplored them, as inappropriate for constitutional debates in a multinational federation (Ajzenstat, Atkinson, James, Lusztig, Russell). Overall, the governments of Canada shared the pessimistic viewpoint. For all their references to citizen engagement, they generally preferred closed political debates. The Calgary Declaration, the Social Union Framework Agreement, and the Clarity Act all point in this direction, as do various processes in more mundane policy areas (Phillips). But how can democratic deliberation be enhanced in a multinational federation like Canada? One option, much discussed in recent years, is to reform political institutions, to make elected governments more representative and more sensitive to popular demands (proportional electoral systems, recall mechanisms, popular initiatives). Another option is to design procedures specifically to engage the public in deliberative processes (Mendelsohn). While some of these proposals may have merit, they cannot be evaluated without a clear understanding of what democratic deliberation entails. Indeed, deliberation properly understood is not so much about institutions and procedures as it is about dialogue and conversation (Bohman, Blattberg). As such, deliberation is always going on in a democracy. What is difficult, particularly in a multinational constitutional monarchy, is to acknowledge and value this real-life process. Once this is done, however, democratic deliberation can be enhanced, with little institutional tinkering. This paper proposes a realist understanding of democratic deliberation (in reference to scientific and moral realism), and illustrates its meaning with references to a few Canadian policy debates. The paper then raises the more difficult question of multiplicity and constitution-making, to emphasize the importance of recognition as a prerequisite for democratic deliberation.

Nyvit, Mark - Subtle Reformations of the French Monarchy: The Role of the Christian Religion in Montesquieu's Political Philosophy

With the ubiquitous weight of 17th century pessimism in France, Montesquieu's *l'Esprit des lois* offers a potent elixir and optimism to the subsequent century with words of subtle and quiet reform into a relatively peaceful and comfortable era, to be brought about essentially through commerce. The most common form of government during Montesquieu's time was monarchy and the dominant religion of all European states was Christianity, in both its forms: Catholicism and Protestantism. In Part I of *l'Esprit*, Montesquieu devotes his study to the three forms of government – republic, monarchy, and despotism – and their respective animating principles – virtue, honor, and fear. For the purposes of this essay, I will primarily study Montesquieu's evaluation of the republican and monarchical forms of government. More specifically, my objective is to demonstrate Montesquieu's critique of monarchy and the principle of honor, and especially the French monarchy of his day, and his preference for a democratic republic, animated by the spirit of political virtue. This value judgement expresses Montesquieu's desire for a French republic, and, as every reform requires a mediating channel through which a new government can be established, Montesquieu privileges the role of religion to achieve this end. By demonstrating the incompatibility of Christian, or more accurately Protestant, virtue and the principle of honor in the French monarchy, Montesquieu summons the Christian religion to surpass the false honor animating the French monarchy of his day. However, the role of religion is not to rule the state, but rather to produce good citizens in a state. It would seem that Montesquieu is quietly instituting a reform of the French monarchy in favor of a republic, in which Christianity, and again more accurately Protestantism, remains the state religion, for it can uphold the rule necessary to educate the citizens of a republic by way of suppressing their individual passions. This is a great advantage to a republic that desires its citizens to love and preserve the homeland through the principle of virtue. Part I of this paper will explore Montesquieu's evaluation of the republican and monarchical forms of government, with an emphasis on Protestant Christianity as the means of instituting a French republic. Part II will primarily focus on Montesquieu's view of religion as assuming only the role of producing good citizens for the state. Thus, while Christianity becomes a means of instituting a French republic, it is nevertheless not conferred with more power than that of the state.

O'Neill, Brenda - Women's Status in the Canadian Provinces

This paper provides a comparative investigation of the status of women in the Canadian provinces. The concept of status is complex and can relate to a number of areas of women's lives including economic, political, educational, and health. The downsizing of the Welfare State has had significant consequences for women at the provincial level, for women make up a greater share of those accessing welfare services and of those employed by the welfare state, and given the provinces' key welfare responsibilities. Employing data from various sources, a set of comprehensive indicators will be created to measure women's status in five key areas: political participation and representation, earnings and employment, reproductive freedom, educational attainment and health and well being. The goal of the paper is to identify patterns across the provinces in women's status in an effort to identify clear causal relationships between women's status and political (e.g. party in power), economic (e.g. per capita budget expenditure) and social and cultural (e.g. level of religiosity or public opinion re. women) factors.

Oman, Natalie - An Interpretative Approach to Legitimizing Intervention on Humanitarian Grounds

The December 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) introduces one important corrective and one decisive innovation into the intervention debate. First, it abjures an exclusive focus upon military intervention for humanitarian purposes, reestablishing intervention involving the physical crossing of state borders (usually the intended referent of the term "humanitarian intervention") as one extreme of a spectrum that continues through economic and diplomatic isolation and finally extends to the prosaic and varied efforts to influence that typify the foreign policy practices of all states. The report underscores the importance of regarding military intervention as a last resort that can only be employed in a manner proportionate to the human rights violation or humanitarian crisis in question. But the report's main contribution lies in its innovative reconceptualization of the challenge posed by cross-border intervention to state sovereignty. The ICISS report's authors argue that states bear primary responsibility for the protection of the people under their care. When states fail to make good faith attempts to fulfill this responsibility, it devolves upon the international community of states to protect populations at risk from domestic threats such as state repression and collapse, insurgencies, and civil strife. Through these simple premises, the ICISS introduces a paradigm shift that changes the terms of the debate over intervention and provides a theoretical foundation for focusing upon the human needs of individuals that has previously been unavailable to proponents of intervention on humanitarian grounds. The conceptual judo performed by the report's authors by moving from a preoccupation with the establishment of a right of intervention to the articulation of a responsibility to protect has the effect of dramatically diminishing the apparent relevance of the issue of the inviolability of state sovereignty, essentially by redefining sovereignty itself. In performing this reinterpretation of the concept of sovereignty, the ICISS panel is acting in accordance with a significant body of legal scholarship that regards the exclusivity and inviolability of sovereignty as legal fictions. The report's attempt to redefine sovereignty is just one installment in an ongoing process of evolving reinterpretation. Taken together, the interpretivist legal theory argument that sovereignty is a function of the duly expressed will of the people and the ICISS's articulation of a state's duty of care with respect to the well-being of the people within its borders suggest the terrain on which a new interpretative strategy legitimizing some forms of humanitarian intervention might be charted. In order to enhance the contribution such a synthetic approach might make to political theory, in the final part of this paper I develop a

philosophical underpinning for the ICISS' commitment of the well-being of populations by building upon Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen's work on universalizable measures of human quality of life. I argue that the promotion of "human flourishing" -- defined in terms of the existence of opportunities to achieve prescribed minimal levels of capability for human functioning -- should become the proper end of humanitarian intervention, just as Nussbaum and Sen contend that it ought to serve as the explicit goal of development assistance.

Orr, Shannon K. - Participation in International Climate Change Policy

The purpose of this research is to answer the question: Given the fact that it is states who ultimately have the authority to make decisions about international policy, what is the role of non-state actors in the international policy formation process? It will be argued that while regimes and subsystems are highly analogous, regime theory tends to overlook the role of interest groups, while subsystem approaches tend to overlook the role of the state. Because of this difference of focus, each of these approaches would answer the above question slightly differently. When the two approaches are integrated, it is hypothesized that they will better account for the realities of interest group participation in international policy formation. This research will explore the similarities and differences of these two approaches, and then use that discussion, to create a new framework for understanding interest group participation in international policy formation. This framework will then be tested through a web-based survey of the 513 organizations accredited to participate in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations. In addition, interviews and field observations will be done at the 8th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC in New Delhi, India from October 23-November 2, 2002. This research will create a bridge between the three areas of political science (policy subsystems, international regimes and interest groups), fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge about interest groups and determine the degree to which domestic policy studies can be applied to the international arena. The proposed framework could have applications to other issue areas with large-scale interest group participation such as sustainable development.

Orsini, Michael - Every Virus Tells a Story: Engaging Hepatitis C Patients in Research and Policy

As many as 250,000 Canadians are estimated to be infected with Hepatitis C. In the majority of cases, Hepatitis C is a chronic, life-long condition with patients experiencing a wide variety of symptoms, some of which are debilitating. Like AIDS, Hepatitis C is notorious for the sheer heterogeneity of the people it infects, including IV drug users, transfusion recipients, hemophiliacs, and surgery patients. Like AIDS, there is no vaccine for Hepatitis C nor is it curable. And while AIDS has commanded a great deal of scientific and government attention, HCV is only now making its way onto the public health research agenda. While there is certainly much to do in the way of scientific and medical research into the etiology and treatment of Hepatitis C, this paper is concerned with how the application of social scientific methods (narrative analysis and participatory policy analysis) can illuminate our understanding of the social dimensions of illness and the effectiveness of government responses in the areas of treatment and service delivery. Using a qualitative approach that blends elements of narrative inquiry with participatory policy analysis, this paper contends that a comprehensive evaluation of Hepatitis C in Canada must analyze the personal experiences of individuals living with a positive Hepatitis C diagnosis. It highlights the meaning of Hepatitis C in the local contexts of their individual lives and particular communities. It aims to broaden the range of analysis available to policy makers by incorporating the 'experiential' knowledge of individuals living with HCV. This research seeks not only to "bear witness", but to lead to the creation of policies and programs that will improve the lives of infected individuals, and reduce the incidence of HCV in Canada. Within this framework, researchers take on the role of 'interpretative mediator' between theoretical/scientific data and the "illness narratives" of patients. We categorically reject the hierarchical relationship between experts and citizens, seeking to replace it with co-operative research practices designed to empower people with Hepatitis C. This paper, a work in progress, is based on the preliminary results of a series of open-ended interviews with Hepatitis C patients from across Canada, including persons who were victims of tainted blood, others who contracted Hepatitis C through injection drug use, and persons who are still unaware of how they were infected.

Page, Christopher - Can Political Parties Benefit From Changing Their Leaders?: Provincial Party Leadership, 1960-2002

Conventional wisdom suggests that unpopular political parties can address their difficulties by replacing their leaders. In varying ways, this belief underlies recent debates about leadership within at least four of Canada's federal parties. Provincial parties that have recently attempted to improve their fortunes by selecting new leaders include the B.C. NDP, the Ontario PCs and the Quebec Liberal party. But is the conventional wisdom correct? David Stewart and Kenneth Carty analysed the effects of provincial parties changing leaders between 1960 and 1992 (Canadian Journal of Political Science, June 1993). They argued that changing leaders has generally not helped to improve parties' electoral performance. Part one of this paper will critically examine their argument, while part two will consider the experience of the past decade. In part one, after reviewing the argument and its implications for how the roles of party leaders are understood, the paper will argue that Stewart and Carty are overly dismissive of parties' efforts to win support by changing their leaders. First, the authors do not deal with situations in which parties fail to choose a new leader with the maximum vote-winning potential. Second, they pay insufficient attention to the reasons why parties change their leaders. Third, for part of the article, they conceptualize the question so imprecisely that any result other than an election victory is in effect considered a failure even if the new leader has given a party a substantial electoral boost. The result is that Stewart and Carty somewhat understate the impact of leaders on their parties' fortunes and are excessively critical of the conventional

wisdom. Part two of the paper will examine data for the decade since Stewart and Carty's analysis. Following a modified version of their methodology, it will analyse the cases in which provincial parties have changed their leaders from 1993 to 2002. The analysis will investigate whether there has been any change in the fortunes of those parties that select new leaders. It will also explore the implications of the increasing use of universal member vote systems to elect party leaders. In the conclusion, the paper will take a position that falls between the conventional wisdom and Stewart and Carty's: changing the leader frequently does not solve an unpopular party's problems with its electorate, but it is often sensible under the circumstances.

Pahlavi, Pierre Cyril - La cyber-diplomatie : nouvelle stratégie d'influence

Avec l'interdépendance croissante, la scène internationale se transforme en une arène de persuasion au sein de laquelle l'emploi de la force brute perd de sa prépondérance au profit de stratégies d'influence plus subtiles. Simultanément, la globalisation et la révolution des mass médias incitent les états à se doter d'outils de diplomatie modernes tels que les satellites, la télévision et Internet. Ce contexte favorise ainsi le développement d'une forme sophistiquée de politique étrangère, axée sur l'exploitation conjointe de la force en douceur de la culture et de la capacité massive de diffusion des nouvelles technologies de communication. De plus en plus d'états à travers le globe se tournent vers cette 'cyber-diplomatie' pour étendre leur influence internationale, améliorer leurs relations avec leurs partenaires et créer une conjoncture favorable à leurs intérêts. Or ce phénomène d'ampleur planétaire suscite un certain nombre de questions : Quelle est l'importance de la diplomatie culturelle au sein de la politique étrangère des États ? Comment s'organise-t-elle ? Quelle place y occupent les NTIC ? Cette politique d'influence a-t-elle vraiment un impact sur l'évolution des relations entre les États ? En tentant de répondre à ces questions, cette communication vise à montrer que la diplomatie culturelle constitue désormais un des piliers de la politique étrangère, dotée d'organes et de moyens de communication propres, ayant pour fonction de promouvoir l'influence internationale d'un pays par la projection et l'institutionnalisation de ses normes domestiques à l'étranger. Elle tente également d'expliquer comment cette stratégie de persuasion peut effectivement stimuler la coopération en influençant la perception des autres états. Combinant la théorisation déductive et l'analyse empirique, la méthode employée est de confirmer ces hypothèses à l'aide d'études comparées de cas de politiques culturelles incluant notamment ceux des États-Unis, de la France, du Canada, du Japon ou de la Turquie. La démonstration consiste également à faire apparaître une coïncidence temporelle entre la politique culturelle d'un pays et l'évolution des relations politiques et économiques avec ses partenaires. Cette étude est une contribution à l'avancement de nos connaissances théoriques et empiriques. Elle développe une approche théorique novatrice située entre réalisme et constructivisme admettant qu'un état peut promouvoir ses intérêts tout en générant parmi ses partenaires une dynamique volontaire de coopération et d'échanges. De plus, elle fait apparaître la diplomatie comme un outil de sécurité préventive facilitant la socialisation et l'intégration de groupes ou d'États potentiellement dangereux avant qu'ils ne constituent une menace réelle et que la dissuasion militaire ne devienne la seule option. De manière générale, cette communication contribue à faire mieux connaître une dimension négligée des relations internationales, appelée à jouer un rôle important dans le maintien de la paix et de l'ordre mondial au XXIe siècle.

Pal, Leslie and Teplova, Tatyana - Domain Games: Global Governance of the Internet

The paper will consider the challenges of globalized, semi-privatized, non-governmental policy regulation by examining the tensions at the heart of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). ICANN manages the Internet's domain name system (e.g., dot com, dot org, dot ca). Domain names can be considered as an aspect of commerce, with links to intellectual property and trade marks. They can also be viewed as part of a common property resource (the Internet) that should not be constrained by private interests. ICANN's history reflects this tension. In 1997, the Internet Society (ISOC), the International Telecommunications Union, and the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority (IANA) proposed, after massive international negotiations and the support of over 130 groups and organizations world wide, a generic Top-Level Domain Memorandum of Understanding (gTLD-MOU). The gTLD-MOU became contentious in the international Internet community because it was thought by some to give private interests greater control and protection (e.g., copyright protection on domain names). The US was not satisfied with the MoU, and released a White Paper that argued that the system should be privatized and self-regulating. ICANN was the result of extensive international consultations, and is now responsible for the IP address space allocation, protocol parameter assignment, domain name system management, and root server system management functions (see <http://www.icann.com>). ICANN has had substantial growing pains since 1997. A February 2002 article in Wired suggested that ICANN was going through the most turbulent period in its four-year history: "[T]he president of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers candidly admitted that the group's experiment in global online democracy had been a loser of an idea. His language was blunt: "Flawed from the beginning ... noble but deeply unrealistic ... fatally flawed." The paper will address the short history of ICANN from the perspective of the literature on globalization, particularly with respect to private governance and democracy at the global level. The paper will contribute to the literature on privatized global governance regimes, but will argue that states and state institutions remain important in understanding these emerging dynamics. The paper will be a case study based primarily on textual analysis of ICANN documents and materials, as well as several interviews with ICANN members and observers. The research is part of a larger SSHRC funded MCRI project on Globalization and Autonomy (see <http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~global/gaa.htm>)

Pammett, Jon and LeDuc, Lawrence - Elections and Participation: The Meanings of Turnout Decline

At a time when it should be increasing, electoral participation is decreasing, both in Canada and in many other developed democracies. The decline in voting turnout to historic lows in the most recent Canadian and British elections is symptomatic of a larger problem which modern democracies face concerning the engagement of citizens in the political process. Studying this trend with conventional survey data has been difficult, because of the under reporting of non voting in mass surveys and the skewed generational patterns of non-participation. While conventional surveys of the electorate can tell us much about the attitudes and behaviour which lie behind the phenomenon of declining turnout, there are considerable limitations in the answers that they are able to provide. In this paper, the authors will report the results of a new national survey of non-voters, designed especially to investigate the phenomenon of non-participation in the electorate. This survey contains an large oversample of non-voters and a survey instrument which has been constructed to provide new insights into the nature of non-voting in Canada. The meanings of the turnout decline, and the possible consequences for democratic accountability and agenda setting, will be explored. There has been a growing feeling among citizens of the meaninglessness of electoral participation. This meaninglessness is felt in two senses. The first is the lack of a numerically strong national opposition which would place an overall Federal election outcome in doubt, and spark interest in the campaign. The second is the lack of party competition at the local constituency level in a substantial number of ridings. While one can never predict with certainty that this situation is likely to continue, there are few signs that the Canadian party system is about to become more competitive in the near future. The voting rates of generations entering the electorate in the last two decades, and particularly since 1993, are substantially lower than those of previous generations. The generational aspects of the turnout decline will receive special attention in this paper. Public negativity to politics and politicians, lack of competition and an ensuing feeling of the meaninglessness of electoral participation, a potential decline in feelings of citizen duty, and administrative factors are among the multiple explanations of the decline in turnout of younger generations.

Patel, Nazeer and Hanvelt, Marc - Macpherson's Dream: Defending Imagination in Political Philosophy

The paper will explore the role of imagination in formulating normative political argument. Because normative theory necessarily requires the transcendence of accepted beliefs and opinions, imagination plays a central role in its articulation. The normative element seems best captured by viewing political philosophy, in part, as an imaginative leap, which incorporates existing knowledge while constructing possible alternatives. If the imaginative leap is too broad, however, it will undermine the strength of the normative argument by divorcing it from the realities of political society. Our central question, then, focuses on the limits within which imagination contributes to the articulation of a useful normative framework. We also seek to draw methodological implications for interpreting works of political philosophy. In other words, how do we accurately determine the original intent or purpose of classical theorists like Hobbes or Locke? C.B. Macpherson's methodology, for example, contains an implicit normative component that seeks to imagine a political society without 'possessive' qualities. While he claims to ground his explanation of 17th century liberal theorists in empirical realities, Macpherson nevertheless uncovers in their work a normative element imbued with an imaginative quality. More 'pragmatic' methodological enquires, like those employed and endorsed by Quentin Skinner, may eschew this type of analysis; however, this paper contends that rather than obfuscating practical insights, the use of imagination helps reveal normative arguments. The work of Macpherson demonstrates how imagination contributes to the construction and analysis of political philosophy. By incorporating the notion of imagination into a methodological framework, this paper: (1) presents an alternative reading of and justification for Macpherson's work; and (2) offers a novel way of understanding the link between political conditions and the resulting normative arguments that they engender. There may be those who contend that the methodological debate with which we engage has lost currency in political philosophy. It seems, however, that we cannot lose touch with this debate if we are to critically consider normative arguments and their place in the history of ideas.

Pickel, Andreas and Donais, Timothy - The International Engineering of a Multiethnic State in Bosnia: Why is It Bound to Fail, and yet Likely to Survive?

This analysis explores the international project of engineering a multiethnic state in Bosnia, its major obstacles and prospects. The central question to be addressed is the extent to which international goals and efforts are fundamentally at odds with the social processes of change in Bosnia. Neither international engineering as such, nor the liberal goals guiding the efforts in this case, are necessarily doomed to failure. In other postcommunist countries, notably those scheduled to join the EU in 2004, international mechanisms have complemented domestic mechanisms of postcommunist transformation. However, the particular domestic dynamics of state-building ("state without a nation") in Bosnia have failed to produce a powerful domestic constituency fully supportive of the international project. Rather, these dynamics have left Bosnia caught between the ongoing pull of ethnic nationalism, on the one hand, and the demands of ethnic reintegration as a precondition for eventual membership in European political and economic structures, on the other. We will identify and discuss the major mechanisms and their interactions at international and domestic levels and place them in the context of similar and different cases of transformation.

Pickup, Mark - Issues in Measuring Government Public Support

When examining the degree of public support for the government, the most direct measure is electoral outcomes. However, these are relatively rare and insensitive to specific government initiatives. Thus, academics regularly rely upon public opinion measures, such as government support ratings. This has raised important issues regarding the relationship

between different measures of public opinion and their relationship to election results. It is clear that polling data differ from electoral outcomes. It is less evident what produces the discrepancy or why public opinion measures sometimes over predict government support, while at other times under predicting it. Johnston (1999) has proposed that the 1993 election marked the emergence of a new pattern in the inter-election, government support cycle. The pattern that was replaced had, itself, only begun in 1974. Attempts to identify factors affecting inter-election polling responses identify exogenous variables, such as proximity to the next election, media coverage of government activities, rallying effects and the fragmentation of the government opposition. Accordingly, this study addresses the following issues. 1) What is the political, electoral cycle followed by government support ratings? 2) How has the cycle changed overtime? 3) To what extent is the cycle and changes within it explained by exogenous variables, such as Parliament being in/out of session, the fragmentation of the opposition, the expectation of an upcoming election, etc? These issues are examined, through the exploration of election outcomes and Gallup poll ratings of Canadian federal government support, since 1945. The cycle followed by government support ratings will be estimated using a structural model with ARMA disturbances and will control for factors such as the state of the economy. This study will lay the groundwork for further methodological analyses of measures of public support. Further work shall take advantage of the alternative measures, question wording and questionnaire designs used by various polling firms to further explore issues in measuring government support. Ultimately, this study is intended as the initial step in a PhD thesis that will explore the response of the electorate to government spending, taxation, and fiscal policies. Reference: Richard Johnston, "Business Cycles, Political Cycles and the Popularity of Canadian Governments, 1974-1998," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32, 3 (Sept 1999) 499-520.

Plaw, Avery - Why We Would be Better Off Without an Anti-Terrorism Act

On October 15, 2001, the Canadian government followed its American and British counterparts in responding to the September 11th attacks and an escalating general pattern of terrorist violence by introducing an Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill C-36). This new legislation proposed the introduction into Canadian law for the first time of the concept of "terrorist activity." On the 18th of December, 2001, a slightly revised Bill C-36 received royal assent, and on the 24th of that month, came fully into force. This paper argues that while the revisions to the original bill may have contributed significantly to ameliorating some of its most troubling provisions, we would still be far better off without this, or indeed any, specifically Anti-Terrorist Act. In essence, it argues that Canadians would be better off not introducing a concept of "terrorist activities" into Canadian law, but rather treating such activities simply as criminal. The paper advances three basic arguments against the desirability of an Anti-Terrorist Act, and draws on the Canadian legislation as a prime example of the kinds of difficulties such an Act entails. First, it argues that what would normally be recognized as terrorist activities are already crimes under the Canadian Criminal Code, and that the real and legitimate threat such activities pose to Canadians could be adequately addressed through moderate adjustments of the Code (and of Canadian public policy). Second, it argues that the "terrorism" is too ambiguous to provide a useful legal concept. The difficulties entailed in giving this concept legal meaning are exemplified in the ambiguities and even contradictions in the definition of "terrorist activities" provided in Section 83.01 of the Canadian Act. Finally, the paper argues that prosecuting terrorists under sub-section b.ii.A of Section 83.01 would automatically draw unnecessary attention to the underlying purposes, objectives or goals of terrorist activities and their motivating ideology, and hence would serve the terrorists' interests in disseminating their "political, religious or ideological" cause. It would, moreover, serve to reenforce terrorists' self-portrayal as martyrs in a greater cause. This counter-productive outcome could, however, be avoided simply by treating the activities as criminal, and hence considering only whether the accused intended an act proscribed in the Criminal code, and thus avoiding the problematic analysis of the deeper "political, religious or ideological" motivations of intending such an act. The political advantages of the government offering a strong legislative response to terror are obvious. Nonetheless, the paper concludes that if the Anti-Terrorism Act can be shown to be unnecessary, inherently ambiguous, and in certain integral respects counter-productive, then we will be better off without it, or any such Act.

Plaw, Avery - Isaiah Berlin's Normative Pluralism and Expressive Liberalism: Why Two Liberties are Better Than One
Isaiah Berlin's Normative Pluralism and Expressive Liberalism: Why Two Liberties are Better than One
The idea of value pluralism that Berlin helped to pioneer in Anglo-American political thought - the idea that the values and models that inform our lives are irreducibly diverse and rivalrous in ways that cannot always be rationally arbitrated - has proved deeply influential, not only through the explicitly "value pluralist movement" that, in William Galston's words, Berlin "helped spark," but also through some of the movement's major rivals. The neutralist liberalism of John Rawls and Ronald Dworkin, for example, and the democratic republicanism of Quentin Skinner and Philip Pettit, today accept forms of value pluralism. Neutralist liberals, argue, for example, that if we are to live justly together in spite of the value pluralism that characterizes our personal lives, we must distinguish public questions from private ones, and must search in the public sphere for neutral principles capable of exclusively guiding our deliberations. By contrast, what is primarily important for democratic republicans is a political system which encourages both the open expression of diverse principles in public life, and organizes democratic decisions between them. In terms of their common appeal to value pluralism, Berlin was a forefather of both neutralist liberalism and democratic republicanism. What is striking, however, is how different Berlin's political thought is from these two contemporary positions. For Berlin, value pluralism was connected (albeit loosely) with the ideal of a "precarious" and "unstable equilibrium" of rival ultimate values in political life. He was insistent that liberal values, like negative liberty, should be prominently included in this equilibrium, and therefore can be described politically as an expressive liberal. His expressive liberalism rejected both the ideal of neutral principles regulating public life, and

the unique importance republicans attribute to political participation and democratic decision - these were, in his view, only two ultimate political values among others. The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the arguments by which Berlin linked value pluralism to expressive liberalism, and to compare the strength of these arguments with those advanced by neutralist liberals and republican democrats. In examining these arguments, I will concentrate on Berlin's important but misunderstood treatment of liberty - in contrast to neutralists and republicans, Berlin argued that we should recognize both positive and negative liberty as equally ultimate values. Moreover, we will find that his arguments rely not only on his influential descriptive accounts of value pluralism, but also on a hitherto neglected normative ideal of pluralism. In short, I will argue that Berlin's expressive liberalism, particularly in view of his normative case for pluralism, poses an important (albeit neglected) challenge to the predominant contemporary political theories which have inherited the value pluralist idea he helped to pioneer.

Porter, Ann - Globalization and the Welfare State: Nation States, International Institutions and the Social Policy Agenda
The growing salience of economic globalization has called into question the structure of domestic welfare states, the nature of specific policies implemented, and the relative importance of various policy actors, both domestic and international, in setting the social policy agenda. This paper examines the social policy agenda being proposed by international bodies such as the OECD and the UN and addresses two major questions: what form of social policy is seen by these organizations as being compatible with economic developments in a new era of globalization? And secondly, to what extent has the relative influence of different policy actors shifted in the current context? The paper argues that the domestic welfare state agenda is increasingly being influenced by a discourse put forward at an international level, as well as by networks achieved, for example, through the meetings of finance ministers. This discourse is being accepted across a broad range of political spectrum! s. It argues that the shift from a notion of rights and entitlements previously associated with the welfare state, to a focus on social exclusion/ inclusion and social standards has serious implications for equity and social-justice goals. The method of analysis involves a review of the secondary literature, both theoretical and empirical on globalization and the welfare state, and an examination of OECD, UN and Canadian federal government documents concerning specific social policy directions. At a theoretical level it draws on feminist and political economy work. It argues that while in the post-war period a certain congruence was achieved between economic and social policy frameworks through domestically-oriented Keynesian demand management policies, in the current era there has been a de-linking of economic and social frameworks. To some extent this disjuncture is being addressed by international bodies such as the OECD, as they attempt to put forward new social policy proposals. There are, however, limits both on the ability of the proposed solutions to address this de-linking, and further on the ability of international institutions to address domestic social policy concerns. This work builds on extensive research on restructuring the Canadian welfare state, focusing in particular on the unemployment insurance program, undertaken for my doctoral dissertation and now in a book manuscript form. My current research program expands on this by looking at Canada in a comparative perspective and on the growing influence of global forces.

Raney, Tracey - Globalization and Political Identities in Western Canada

The central research question of this paper is: do attitudes toward globalization determine citizens' political identifications in Canada? The paper studies the relationship between citizens and political institutions in Canada at the sub-national, national and supra-national levels through the lenses of belonging, attachment and identity. The primary data draws from the Building the New West Survey from the Canada West Foundation put into the field in March of 2001. Secondary data sources include the Portraits of Canada series from 1997-2001 released by CRIC and data compiled from the Canada Election Study, 2000. Many globalization scholars insist that the ties between citizens and governments are unravelling in an era of globalization. More specifically, they suggest that the effects of globalization erode the power of national governments and that citizen identifications to governments will wane as globalization advances (Mlinar, 1992; Robertson, 1992; Horsman and Marshall, 1995). For these scholars, increased access to technology, increased personal mobility, and the expansion of markets and capital worldwide will facilitate the creation of a new supranational outlook, sometimes referred to as "global citizenship"(Mlinar, 1992; Robertson, 1992; Horsman and Marshall, 1995, Sassen, 1998) Contrary to these assertions however, data presented in this paper suggest that globalization does not erode the relationship between citizens and the Canadian national state in Western Canada. In fact, the primary identifications of Westerners in Canada are spread equally across local, provincial, and national governments, while identification with region, North America and the world are weak comparatively. Despite the fact that Canadians experience the effects of globalization through access to technology and increased personal mobility, their attachments to sub-national and supranational political institutions remain strong. That is, there is no support for the assertion that globalization is necessarily a "de-linking" force between citizens and political institutions. Thus, counter to globalization theories that indicate that supra-national political identifications will transcend national ones, this study reveals that the link between local, provincial and national institutions and political identities in Canada is still relevant. The wider implications of this finding for our understanding of identity and political institutions are that institutional explanations of how political identities are constructed remain relevant today and should not be set aside for a more global perspective on political identity construction in Canada.

Rankin, L. Pauline - Women and 'The Canadian Way': A Feminist Analysis of the Liberal Government's National Vision
Over the past decade, the federal government has actively positioned itself as a champion of gender equality on the global stage in various international fora, while radically re-drawing the relationship between women's equality groups and

the state in domestic politics. These contradictory tendencies have coincided with the Liberal government's frequent deployment of the rhetoric of "the Canadian Way" to frame its strategic approach to issues of Canadian identity and the export of Canadian values. In a recent paper, Richard Nimijean (2001) outlines the emergence of "the Canadian Way" from its roots in Treasury Board and Conference Board of Canada discussions of the late 1990s, through to the Prime Minister's now-familiar invocation of the phrase to justify domestic and international policy directions. In this paper, I draw on Nimijean's research on the Liberal government's national vision and juxtapose the government's current approach to women's equality demands within Canada against the backdrop of "the Canadian Way" and the government's support for gender equality on the global stage. More specifically, I focus on the restructuring of the institutionalized relationship between women's movements and the federal state that has occurred under the current Liberal government. I argue that this restructuring coincides with the virtual erasure of women's equality as an element of the government's national domestic vision, despite its continued "export" of gender equity globally as a core Canadian value. The paper proceeds by tracing the emergence of the federal state's institutional response to women's movements under an earlier national Liberal vision, that of Trudeau's "Just Society," and then compares the redefinition and re-positioning of women's equality under "the Canadian Way." Theoretically, this paper explores the relationship between ideas and policies with previous work by, for example, Dobuzinskis (1996). More broadly, I situate this examination of ideas/policies in a discussion of women's place within nationalist discourses and visions. Such an approach builds on the research of Vickers (2002, 2000) Bashevkin (2000) who have interrogated the place of feminism within English-Canada nationalist projects and traced the positioning of women's movements in relationship to national unity projects of the 1970s and 1980s. This paper builds directly on my own recent work on state feminism (Rankin and Vickers 2001) and gender and nationalism (Rankin 2000).

Riddell, Troy - The Impact of the Charter on Police Policy and Practices

The real-world policy impact of the Charter of Rights and Charter decisions has been the least observed aspect of Charter politics (Russell 1994). This paper aims to begin to fill this gap by investigating the impact of the Charter of Rights and Charter decisions by the courts on police policy and practices. Such a study is particularly important because criminal law policy, including the powers of police, has been the policy area most affected by Supreme Court Charter decisions (at least at the level of jurisprudence) (Manfredi 2001) and the Supreme Court has on occasion stated that the decision to exclude improperly obtained evidence is to alter police practices. A case study of the Guelph, ON police force's practices and policies will be undertaken to ascertain whether police policies and practices have altered because of Charter decisions and the extent to which police policies and the actions of individual officers comply with Charter decisions. The case study will employ a variety of techniques to get at these questions. These include: interviewing police officers (with guarantees of anonymity), analyzing police policy and training documents, participating in "ride alongs," and tracking statistical data before and after Charter decisions (such as the number of search warrants used before and after a Court decision, etc.). Also, other key actors in the policy process, such as Crown prosecutors, defence lawyers, and Ontario's Public Security department will be canvassed for their reflections on this question. The Guelph case study will be supplemented by surveys sent to other police forces; references to the organizational policies of other police forces; and the secondary literature, particularly policy analyses performed by police organizations or individual officers about the effects of the Charter (Ryan 1992; Devonshire 1993). It will be hypothesized that policy change and compliance with Charter decisions will be greater if: the legal rules set down in Charter decisions are clearly communicated to police organizations and individual officers, the police organization emphasizes the importance of abiding by Charter decisions (by altering official policy to conform to Charter decisions, including this area of job performance in evaluations, informal encouragement from management, and so on), conforming to the legal rules will not create large costs and/or inefficiencies, and individual officers agree with (or do not actively oppose) a decision. The results of the study will be compared to American research in this area (for example, Time and Payne 2002; Leo 1996; Uchida et al. 1988) and possible reasons for similarities or differences in outcomes will be discussed.

Rioux, Jean-Sébastien - An Empirical Analysis of Third Party Intervention in International Crisis, 1918-2000

Increasing attention is being paid to the theory and empirical evidence of third party interventions in international conflicts. This is partly due to the end of the Cold War and the shifting of global norms towards the acceptance of humanitarian interventions to protect civilians and non-combatants in regional conflicts. While the development of an internationally accepted policy for multilateral interventions in conflict still is a long way off, it is time to evaluate the empirical record in order to participate in the policy debate in this important area. In this paper, the International Crisis Behaviour project data on 450 international crises from 1918 – 2000 are used to evaluate three sets of hypotheses about third party interventions: (1) which conflicts are more prone to have third parties intervene; (2) what are the characteristics of third parties which intervene in these conflicts; and (3) what are the results of these interventions in terms of conflict abatement and resolution? The results of these analyses are intended to comprise the beginnings of an empirical "lessons learned" about third party interventions in the 20th century which, it is hoped, will add to the policy debate.

Robinson, Andrew - Universal Human Rights, Multiculturalism, and Contextual Justice: Canadian Experience with the UN Human Rights Committee

This paper reflects my interests in multiculturalism, human rights, political theory, and Canadian politics. It considers views issued by the UN Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) in response to communications from Canadians that raise questions of 'multicultural justice.' These will include Waldman (funding of religious schools in Ontario), Ballantyne

(language rights in Quebec), and Lovelace (gender and Indian status). These cases provide an excellent opportunity to consider the implications of 'contextual justice,' an interesting new theoretical perspective that has emerged in debates concerning justice and multiculturalism. This paper takes Carens' *Culture, Citizenship, and Community* and Parekh's *Rethinking Multiculturalism* as examples. Contextual justice is defined by: i) a commitment to the primacy of a fairly thin and abstract set universal principles of justice (Carens, 34; Parekh, 131-3); and ii) the claim that justice requires these principles to be put into practice in ways that are sensitive to the context of particular political communities. Thus, for instance, Parekh writes "There is no 'true' way of reconciling [universal values]; it all depends on the history, traditions, political circumstances, and so on of a society" (320; see also Carens, 7) This paper is motivated by an apparent contradiction in the way contextual justice addresses conflicts between cultural communities within nation states. On the one hand, by focusing on cultural communities, it draws our attention to the morally arbitrary nature of the nation state. On the other hand, it gives important roles to nation states by assuming: i) that they define the 'context' for multicultural compromises; and ii) that the nation state is the appropriate level of political community for assessing the justice of such compromises. This begs the question behind the paper: wouldn't an international forum like the UNHRC which monitors states' compliance with an abstract statement of universal rights (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) be a more suitable forum within which to assess the justice of these contextual compromises? The paper will examine this subject in a "play back and forth" (Carens 7) between: i) employing the concept of contextual ! justice to identify problems with the UNHRC as an instrument for applying abstract principles to particular cases; and ii) employing insights from UNHRC practice to suggest limitations of 'contextual justice' as an attempt to define justice as both universal in principle and heterogeneous in practice.

Robinson, P. Stuart - Public-Private Partnerships in Global Perspective

Partly inspired by a new security agenda pre-dating but reinforced by September 11, liberal democracies are compromising civil liberties and democratic process in a wide range of domains. Because these are as disparate as academic boundaries are rigid, they are rarely considered together. This paper argues, nevertheless, that the 'compromises' are made for similar reasons, produce similar effects and reflect a single international trend, namely, the privatization of governance. A synthetic analysis of governance in all its contexts promises to make a unique contribution to our understanding of contemporary social change, given the fragmentary quality of the existing literature. This concerns itself sequentially with what are typically understood to represent different levels of analysis or even discrete scholarly fields. To be specific, there is little integration of knowledge gleaned by the discrete literatures dealing with the following areas: (i) the democratic deficit attending the governance of intergovernmental and supranational institutions; (ii) similar problems of transparency and accountability attending private provision of public services; (iii) the erosion of publically accountable and liberal local governance through the privatisation of urban retail and residential spaces. Reflection on the commonalities of these apparently diverse aspects of governance is rich territory for the generation of broad social theoretical propositions. This is illustrated by the following provisional explanation of the common conditions of these developments. The argument rests primarily on a synthesis of secondary literature examining different elements of contemporary governance. It is further supported by primary research into the culture of governance surrounding private residential communities. The broad direction of contemporary governance reflects two key conditions, both rooted broadly in globalisation. One is the growing social leverage of an emergent transnational capitalist class. Aided by the broad acceptance of neoliberal ideology and considerable direct influence, this class is able to expand the private realm at the expense of the public. Such leverage is invariably exploited because of the capitalist economic system's inherent need for continual expansion and financial growth. A vicious cycle of suppressed growth induced by the erosion of the state's and civil society's redistributive powers is reinforced by the added incentive for private interests to take over the provision of 'goods' previously provided by the state or civil society. The other key condition of the direction of contemporary governance is a growing obsession with safety amounting to a 'culture of insecurity.' This is fuelled by the emerging vulnerabilities of technologically sophisticated and highly integrated networks of interaction, deepening economic and social cleavages, and the growth and spread of commercial culture. The paper reflects some of the conceptual concerns of my earlier work on conflict analysis, focussing on international crises. It builds directly on my recent efforts to explore the nexus of globalisation, liberal democratic practices and governance in a variety of contexts, from military interventions to foreign aid programmes in support of transitional democracies.

Ross, Andrew - Idea and Affect: Making Space for Emotions in Social Constructivism

This paper is a critical engagement with social constructivist theories of international relations. I argue that constructivists, committed to an intellectualist understanding of collective identity, have underestimated the role of emotions and passions in global politics. While emphasizing the socially and culturally constituted nature of identities, constructivists have largely presupposed the latter to be essentially 'ideational' and subject to rational reflection. I argue (a) that constructivism wrongly assumes that political identity is normally a function primarily of ideas and beliefs held by and transparent to agents and (b) that it is mistaken to assume further that identity involves no reciprocal interplay of intellectual and material dimensions of being. Although not the focus of this paper, part of the thesis in the dissertation from which the paper is drawn is that early political realists in international relations put forward a richer (if unsystematic) understanding of the non-reflective dimensions of political agency and their pertinence to global politics. The paper will consist of three parts. First, it considers Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics. Wendt argues that identity involves "hav[ing] certain ideas about who one is," and that agents' ideas in turn work to reconstitute social structures. I argue that he fails to

offer a theory of how ideas work to “constitute” agents, and that this failure results from a mistaken separation of ideas from materiality. Without this separation, a more rich account of the interaction between reflective and material/affective dimensions of agency becomes possible. Second, I assess two challenges to Wendt’s now orthodox constructivism. Friedrich Kratochwil offers a view of linguistic practice as a non-reflective or non-rational activity. His account of rule following, persuasive as far as it goes, nevertheless says little about non-linguistic dimensions of subjectivity. David Campbell uses the idea of “performativity” to capture the processes through which ideas and identities are reproduced through the habits and disciplines that structure everyday life. Here, I argue that theory of performativity still requires further specification of the affective channels and techniques through which discursive practices are installed on material dimensions of being. Finally, the paper will anticipate political implications of a renewed constructivist orientation toward affective dimensions of global life. I will discuss the role of affect in nationalist conflict (in Rwanda and the Balkans) and emerging strategies of reconciliation (truth commissions, apologies, and war crimes trials)—subjects addressed in subsequent chapters of the dissertation.

Rounce, Andrea - Public Opinion and Public Policy: The Democratic Responsiveness Theory Revisited

Throughout the twentieth century, scholars have argued about the impact (existent or non) of public opinion (as measured through polls and surveys) on the process of public policy formation. In 1999, François Petry revisited the democratic responsiveness theory that posits a positive relationship between public opinion and public policy choices (also in Monroe, 1998). Arguing that in fact there was no strong correlation between opinion and policy direction, Petry concluded that in fact policy elites do not respond to demands of the public as expressed through public opinion (Petry, 1999; Monroe, 1998). However, it seems evident that public opinion has become increasingly important as the 21st century progresses. Does the posited lack of relationship between policy and opinion still hold? Can we argue that policy elites do not in fact pay close attention to the outcomes of public opinion polls, both those that are made public and those that are commissioned by departments, ministers’ offices, and by political parties? In an era in which companies like Environics, Ekos, Angus Reid and others provide extensive surveys of public opinion on a seemingly daily basis, the impact on opinion on policy making must be revisited. Much of the work on Canadian public policy and opinion deals with national opinion: very little looks at the opinion/policy nexus within provinces. Clearly, work needs to be done on the ways in which provincial governments and stakeholders deal with public opinion. Education policy, as a provincial area of responsibility and an area in which much opinion has been measured in the last decade, serves as a particularly interesting area of inquiry. Questions about the link between policy and opinion will be examined by looking at the correlation between policy decisions (both changes to policies and the decision not to change) in three levels of education policy in Ontario which provide particularly interesting case studies. Over the last decade, three policy changes have been particularly pertinent: 1) curriculum reform in high schools (including the elimination of OAC), 2) tuition fee policy at the post-secondary level, and 3) the move toward lifelong learning (with the accompanying rhetoric of skills and training). Can we in fact conclude that there is congruence between policy decisions and the opinions expressed by the mass public, or should we be positing the “democratic frustration” model instead of democratic responsiveness (Brooks, 1990)? Further, stakeholders (including professional organizations, citizen-based groups, and lobby groups) and government decision-makers have opinions on when polling is most effective, what kinds of polls are most effective, and at what point in the policy cycle polling has the most impact: these opinions will contribute to the conclusions of this paper.

Saurette, Paul - Taylor's Ontology of Common Sense

Charles Taylor’s work is an excellent example of what it means to marry thorough philosophical reflection with a deep commitment to contemporary practical and political concerns. It is no surprise, then, that his work has both become widely studied and the subject of intense scrutiny and contestation. For Taylor’s philosophical commitments are translated into political and ethical conclusions (for example, about language and cultural rights) that go against the grain of liberal, Anglo-American political theory in no uncertain terms. Over the last decade, a variety of theorists have tried to categorize Taylor’s philosophical position so that they can then either support or challenge his political views. One of the interesting characteristics about these attempts, however, is that there is no consensus on the exact shape of Taylor’s own foundation. Some (e.g. Isaiah Berlin) see Taylor as a teleologist or as a ‘moral realist’ (e.g. M. Rosen, Q. Skinner) and argue his political and ethical conclusions are highly problematic. Others (Stephen White) see in Taylor’s work a more nuanced ‘weak ontology’ that understands its own contestability – and is thus more attuned to the potential dangers of exclusion than Berlin or Skinner might allow. This paper will argue that these divergent understandings of Taylor’s project are more understandable once we appreciate the role that an appeal to ‘common sense’ plays in his work. The paper will show that Taylor forwards a communitarian ontology (designed specifically to challenge the atomist liberal ontology) not because he believes that it is a pure representation of our unchanging human condition – but rather because he believes (a) that it is a better representation of the fact of our ‘common sense’ and (b) that if such an ontology became the explicit common sense framework of our society, it would have significant political and moral effects. The paper concludes, however, that even while Taylor does not necessarily return to naïve teleological claims, his marriage of ontology and common sense leads to a problematic conceptualization of the cultural and linguistics pre-requisites for ‘community’ and that it inhibits his thought from exploring other potential models of community that might lead to very different conclusions about the choices we face in bi (and multi) -cultural countries such as Canada.

Schneider, Steffen and Klassen, Thomas R. - Decentralization and the Status Quo in Ontario and Bavaria: Variations in Active Labour Market Policy Reform in Subnational Jurisdictions in Canada and Germany

An influential discourse advocating the devolution of active labour market policies (ALMP) to subnational governments as a panacea against high unemployment and other labour market dysfunctions experienced by advanced industrial economies in the wake of globalization has emerged in the past two decades. This discourse is often linked with the hypothesis that decentralization will be more successful in federal than in unitary regimes because the constituent units of federal regimes will have keen interest in, and be the main beneficiaries of, devolution. In our paper, which draws on expert interviews and other data gathered as part of a larger comparative research project, we study the ALMP of Ontario and Bavaria since the early 1990s in order to probe and qualify this hypothesis. We first examine national and regional labour market trends as well as the intergovernmental and societal context of active labour market policy-making in the Canadian and German federal regimes and then analyze Ontario and Bavaria, two jurisdictions with low unemployment that, unlike the more peripheral Länder and provinces of their respective nations, have had the economic and fiscal resources to take on new responsibilities and develop their own strategies in ALMP. Yet both the Canadian and German reform trajectories writ large and the strategies pursued by Ontario and Bavaria have diverged. Active measures remain strongly centralized in Germany while an asymmetrical decentralization has occurred in Canada. The extent to which the Bavaria and Ontario governments have used their clout to propagate devolution and to use new responsibilities in this field has also greatly varied. The Bavarian government has stated its preference for devolution and has, within its margin of maneuvering, engaged in a range of active measures. The government of Ontario, on the other hand, has been reluctant to enter the field and to negotiate a labour market development agreement with Ottawa. These contrasting experiences suggest that the extent to which the decentralization of ALMP is envisaged and demanded by national and subnational governments is strongly influenced by the precise nature of federal regimes and by the strategic positions that different jurisdictions hold within them. Hence we argue that there is no reason to expect a uniform decentralization trend in the ALMP of federal regimes or a uniform interest of subnational governments in devolution. Rather, the desire and capacity to formulate and implement ALMP at the subnational level is subject to considerable variations.

Scholtz, Christa - The Political Economy of Federalism: Effects of Shared Jurisdiction on Indigenous Land Claims Negotiations in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand

This paper is part of my larger project which asks why and under what conditions governments choose negotiation (versus doing nothing, litigation, or arbitration) to resolve Indigenous-state land disputes. I compare Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. This paper examines how federalism affects the decision of a government to institute a negotiations policy and how it affects the likelihood that settlements will be reached. Federalism is important in so far as it allocates power between the national and sub-national state in the following two areas: Indigenous peoples and their lands, and the ownership of public land and its development. This allocation of jurisdictional power establishes a key institutional component to governments' strategic decision-making environment. The paper relies on archival and interview data, with quantitative evidence limited to economic statistics to support the qualitative findings. I argue that federalism has mostly indirect effects of governments' willingness to bargain with Indigenous groups, primarily by eliminating other policy options (particularly arbitration) federal governments deem unlikely to garner sub-national governments' support. The most direct effect of federalism is found, however, in the likelihood that settlement agreements will be reached. The constitutional division of power determines whether a negotiated settlement agreement requires the consent of one or both levels of government in a federal system. Where both sub-national and national government jurisdictions are involved, settlements are much more difficult to reach since a settlement agreement requires cooperation between two governments as well as the Indigenous negotiating party. Having two governments at the negotiating table creates incentives for governments to stall, through two mechanisms. First, sub-national governments negotiate side-deals with the federal government to indemnify themselves against the direct and indirect costs of negotiation. Second, the benefits of concluding a settlement agreement are diffused across two levels of government, diminishing any one government's incentive to reach an agreement quickly. This "shirk" strategy is not an attractive strategy for unitary governments since they cannot deflect accountability for the lack of settlement outcomes onto another government's shoulders. I argue that the division of power does not help protect minority property rights as one would expect in a classical Madisonian approach to federalist politics. Instead, the division of power creates much more leverage for threatened third-party economic interests (especially large economic players like transnational mining or forestry companies) to challenge Indigenous gains, since sub-national governments are more responsive to third party economic interests than national governments.

Schouls, Tim - Political Pluralism and the Politics of Aboriginal Nationalism in Canada

The line of inquiry in my paper is to demonstrate how the Aboriginal self-government movement in Canada is best understood and evaluated when an "identification" perspective on Aboriginal identity is adopted as opposed to a "cultural" or "national" one, and when that perspective is linked to a theory of political pluralism as opposed to nationalist theories. The empirical basis for this paper is drawn from the public hearings and final Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. I analyze the potential range of meanings of Aboriginal self-government as articulated by witnesses and then apply theories of identity politics and political pluralism to those meanings. The theoretical significance of this paper is that it seeks to link the tradition of political pluralism to the politics of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Aboriginal self-government is usually discussed as an issue of cultural self-preservation or national self-determination. Aboriginal

identity is framed in terms of cultural or national traits that are unique to an Aboriginal community and self-government is taken to represent the Aboriginal communal desire to protect and preserve those traits. The aim of my paper is to place the discussion of Aboriginal self-government on different foundations; namely those of political pluralism. This paper is drawn from a larger project I have been working on entitled "Shifting Boundaries: Aboriginal Identity, Pluralist Theory, and the Politics of Self-Government in Canada." In this project I trace the different faces of pluralist theory and determine the relevance of each as they bear upon Aboriginal identity and the politics of self-government. The three traditions I analyze are communitarian, individualist, and relational pluralism. Of the three, I conclude that relational pluralism is the most relevant of the traditions because it examines Aboriginal self-government not in terms of preserving cultural and political difference (a fault of communitarian and individualist approaches), but in terms of equalizing power differences within Aboriginal communities and between Aboriginal and Canadian governments.

Siaroff, Alan - Lopsided Elections in Prince Edward Island: An Historical and Comparative Analysis

In Prince Edward Island there has been much commentary on the fact that three of the last four provincial elections left the opposition with two or fewer members. The local feeling seems to be that an opposition of at least four seats is needed to hold government accountable. Thus there has been discussion on the need for some form of proportional representation. This paper seeks to take a step backwards in this debate and concentrate on explaining why Prince Edward Island elections have become so lopsided. The focus is on all provincial elections since 1935, when the Liberals won every seat in the legislature (the classic historical lopsided result). In the first part of the paper, I shall argue that what has been crucial in recent elections is not the (in fact rather modest) rise of the provincial NDP, but rather the increasing variations in overall support for the two main parties. Indeed, even smaller spreads in Conservative and Liberal support through the 1970s would have produced similarly lopsided results. In the second part of the paper I shall focus on all those elections not just in Prince Edward Island but in all provinces that have yielded what we may call a "numerically irrelevant opposition", that is, an opposition with fewer than four seats. It will be shown that such elections have occurred most often in Prince Edward Island because (i) it has always had the smallest provincial legislature, and more crucially (ii) it has never had strong regional bases of support for the main parties. Finally, in the third part of the paper, I shall make some comparisons with party politics and lopsided elections in small island states using the single member plurality electoral system.

Simmons, Julie - Accounting for the Benefits of Public Reporting in Intergovernmental Relations: The Case of the National Child Benefit

Since 1995 the provincial and federal governments have negotiated a series of intergovernmental agreements across a broad number of policy areas, leading to new government programs that significantly impact Canadians. This era of "collaborative" or "flexible" federalism has brought renewed attention to democratic criticisms of intergovernmental relations. There is a longstanding argument that as decision-making moves from individual governments to intergovernmental forums, meaningful accountability of executives to their legislatures is weakened. Prior to 1995 the federal government worked around this obstacle, holding provincial governments to account through conditions placed on the use of funds given to the provinces for the purposes of funding health care, education and social services. With the recent removal of some of these conditions, intergovernmental agreements now place an emphasis on a third kind of accountability directly to citizens through the measurement and reporting of results to an ill-defined 'public', affording the provinces greater discretion in how they spend federal funds, and moving us closer to "watertight compartments" or a stricter reading of the federal principle. Using the case of the accountability arrangements built into the National Child Benefit System, this paper will assess the effectiveness of this new form of accountability, both in terms of a) restoring the federal principle to social policy and b) holding governments accountable. Drawing upon interviews conducted with government officials in five provinces and at the federal level, as well as NCB public reports, I will argue that the mechanisms of public reporting introduced with the national child benefit have not effectively achieved either – the role of the federal and provincial governments in income tested benefits and programs for poor families is more, not less intertwined, and it is harder, not easier to discern what actions governments are taking, let alone hold them to account. However, I will further argue that this third form of accountability still offers the potential to succeed at both objectives. The failure of the NCB reporting is in its design. The paper will end suggestions as to how to refine this reporting process so that it better achieves the two goals outlined above. This research offers an important empirical and theoretical contribution to federalism scholarship and public administration. It will sharpen our understanding of the relationship between accountability and intergovernmental relations, two activities which are often considered juxtaposed. Further it will shed light on how principles of New Public Management such as reporting on accomplishments, measuring outcomes, and clarifying roles and responsibilities, all of which are thought to emanate from the same business like principles, may end up working at cross purposes when introduced in intergovernmental contexts. This research builds upon research conducted for my doctoral dissertation, which assesses the role of non-governmental actors in the negotiation of four non-constitutional intergovernmental agreements.

Slowey, Gabrielle - Globalization and Governance: Exploring the Self-Determination of the Mikisew Cree First Nation

Just as the "impact of colonialism as well as that of capitalism on Aboriginal systems is often treated as unilaterally destructive," so too is globalization considered to be detrimental to Aboriginal self-determination (Moore 1997, 134). But just as First Nations are not monolithic or unified in organization, neither are their perspectives on, or experiences of, self-

determination. For some, self-determination may be a positive experience. For others, it may be a negative experience. And for others still, it may be any combination of both. This paper investigates how one “resource-rich” community is responding to the political and economic challenges associated with self-determination as they are shaped by globalization. The central question this paper asks is how does globalization affect self-determination? This paper considers the extent to which the current process of restructuring affects Aboriginal self-determination. The objective of this inquiry is to assess the changing dynamics of Aboriginal-state-marketplace relations. As the reconfiguration of these relationships is felt across the gamut of policy jurisdictions, in particular in the areas of housing, health and education, this paper investigates the ways in which Aboriginal governance functions as a strategy for confronting these challenges in an effective and democratic manner. To that end, it explores the experiences of the Mikisew Cree First Nation who are actively engaged in developing new partnerships and working towards new “governance” models to improve socio-economic conditions. Drawing on empirical research conducted for my dissertation, this paper argues that globalization affects Aboriginal self-determination by propelling change in the state-market-First Nation relationship which ultimately shapes modern Aboriginal self-determination in Canada. This is a meaningful and important project because it advances thinking about how Aboriginal communities are responding to shifts in the new political economy. It also provides an empirical basis for a richer understanding of the functions and implications of Aboriginal self-determination. Finally, this paper firmly locates itself within the broader work of the author who has published works on the relationship between neo-liberalism and self-government as well as on the theoretical relationship between globalization, the state and self-determination. More specifically, this paper sets the framework for future study as I move to perform a comparative, empirical study of Cree governance in northern Alberta and northern Quebec.

Smith, Charles W. - From Welfare to Workfare: State Restructuring in Ontario

In Ontario, post-war capitalism was defined through its branch plant dependence with the United States, which brought with it significantly high levels of economic growth, close to full employment and a relatively strong welfare state, including comparatively high levels of welfare and unemployment benefits. With the downturn in the global economy in the mid 1970s, however, Ontario’s industrial economy was particularly influenced by the GATT rounds, which loosened the tariff restrictions protecting branch-plant manufactures, thrusting the regional economy into the north-south pull of the highly competitive North American trade bloc. This restructuring was to have dramatic consequences on the Ontario working classes, as plant closures led to high levels of unemployment which hovered at 10 percent throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s. The high levels of unemployment in this time period placed a significant demand on the Ontario welfare state, as thousands of working and non-working poor were forced on to state sponsored social assistance, reaching a record of 12 percent of the population (or 1.3 million people) in the recession of the early 1990s. Within this climate, the backlash against those receiving unemployment insurance and state sponsored welfare reached new levels, as Conservative strategists and neo-classical economists argued that welfare benefits gave something for nothing, creating a labour market characterized by dependency and laziness. The Conservative solution, which dominated the Ontario election in 1995, called for a dramatic reduction in state sponsored social assistance, while also implementing work-for-welfare (workfare), which they argued would provide individuals with a “hand up not a hand out.” Upon their election, the Tory government moved directly to punish the working and non-working poor, cutting welfare rates, tightening eligibility requirements and forcing able individuals to accept limited work placements for significantly reduced benefits. In other words, it sought to shift the blame for high levels of unemployment on to individual workers, rather than on the structural weaknesses of the Ontario economy within the North American trade bloc. Yet, how do we situate the restructuring of the Ontario welfare state with programs such as workfare within the larger class structures of contemporary neo-liberalism? It is the argument of this paper that workfare in Ontario is designed specifically as a downward pressure on the working class and organized labour as a whole, as the Keynesian commitments to social assistance came to be understood by the ruling classes as an institution which shielded working people from the full effects of the market. Workfare can be understood, therefore, as one method to remove that shield, subjecting the working class to the full wage pressures of the global, and increasingly deregulated markets emerging out of the long downturn in the post-war economy.

Smith, Jennifer - Traditional Approaches to the Study of Parliament

The subject of the panel is the approaches that are used to study parliamentary government in Canada. My task is to outline the traditional approach which is either historical or institutional or a combination of both; and to evaluate the utility of the approach today.

Smith, Miriam - Social Movements and Political Participation: Studies in Queer Organizing at the Federal and Local Levels

This paper will explore the relationship between participation in social movement politics and the constitution of neo-liberal citizenship practices in the Canadian context, drawing on evidence from the lesbian and gay rights and environmental movements. Drawing on Jenson and Phillips’ work on neo-liberal citizenship practices as well as on sociological concepts such as ‘forms’ (of organizing and discourse) and ‘fields’ (for social movement activism), the paper argues that seemingly progressive social movements may inadvertently reinforce the neo-liberal citizenship model. Qualitative research methods such as interviews with movement participants were used to obtain information about the two movements. The paper presents evidence from the case studies of the two movements to argue that participation in movement activism is in part based on consumerism, choice, privatized action, and individual responsibility, rather than on the collective identities and

social solidarities that are usually thought to characterize 'new social movements.' Both queer movements and environmental movements draw on forms of discourse and organizing that are shared by many other types of political, social and economic institutions in advanced capitalist societies. These forms include: professional and bureaucratized organization, middle class financing, domination by professional 'expertise,' and the selling and packaging of movement participation as a consumer choice. These neo-liberal citizenship practices are reinforced by the contemporary field of social movement organizing in Canada which funnels movement strategies into the legal and media arenas at the expense of other forms of collective action. Finally, the paper will link these findings to broader concerns about the future of Canadian democracy, the decline of social cohesion and recent changes in the party system. This paper is a continuation of my ongoing work on social movement politics in Canada focusing on the lesbian and gay rights movement. In this paper, I expand my focus to encompass the problem of neo-liberal citizenship and I have added an additional social movement case study in order to enhance the broader interest and applicability of the arguments.

Smith, Travis - Does Hobbes Forget Medicine?

Bioethicists do not generally use Hobbes as a resource or an inspiration. To construct a contractarian theory and apply it to medical ethics, for instance, one readily finds more appealing moral theories of contractual relationships than Hobbes's. And nobody believes that patients should obey their physicians like the subjects of an absolute sovereign. There are, however, questions relevant to medicine and politics for which Hobbes may be referred to for consultation. To what extent must physicians and medical researchers obey the sovereign? Are the rules by which the medical profession governs itself merely conventional or the dictates of nature or reason? To what use may governments put cures or poisons? To what extent must government provide medical benefits for the sake of civil peace and commodious living? It remains peculiar that Hobbes does not discuss medicine. He uses medical metaphors for matters political with some frequency, but he mentions medical science very rarely—so rarely that Leo Strauss once observed that Hobbes "actually forgets medicine." But it is unlikely, I find, that somebody who worked for Francis Bacon and commented on the works of Rene Descartes could be oblivious to the importance of medicine within the modern project. I argue that Hobbes did not forget medicine so much as leave it out of his political philosophy intentionally. Hobbes, like Bacon, devised a plan for the relief of the human condition. But Hobbes saw that for the sake of civil peace, political considerations have to be given priority. The potentially unbridled ambitions of medical progress must not be made sovereign. Bacon's project is not only fantastical but also dangerous. Lasting civil peace, Hobbes observes, is premised upon the teaching that human beings must be reckoned as equals in both their physical and mental capacities. Most importantly, human beings are equal because they are all mortal. The pursuit of significant inequalities among human beings, in the direction of superhuman bodies and minds or the indefinite prolongation of life, will undermine the foundations of peaceful society well before these objectives are achieved. My paper explores and explains the relevance of the absence of a discussion of medical science in Hobbes's thought. I retrieve him as a resource for the evaluation of the relationship between medicine and politics. I then consider the strengths and weaknesses of a Hobbesian criticism of the Baconian project of medical progress.

Soderlund, Walter C. - U.S. Network Television News Coverage of the May 2002 Visit of Jimmy Carter to Cuba

At forty years and counting, the hostile relationship between the United States and Cuba ranks among the most long-lived in the contemporary world; from the early 1960s, Fidel Castro has been a major irritant in the lives of no less than ten U.S. presidents. The proposed paper examined U.S. network television news coverage of a potentially significant development in this relationship-- the May 2002 visit of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter to the island nation. Over the period May 10 to June 1, the visit and the response to it by the Bush administration, was covered in sixteen news stories appearing on the premier evening newscasts of the three major U.S. television networks-- ABC, CBS, and NBC. In addition to determining item placement, running time, and presentation format, the study will document the leading news sources used by TV journalists in constructing their stories, the frames employed in their presentation, textual evaluation of the major actors (Presidents Carter, Bush, and Castro) as well as present an analysis of the specific language used to describe the major participants. The Carter visit marked a major change in Cuban policy towards relations with the United States, as it appears that at long last, Mr. Castro is genuinely interested in improving the bilateral relationship. Television news coverage is important in that it is to television that the majority of Americans turn for their information on world affairs. In this context, how the Castro initiative was portrayed by U.S. TV networks covering the visit can be seen as a critical factor in whether the initiative will bear fruit.

Soennecken, Dagmar - The Courts and the Admission of Refugees: Comparing the Boundaries of Judicial Involvement in Canada and Germany

The growth of judicial power (GJP) over the admission of refugees is a particularly fascinating case for studying questions of judicial involvement and judicial legitimacy in a comparative context. What role have the courts played when it comes to a subject matter, which regularly involves the review of administrative actions as well as questions of foreign policy and national self-identity? And, what role should they play? In most advanced industrialized countries, immigration-related matters, including refugee issues, have traditionally been excluded from the reach of the courts. In some countries, legislation or doctrine went so far as to explicitly preclude the courts from reviewing such subjects matters. Yet, considering the prevalence of the judiciary and quasi-judicial decision-making bodies in this area today, the growth of judicial power over the admission of refugees represents an important departure from the principles of sovereignty and control that have historically governed immigration. Following a most different research design and using key moments in

the recent Canadian and German history, this paper analyses the growing judicial role in the admission of refugees by drawing on knowledge generated through a triangulation process of examining key court cases, in-depth interviews, and key native-language literature from each country. Four specific factors will be discussed: the influence of shifts in recourse (or appeal) mechanisms, changing control over the judicial docket and government funding (specifically legal aid) as well as NGO activities. These factors, the paper puts forward, tap into a fundamental difference of opinion about the key forces driving the GJP in the theoretical literature. First, how important are structural factors in the GJP? And secondly, is the GJP primarily driven by political and legal elites from above or is it largely a product of interest groups, social movements and others from below? An analysis of the German theoretical literature seems to confirm the importance of political elites, but raises intriguing doubts about the precise nature of the interest group involvement. In addition, it seems to suggest that the activities of ordinary citizens may also play a key role in empowering and legitimating their judiciary. The paper suggests that perceptions of judicial legitimacy may be dependent on the factors that caused the GJP in a given policy area in the first place. The paper further argues that the German case raises important questions about the general skepticism and wariness that a growth of judicial power and thus a skepticism towards the legitimacy of a growing judicial involvement in a given policy area - elicits from many scholars in established democracies versus the importance that scholars of democratic transitions place on the GJP. How important are historic legacies and other country-specific factors, such as the common-law/civil law distinction, in a comparative, empirical evaluation of the GJP and in ultimately judging the legitimacy of judicial involvement?

Soroka, Stuart and Wlezien, Christopher - "Opinion Policy Dynamics" in Canada, the U.S. and the U.K.

A large and growing body of research demonstrates a correspondence between public opinion and policy behavior (e.g., Miller and Stokes, 1961; Weissberg, 1976; McCrone and Kuklinski, 1979; Monroe, 1979; Bartels, 1991; Page and Shapiro, 1992; Hartley and Russett, 1992; Erikson, Wright, and McIver, 1993; Jacobs, 1993; Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson, 1995; Wlezien, 1996; Wood and Hinton-Anderson, 1998; Hill and Hurley, 1998; Sharpe, 1999). Some of the research even suggests that policymakers respond to changing public preferences over time (especially Jacobs, 1993; Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson, 1995; Wlezien, 1996). All of this work is satisfying and important, for it suggests that there is opinion representation, both cross-sectionally and over time. However, almost all of the research has focused on the US. Do similar patterns obtain in other countries? Or is the US unique? Sadly, we do not know. In this research, we begin to redress the imbalance. Specifically, we extend previous research on the dynamics of spending preferences and budgetary policy in the US (especially Wlezien, 1995; 1996; n.d.) to Canada. Our recent work on the UK indicates that the "thermostatic" model works quite well, though the patterns differ to what we find in the US: (1) public responsiveness to policy is more pronounced than we find in the US; (2) policymaker responsiveness to preferences is less pronounced and more general. This may be what we should expect in a unitary, parliamentary system. Differences across the US and UK indicate the value of comparative research on these issues. We are, accordingly, currently collecting the data necessary to address these issues in Canada – a longitudinal dataset on public preferences and government spending, comparable with datasets on the US and UK. Narrowly construed, our forthcoming work will allow us to address some important questions about the opinion-policy relationship in Canada: What is the nature of longitudinal relationships between opinion and policy in Canada? What is the impact of divided jurisdiction(s) on policy responsiveness? Do peculiar funding arrangements, such as the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), confuse relationships between public preferences and government spending? More broadly conceived, results of our analyses in Canada, the US and UK will take us one or maybe even two steps closer to a more general understanding of democratic processes across countries.

Stilborn, Jack - Canadian Intergovernmental Relations and the Kyoto Protocol: What Happened?

This paper provides an overview of developments since the late 1990's in the federal/provincial/territorial process established to develop a response to climate change (and, since 1997, to lay the groundwork for ratification of the Kyoto Protocol). This account is used as basis for an explanatory discussion of outcomes, lessons to be learned, and prospects. As well, attention is given to implications of the climate change process for some prevailing assumptions about Canadian federalism, and theoretical issues. The empirical component of the paper is based on news releases, government papers and other public sources supplemented by conversations with federal and provincial officials, past and present, and also reflects the author's experience as an intergovernmental advisor on environmental issues with a provincial government during part of the period being examined. It gives specific attention to the respective roles of intergovernmental and line ministries, and also to the roles played by the public, stakeholders, elected politicians and departmental officials in the national process. The account of the national climate change process, in recent years, is used as a case study in order to explore questions about (a) the respective roles of intergovernmental and functional ministries in such processes, (b) the factors that favour successful cooperation in areas of shared or amorphous jurisdiction, and (c) the prospects for climate change action. The paper also explores light the Kyoto process may shed on several theoretical issues raised in the relevant scholarly and policy literatures. In particular: (1) what does the Kyoto experience tell us about the potential of the federal government to use international processes as levers to influence sub-national governments; (2) what does it tell us about the possibility, and future characteristics, of multi-level governance; and (3) does it confirm or disconfirm (or raise questions about the usefulness of) high-level generalizations concerning the character of intergovernmental relations ("cooperative federalism," "executive federalism" and the like)? The paper argues, inter alia, that the outcomes of the climate change process, thus far, are partly a result of the displacement of broad participation by intergovernmentalism and its distinctive imperatives; and that divergencies between political and public service players have been at least as

influential on the trajectory of the process as some of the differences (e.g. between intergovernmental and line bureaucrats) more commonly invoked to explain Canadian intergovernmental outcomes.

Stren, Richard - Decentralization and Developing Countries: Rhetoric or Reality?

While decentralization is currently a development "buzzword", and some authors contend that (as devolution) it is closely linked to neo-liberal objectives of powerful bilateral and multilateral institutions, there is considerable evidence that it has taken place for reasons that are almost entirely local in many important cases. Comparing various historical moments of decentralization shows that the current moment is different from previous iterations of this phenomenon. Why this difference obtains, and what are the implications for local (urban) politics in developing countries is the principal focus of the paper. But if decentralization is an important local (read: national) political process, then it can also be endangered by hostile forces, and a negative spiral may repeat itself. More extensive research, looking at individual cases of decentralization and local politics, may suggest a more nuanced approach.

Sutcliffe, John - Local Government and the European Union: A Continuing Role?

This paper examines the issue of Scottish local government involvement in the European Union (EU) in the aftermath of the creation of the Scottish Parliament. In the 1980s and 1990s, Scottish local authorities (alongside local actors in almost every EU member state) organized to acquire information about EU policy-making and potentially to influence policy outcomes at that level. Although the significance of this activity is the subject of academic controversy, its extent has been widely documented. This paper seeks to examine whether this local activity with respect to the European Union has reduced, remained constant, or increased in recent years, and seeks to determine the extent to which this activity has been influenced by the creation of the Scottish Parliament. At least three hypotheses are possible. First, local activity has decreased as the devolved institutions have sought to acquire a role in European Union policy-making. As a result of devolution, there is less need for local governments to devote as many resources to the European Union. This activity has moved to a Scottish level. Second, it is possible that the local resources devoted to the European Union have remained constant, or even increased, and thus have not been affected by devolution. It is thus possible that the Scottish Parliament presents a new avenue for local governments to pursue their European interests, but does not negate the need for such activity. Third, it is possible that local activity has decreased, but that this is unrelated to devolution. It may be that local governments have reduced the resources that they devote to the EU as a result of the reduction in money available to them from this source. If this is the case, it may lead to the conclusion that local engagement with the European Union has been driven by 'grantsmanship', and does not reflect any fundamental change in government or governance in the European Union (as argued by those suggesting that a 'Europe of the Regions' is in the process of being created). The paper examines these hypotheses through a mail survey of local government European officers, supported by a set of interviews with Scottish local government actors. As well as addressing the three hypotheses, the results will allow conclusions to be drawn about the continued applicability of a multi-level governance perspective in providing an explanation of the EU, and about the impact of domestic institutional change on the dynamics of European Union policy-making.

Tam, Eric - Desert and Theories of Political Morality

At least since Aristotle, philosophers have commonly thought it obvious that principles of desert play a significant role among the first principles of political morality. However, there also exists a more recent strand of Western political philosophy that has denied this assertion—the most prominent example is perhaps John Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* (1971). Sadly, much of the contemporary work on desert is quite confused and some thinkers (for example, Julian Lamont, 1976) have entirely given up hope of unambiguously discerning the proper relationship between desert and political morality. My paper aims to help rectify this unfortunate state of affairs by tackling the problem in two stages. First, I attempt to dissolve some of the recent confusions surrounding the concept of desert. I argue that the boundaries of desert cannot be as loose as thinkers such as Fred Feldman (1995) suggest. Our considered judgments reveal that desert relationships ("X deserves Y because of b") have a specific moral valence that distinguishes them as a subset of the universe of relationships of appropriate treatment ("X ought to get Y because of b"). I also reject George Sher's (1987) view that desert is actually an irreducibly heterogeneous set of concepts. My paper proposes that all desert relations share a distinguishing characteristic: they all draw their normative force from an attribution of value that inheres in the relationship between the desert-base and its mode of possession by the deserving subject. Second, I aim to use this revised definition to examine the relationship between desert and two major modes of normative political theorizing. My hypothesis is that a coherent theory of political morality in which desert is foundational must be a theory that presumes a substantive hierarchy of valuation--what we might call a teleological theory of politics (as opposed to deontological theories, following Rawls' terminology). I also show that Thomas Hobbes' view of desert supports my hypothesis. If correct, my hypothesis has several substantive implications. On the one hand, those who find deontological theories of justice plausible must seriously consider excluding principles of desert from the foundations of political morality. This result coheres well with the notion of undeserved and inalienable human rights that are central to many deontological theories. On the other hand, it also suggests that our considered judgments that desert is foundational to political morality demonstrate the implausibility of deontological theorizing. Finally, my paper will help clarify the debate over whether pre-institutional desert exists--it suggests that the true source of the dispute turns on the more abstract question of whether

political morality requires the presupposition of a substantive theory of value. This project is part of my continuing research on issues related to property and desert and their place within general theories of political morality.

Tatalovich, Raymond - Morality Policy and Political Unaccountability; Capital Punishment, Abortion, and Gay Rights in Canada, United Kingdom, France, and Germany

Based on 25 case studies of capital punishment, abortion, and gay rights in Canada, United Kingdom, France, and Germany, I conclude that the morality policy process is anti-majoritarian and politically unaccountable to the electorate. Particular focus is given to (1) public attitudes prior to any legal change, (2) legal change, such as abolition of capital punishment and decriminalization of abortion or gay rights, and (3) the nature of public opinion after legal changes. Most case studies indicate that the morality policy process reflects left-wing or right-wing anti-majoritarianism rather than post-materialist shifts, redistribution of values, or an affirmation of the status quo. These empirical findings raise troubling normative questions about the working of collective governance in parliamentary systems of government.

Telford, Hamish - Unity With (or Without) Diversity? Reflections on the Origins and Purposes of Federalism

This paper will explore the recent attempts by Canadian scholars to draw a distinction between territorial and multinational federalism. Through an examination of the founding debates in the United States between federalists and anti-federalists, the paper will suggest that American federalism was not simply about territory or liberty; it was also about the preservation of distinct state-based identities. The paper shall also suggest that federalism in Canada is not just about cultural accommodation. Contrary to common suppositions, it will be argued that Canadian federalism is also about the preservation of liberty. The paper will conclude that the distinction between territorial and multinational federalism is exaggerated and ahistorical.

Timpson, Annis May - Hey That's Some Way to Say Goodbye": The Division of the Northwest Territories and the Creation of Nunavut

To date, scholarship on the division of the Northwest Territories and the creation of Nunavut has focused attention on (i) the long term politics of land claim negotiations (Dickerson, 1992) and (ii) the referendums on division and boundaries (Dacks 1986, Abele and Dickerson, 1985). By contrast, with the exception of Graham White and Kirk Cameron's 1995 publication on Northern Governments in Transition, very little attention has been paid to the bureaucratic and political processes of dividing the Northwest Territories and creating the new Government of Nunavut. Yet the period of transition since 1993 is a fascinating era in territorial politics/development in which a major exercise of political and bureaucratic restructuring took place, with significant implications for both the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. It is only by considering these processes with hindsight that it is possible to consider (a) the contribution an analysis of territorial division makes to the scholarly literature on the politics of transition in Canada and (b) the lessons to be learnt for the potential creation of other new sub-national jurisdictions in Canada which are always just over the horizon. Drawing on archival research and field work conducted by the author in the fall of 2002 this paper examines the impact of division on both the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. In particular, it examines: a) the political and bureaucratic process of dividing the Northwest territories; b) the bureaucratic, fiscal and political complexities of dividing or not dividing government departments and corporations (eg the decision to divide the Power Corporation but not to divide the Workers Compensation Board); c) the areas which have not yet been divided (liquor commission and cultural artefacts). d) the politics of dismantling and restructuring the relationship Nunavut and the NWT. The paper unravels the diverse accounts of division in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, focusing in particular on the distinction between the "official success stories" of those overseeing the process of territorial division and the more critical accounts of those involved in implementing division and creating new government departments in both Nunavut and the Northwest Territories.

Tremblay, Manon - Quelles retombées des femmes en politique ? Sur quelques perceptions de femmes et d'hommes parlementaires au Canada

Le plaidoyer développé en faveur de l'augmentation du nombre de femmes en politique électorale au Canada repose sur des considérations de nature quantitative, certes, mais aussi qualitative. Ainsi, il est parfois suggéré que la présence d'un plus grand nombre de femmes dans l'arène parlementaire pourrait modifier le contenu de l'ordre du jour politique, l'orientation des politiques publiques, voire même la teneur du style parlementaire. Un tel raisonnement repose sur l'idée que les femmes politiques seraient dotées d'un " mandat de la différence " -nommément qu'elles auraient la responsabilité de représenter les femmes dans un sens qui rejoint les discours féministes et qu'elles accepteraient d'assumer un tel mandat. L'objectif de cette communication est de cerner l'existence d'un tel " mandat de la différence " dans les arènes parlementaires au Canada. À cette fin, en 2002 un questionnaire a été acheminé à toutes les femmes et à tous les hommes membres de la Chambre des communes, du Sénat ainsi que des législatures provinciales et territoriales. Une conclusion préliminaire veut qu'à l'instar de ce qu'a pu observer Skjeie (1991), il semble que les femmes et les hommes parlementaires endossent l'idée que les femmes en politique seraient porteuses d'un " mandat de la différence " .

Trevenen, Katherine - Rethinking Cosmopolitanism: Politics Beyond Nations

The concept of cosmopolitanism has had a long tradition in moral and political thought. The Cynics and Stoics, for example, first elaborated a conception of cosmopolitanism as a commitment to world citizenship in opposition to the

parochial concerns of the polis. European Enlightenment thinkers also believed in the cosmopolitan potential offered by human reason and argued that a concern with common humanity should overcome differences among states or religions. In the Western philosophical tradition the concept of cosmopolitanism has had resonance with different perspectives but as Amanda Anderson argues, cosmopolitanism generally “endorses reflective distance from one’s cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity.” Many contemporary versions of neo-Kantian and liberal cosmopolitan orientations build upon the ideals of world citizenship and a system of moral universalism to cultivate allegiances beyond those created by nation, state, race, religion or ethnicity. For the dominant Kantian tradition in cosmopolitan thought, cosmopolitan thinking thus primarily requires that we recognize a single, common source of morality. Yet in a contemporary world characterized by fast flows of ideas, people, products and power, two projects—pluralizing the sources for a cosmopolitan morality and decentering dominant identities or universalized principles—should be at the centre of any cosmopolitan ethos. Nietzsche’s insight that “we must lose ourselves occasionally” if we are to learn from difference points to the space needed for cosmopolitan thinking. This space is not simply the “reflective distance” from our local cultures or political identities thought to be provided by Kantian moral universalism. It is a complex space of contingency and experimentation opened up when our ideals, identities and affective dispositions are unsettled or decentered. My claim in this paper is that the traditional interest in recognizing commonalities between disparate groups of people is a valuable but insufficient aim for a cosmopolitan ethos. Diverse assemblages of cosmopolitan agents, inspirations, cultures and political techniques point to the need for a cosmopolitan orientation aimed at experimenting with difference. In this paper I thus develop a conception of cosmopolitanism as “tactical”—an orientation that appreciates the political and ethical force of traditional cosmopolitan appeals to universal principles while arguing that this universalist orientation is not sufficient in itself. I seek to shift the philosophical underpinning of cosmopolitan thinking away from Kant and instead elaborate a conception of cosmopolitanism as an open-ended and evolving series of practices. The normative concern driving this study is the question of how best to create and sustain cosmopolitan ethical attachments, cultures, histories and political techniques that will both overcome some of the limitations of individual states, and create effective alliances in response to increasingly global problems.

Urbaniak, Tom - Regime Theory and the Politics of Mississauga

In the United States, regime theory has achieved ascendancy in the study of urban politics. It is embraced by many political scientists because it rejects economic-determinist and purely pluralist models of local governance, while acknowledging the constraints resulting from municipalities' limited jurisdiction and the capitalist, free-market system within which local governments in liberal democracies must function. Where there is a stable, influential local government, regime theorists are likely to expect to find a governing coalition comprising a set of public and private actors. Such coalitions act as mediating organisms -- processing external factors/inputs and generating responses. The responses vary according to the character and composition of the regime. Notwithstanding the prominence of regime theory, there have been few attempts to test it in Canadian municipalities - and none in a suburban community. There is likewise a paucity of research, regardless of the country, into what causes regimes to be formed and to disintegrate. My paper will explore these frontiers via a case study of the recent political history of a large Canadian suburb. I hypothesize that Mississauga, Ontario (known before 1968 as the Township of Toronto) was home to a regime between 1960 and 1973. This regime comprised the local stalwarts in the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario and the large land-development companies that were active in the municipality. My methodology will resemble Clarence Stone's in his seminal book *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*. I will develop an historical narrative incorporating information and analysis that are intuitively relevant to understanding the character, processes, priorities, and the internal and external relationships of municipal government in Mississauga. I will go beyond this, however, by explicitly addressing objections that are plausible based on historical interpretation and/or competing paradigms and theories in the study of urban politics. These objections may include the following: · The local elected officials were merely pursuing rationally an objective economic interest. Paul Peterson's *City Limits* thesis is more applicable. · Alternatively, the developers were really in control. A "community power" framework that recognizes this would be more appropriate. · The regime-politics concept has very limited theoretical purchase in Canadian urban studies because, as one leading local-government scholar has put it, "massive provincial influence makes business involvement in such regime politics unnecessary." · Any influential local actors were not acting in concert. There was no reciprocity. A "governing coalition" was missing. · Pluralist or mayor-centred explanations are more valid. Should my hypothesis be sustained, I will then carefully develop scenarios to account for the conditions that spawned such a regime and that facilitated its downfall and failure to re-emerge. I will enquire into the significance, if any, of rapid suburban growth, as well as dramatic demographic and physical transformation, in the rise and fall of a regime. I will speculate on my conclusions' significance to the study of local politics in Canada.

VanNijnatten, Debora L. and Boychuk, Gerard - Economic Integration and Public Policy: Social and Environmental Policy in the Canadian Provinces and American States

The paper investigates the hypothesis that higher levels of cross-border economic integration between individual provinces and their American state counterparts will correspond with higher levels of cross-border policy convergence between those jurisdictions. The paper outlines a number of important reasons to expect that provincial governments in Canada are more susceptible than the federal government to pressures for cross-border policy convergence generated by continental economic integration. Provinces have distinct economic structures and trading patterns requiring unique policy adjustment. Moreover, provinces control some of the most important policy levers for adjusting to increasing economic

integration and competitive pressures. At the same time, American states have become increasingly important economic actors with increased policy responsibilities. The paper will first investigate the level of province-state economic integration based on: geographical contiguity; the top ranking state in terms of merchandise trade with each province; and the top competitor state(s) identified in a survey of provincial governments. We anticipate the inclusion of approximately ten American states in addition to the ten Canadian provinces in order to examine approximately 16 to 18 province-state pairs. The paper will then examine cross-border similarities in the style and level of social provision in the areas of social and environmental policy (income maintenance, post-secondary education, health care and pollution abatement/control).

Whitson, David - The Urban Agenda and the Fate of Modern Communities

The difficult challenges facing Canada's cities have become increasingly obvious, as decades of under-funding have left public infrastructure (in education, transport, and health care, to name only the most obvious examples) not up to the tasks of serving burgeoning and increasingly diverse populations. Meanwhile, political limits on cities' capacity to respond creatively to these needs have been highlighted recently by the imposition, in several major cities of new political regimes (regional governments dominated by suburban interests) and/or new spending disciplines (provincial 'overseers' of school boards) by unsympathetic provincial governments. This has led to a growing chorus of voices - a Parliamentary Task Force, national media commentators, even the TD Bank - urging that a new 'urban agenda' is required if our cities are to avoid economic, social, and environmental decline. Specifics vary, but they typically involve major re-investment in urban infrastructure, and often new municipal powers, especially powers to raise revenues. Yet although the needs of Canadian cities are very real, the political attention they are getting now, however overdue, raises the question of whether re-investing in cities will come at the expense of a vote-poor rural Canada, exacerbating what are already growing urban-rural divisions. This paper asks whether parts of the urban agenda, at least, can be accomplished without damage to the interests of rural Canada, and proposes that local democracy is an issue where those concerned with the livability of communities, urban and rural alike, have common interests. Drawing on recent interviews with municipal leaders and activists in rural British Columbia and Alberta, the paper examines how rural discontent has been brushed aside by neo-liberal provincial governments determined to rationalize services and attract new rural industries. In Alberta, for example, local opposition to industrial hog production has been trumped by provincial legislation that has taken away from local governments the right to refuse proposed developments that meet provincial 'standards'. In this respect, I will argue, they are not unlike cities whose powers to manage their own affairs have been eroded by the pro-development agendas of provincial authorities. The paper proposes that unless the rights and powers of local governments, big and small, are vigorously defended, rural Canada will be defaced by developments that create value for shareholders and provincial governments, while leaving locals to live with the environmental damages. This would be an outcome likely to fuel rural alienation.

Widdowson, Frances - Separate But Unequal: The Political Economy of Aboriginal Dependency

One of the most distressing political problems in Canada today is the continuing dependency of its aboriginal population. Aboriginal peoples' participation in the Canadian labour force is far lower than that of the non-aboriginal population, resulting in widespread impoverishment and deplorable living conditions for natives in one of the wealthiest countries in the world. Even more perplexing is the fact that these problems persist in the face of concerted efforts to address them. Despite the seriousness and deeply entrenched character of aboriginal dependency, the subject has not been widely studied in Canadian political economy. Instead, most of the analysis of aboriginal marginalization and deprivation has occurred outside the discipline, where the expropriation of aboriginal lands by European settlers and the destruction of native traditions by the Canadian state are advanced as the dominant explanations. The focus is on the racist attitudes of non-aboriginals, rather than examining how the historical and material requirements of capitalism have influenced the current circumstances of aboriginal peoples. The proposed paper, "Separate but Unequal: The Political Economy of Aboriginal Dependency", will make an initial attempt to address this neglected area of political economy. Through the use of primary and secondary sources and a historical materialist framework, the different phases of capitalist development, and their interaction with the economic and political structures of aboriginal peoples will be explored. It will be argued that in the early mercantilist phase of Canadian development, aboriginal peoples became integral participants because their hunting and gathering practices could be easily incorporated into the emerging capitalist system. Industrialization, however, required much more productive, disciplined and organized forms of labour, necessitating a radical transformation of aboriginal cultures. And because the industrial revolution occurred relatively late in Canada, it was more profitable to import surplus skilled European labour than to actively integrate! the native population into industrial production. It was more cost effective to subsidize reserves than to devote the resources necessary to incorporate hunting and gathering/horticultural cultures into a more complex economy and society. As well as filling a void within Canadian political economy, this research also promises to contribute to two wider interests of the author - Marxist historiography and aboriginal policy. Since Marxist political economy is largely concerned with class conflict and the transition from feudalism and capitalism, pre-class, or kinship, societies are often ignored even though they make up most of human history. The result has been that the material processes connecting the entire development of humanity have not been fully understood. This also has implications for the analysis of aboriginal policy in Canada. Because current examinations of aboriginal issues often uncritically accept the claims of aboriginal organizations, the gap in development between aboriginal cultures and late capitalism is ignored. It is maintained that aboriginal economies should be built on isolated

reserves and traditional values and practices maintained even when these are completely incompatible with participation in the wider Canadian economy and society.

Wilson, Jeremy - The Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) and Migratory Bird Conservation: The Potential of Articles 14-15 of the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation

This paper examines the potential of Articles 14-15 of the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC), the environmental 'side agreement' to NAFTA which established the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC). These articles lay out a process by which nongovernmental organizations or individuals may file a submission alleging that one of the governments party to the agreement 'is failing to effectively enforce its environmental law.' The Secretariat determines whether the submission warrants a response from the government in question. Where submissions pass this first test, the Secretariat may then recommend development of a 'factual record' to the CEC Council. The Commission has received 35 submissions since 1995. By early 2002, the Secretariat had recommended factual records on eleven submissions, with the Council endorsing eight of these requests. Three factual records have been released. This paper explores the potential of Articles 14-15, basing its conclusions on two cases focussed enforcement of migratory bird legislation. The first complaint, brought by a coalition of ENGOs from the three countries, alleged that in its handling of logging operations, the US Fish and Wildlife Service has not effectively enforced a section of the US Migratory Bird Treaty Act which prohibits the unpermitted killing or 'taking' of migratory birds and destruction of their nests. The second complaint, brought by a collection of Canadian and American ENGOs, makes parallel allegations about the Canadian Wildlife Service's handling of logging in Ontario. Writing shortly after establishment of CEC, Pierre Marc Johnson and Andre Beaulieu said that the Article 14-15 procedures 'could very well become the most dynamic and innovative element of the fact-finding and information management mandate of the Secretariat.' This paper will argue that the migratory bird cases illustrate the limited potential of Article 14-15. For environmentalists, the most optimistic conclusion to be drawn is that use of the process may help to draw out agency responses that provide ammunition for political campaigns aimed at embarrassing the governments in question. The paper will also examine tensions within CEC over interpretation of the Article 14, particularly those raising concerns over the independence of the Secretariat. It will compare the Article 14 rules with parallel procedures found in other transnational agreements. The analysis will be based on interviews with agency officials and representatives of the ENGO complainants. The research is part of a wider examination of transnational migratory bird policy processes and their impacts.

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Wittenbrinck, Joerg - Which Hammer Breaks the Glass Ceiling? Women in Highest Positions of Decision-Making in the European Commission

Despite some thirty years of equal opportunity measures and considerable progress made, the simple formula "the higher the fewer" is still an accurate description of the status of women across a broad range of political organizations. Bureaucracies are certainly no exception, and much research has pointed toward the policy consequences that stem from non-representative organizations. This paper will examine the structure and location of barriers to women's advancement in organizations, as well as the relative impact of policies aimed at breaking down said barriers and increasing the number of women in decision-making positions. In particular, it will focus on the role of 'gender mainstreaming' in transforming

organizational culture. The argument here is that by altering and focusing decision-makers' perceptions of the impact of policies on women and men outside the organization, through training and learning, they will, become more aware of the gendered social patterns in their immediate environment within the organization and will subsequently be more willing to transform these patterns. The administration of the European Commission serves as an excellent case to examine this question. Across a time span of 25 years, the relative impact of three distinct equal opportunity strategies, equal treatment, positive action and gender mainstreaming, will be compared across the organization as a whole. Secondly, a comparison across a number of Directorate Generals will help examine the extent to which an increase in the number of women in decision-making positions is dependent on the degree to which gender mainstreaming policies were implemented and enforced, while taking into account additional factors identified as important in the literature. Those include, among others, the dominant policy and professional frame an organization operates under, the level of hierarchy and centralization, and the presence of a critical mass or numerical threshold of women. The systematic comparison of these policy packages builds on the growing number of studies that find non-discrimination and affirmative action programs to have only limited impact on the proportion of women in highest positions of decision-making. Beyond this, the paper presents a first assessment of the impact that gender mainstreaming can have on the internal procedures and culture of an organization. Finally, by identifying and evaluating factors that facilitate or mitigate policy success, the paper also speaks to the literature on the relationship between passive and active representation in political organizations.

Wolfe, Robert - Transparency, Developing Countries, and the Fate of the WTO

Transparency has become central to the politics of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in three ways: 1) external transparency, meaning how well the public and civil society organizations can see into the work of the organization; 2) internal transparency, meaning the ability of smaller and developing country members to participate 3) regulatory transparency, meaning the incorporation of transparency as an important aspect of national administrative law in the domain of trade. In all three meanings, the underlying idea is that democratic governance is enhanced through transparency. With respect to the third mode, WTO agreements typically mandate at least four levels of transparency: 1. publication of laws and regulations [GATT (Article X (1))] 2. notification of new measures to trading partners 3. enquiry points for trading partners 4. independent administration and adjudication [GATT (Article X (3)); telecoms Reference Paper] In this third mode, transparency comes to be seen not just as an aspect of good governance, but as a regulatory mode in itself. This new form of regulation now seems obvious to the developed countries, but may be non-obvious or even very difficult for developing countries still struggling to develop command-and-control regulatory agencies. The hypothesis is that the regulatory requirements of the WTO will mirror practice in OECD countries but will be hard for advanced developing countries and very difficult for LDCs. This paper examines these propositions through a structured comparison of how Canada, Brazil, South Africa, Thailand and Uganda implement WTO regulatory requirements in the domains of telecommunications (GATS Reference Paper) and food safety (SPS).

Yoshinaka, Antoine - Congressional Party Switchers and Committee Assignments: Who Gets What, When, How?

Switching partisan affiliation entails many consequences for members of Congress (MCs) who decide to defect to another party. While electoral and roll-call consequences of congressional party switching have previously been studied (Glaser 2001; Grose and Yoshinaka 2003; Hager and Talbert 2000; McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal 2001; Nokken 2000; Oppenheimer 2000), other consequences of party defections have yet to be systematically explored. In this paper, I look at the effect of party switching on committee assignments, and argue that parties seek to reward party switchers by offering them favorable committee assignments. Previous studies have offered descriptive accounts of the way in which party leaders have tried to accommodate party switchers' committee requests (Hager and Talbert 2000; Renka and Ponder 2001). In this paper, I offer a systematic test of the hypothesis that party switchers are more likely than non-switchers to be the beneficiaries of uncompensated violations of the seniority norm. I also test the hypothesis that party switchers will be more likely to get assigned to a "good" committee following their switch. Findings from this paper will be of interest to students of parties and Congress, and will lend support to the claim that parties act as "cartels" by using its institutional prerogatives to reward/punish their members (Cox and McCubbins 1993).

Yoshinaka, Antoine and Grose, Christian R. - Politics and Purity of the Ballot Box: An Explanation of Felon and Ex-Felon Disenfranchisement Laws in the U.S. 1960-2000

This paper examines the causes of change in felon and ex-felon disenfranchisement laws in the United States. Since the 1960s, many states have extended the franchise to felons and ex-felons (Keyssar 2000). However, on more than one occasion voters have rejected such an extension of voting rights. In fact, voters have been prone to restrict suffrage laws for felons and ex-felons. We examine this tension between political actors' incentives to change suffrage laws for their electoral benefit and citizens' preferences to restrict the franchise, especially focusing on partisan incentives. We argue that certain conditions are propitious for the liberalization of suffrage laws. Specifically, we show that the presence of a unified Democratic government at the state level increases the likelihood that the right to vote will be extended to felons and/or ex-felons, as Democrats hope to enhance their voter base in future elections. Also, we show that the proportion of Democrats in a state legislature is positively related to such extension of suffrage. Additionally the requirement to hold a referendum in order to amend a state constitution inhibits the move toward an extension of suffrage to felons and/or ex-felons. Finally, we also consider cases of judicial intervention in overturning felon disenfranchisement laws. We show that the extension or retraction of the right to vote is dependent upon whether judges are elected, appointed, and the

partisanship of the judicial elections/appointments. Our findings indicate that the debate surrounding normative concepts such as voting rights can only be understood in light of the electoral and partisan incentives of the political actors.

Young, Lisa - Women (Not) in Politics: Surveying Women's Participation in Electoral and Partisan Politics

This paper provides an overview of the research that has been conducted on women's participation in the formal political arena in Canada, namely as voters, members of political parties, candidates and legislators. The intention of the paper is to give readers an idea of the scope of the existing research on women's political participation, and an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses, and to suggest some points of commonality and departure for future research.

Zaslove, Andrej - Is Fascism Still Relevant? The Radical Right and the search for a Definition

The radical right and the search for a definition The recent rise of extreme parties such as the National Front in France, Jorg Haider in Austria and Pim Fortuyn in Holland has contributed to a growing body of social science literature that attempt to make sense of this fairly recent phenomenon . A key question becomes: is Europe experiencing a resurgence of Fascism? If not how should we define and explain the current rise of these extreme political parties. In this paper I argue that it is incorrect to view the emergence of the current wave of extremism as a resurgence of Fascism, or neo-Fascism. This not to deny that Fascist, ex-Fascists and neo-Fascists do not support the radical right. Nor do I argue that there are not groups of Fascists and neo-Fascists currently active in Europe. However, I do argue that the current wave of extreme parties that we encounter in Austria, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Italy and Germany are not Fascist or neo-Fascist. This begs the question: if these political parties of the right are not Fascist, how should we define them? Moreover, why is it important analytically and politically to make this distinction. In the remainder of the paper, after arguing that the current wave of extreme parties are not Fascist, I examine other attempts to come up with a social scientific examination. I examine the Inglehart counter post-material argument, the German influence school that focuses on them as extreme anti-constitutional parties, those that refer to them as populist parties and the Herbert Kitschelt political economic/ institutional approach. I conclude that none of these approaches adequately defines the current rise of the radical right. To conclude I present my own ideal type. I argue that it is much more parsimonious to refer to this current wave of radicalism as radical right populism. Taking and institutional and a political economic approach I argue that the new radical right can be identified organizationally, by who supports these political parties and also by an emerging ideology. My method of analysis will consist of primary party documents and secondary literature in German, French and Italian. Although there is substantial literature on the radical right, there is surprisingly little that examines the various approaches to the study of the phenomenon. Moreover, I feel that my political economic and institutional approach also makes some original contributions to scholarship on political parties.

Zupanec, Nives - The Power Politics of Systematic Sexual Violence in 'Ethnonationalist War' and the Legal Consequences of the Use of Such Violence Against Women

The former Yugoslav wars were founded upon an ethnonationalist pretext, which elites used to publicly justify their political and military actions. Ethnonationalist elites claimed to be uninvolved in the Croatian, Bosnian-and-Herzegovinian, and Kosovo wars. However, the paramilitaries, who enacted systematic sexual violence against women of so-called 'enemy' ethnonationalist groups, were directly, albeit covertly, linked to the same elites/ power structures. Thus the former Yugoslav wars were not caused by 'ancient hatreds', as both elite propaganda and some scholars have sought to establish. At the root of the former Yugoslav wars was strategically appropriated misogyny, embedded in the 'mother/whore' dichotomy. The idea that so-called 'enemy' women were 'whores', while 'national' women were the embodiments of the 'nation' was actively and publicly reinforced by political and military elites. The subversive message was that 'enemy' women are 'rapable', whereas 'national' women are 'to be protected'. The use of systematic sexual violence against women in war amounts to criminal behaviour. Such behaviour is not only contrary to international legal standards, it can also amount to genocide. The latter has been recognised by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), in certain cases. Even when it does not legally constitute genocide, this form of violence is 'genocidal' in its character. The systematic sexual violation of women in 'ethnonationalist war' is concurrently about the violation of women's human rights and an attempt to destroy the group(s) to which the targeted women belong. A gender-sensitive, politico-legal analysis is to be conducted in order to demonstrate the political causes of such violence and how (and if) international law captures such crime. Hence it will also be shown where international humanitarian and human rights law must be revised, so that victims are afforded adequate protection and so that domestic/international peace and security is maintained. Analytically, political science (specifically international relations, the study of war) needs to be merged with international (humanitarian and human rights) law, and gender action-oriented theory. Such interdisciplinary work exists, but is mainly conducted by international lawyers, who prioritize legal analysis. The author's research interests centre on exploring war as a gendered phenomenon; the effectiveness of international law in recognizing gender/sexual crimes and in protecting victims; and the strategic use of domestic cultural sources in the construction of political propaganda for war.