

2005 ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS 2005

Carol Agocs (Western Ontario), "Missing Cases: Human Rights Complaints of Systemic Racial Discrimination in Employment" – An examination of cases heard by human rights tribunals, boards of inquiry and courts in Canada reveals that few complaints of systemic racial discrimination in employment have been heard, and of those, few have been substantiated. In addition, there are few cases in which systemic remedies have been ordered. This paper examines some of the reasons for the lack of progress in developing case law on systemic racial discrimination, and implications of this failure.

Carol Agocs (Western Ontario) and **Thomas Plant** (Mississauga Transit), "From Measuring to Managing Performance in Municipal Government" – TBA/À venir

Robert Aitken (York), "Responsibilizing the Firm" - Conventional theories have typically understood the firm as an efficient 'transaction relation' or as an effective space in which to cultivate organizational learning. This 'transaction cost' approach, however, offers a limited view of the firm as a rational actor distinct from its external environment. Drawing upon recent ethical initiatives in the global political economy designed to promote corporate responsibility (the UN Global Compact, GoodCorporation, SA 8000) I argue for an alternative conception of the firm as an inescapably ethical site and as a particular 'governmentality'. I argue that recent calls for an ethical form of corporate governance have sought a kind of 'responsibilization' of the firm on a number of levels. These initiatives 'responsibilize' the firm and its constitutive elements (workers, managers, investors) by offering a critique of 'corporate' or 'managerial' capitalism and the kinds of passive citizenship those structures generate. This ethical governance is both politically enabling and disabling. On one hand this kind of governmentality opens political space by challenging the conventional view of the firm as a bounded actor and by enmeshing the firm within broader political and ethical spaces. This kind of ethical governance, I argue, effectively challenges many of the limitations of conventional theories of the firm and the concept of 'shareholder sovereignty' in particular. On the other hand, the language of ethical governance narrows the field of corporate regulation by evading broader questions of regulation and public control. Ultimately, I argue, the success of the 'responsibilized' firm will depend on the outcome of political contests between the diverse social forces (NGOs, firms, unions and other officials) involved in programs of corporate social responsibility.

John Aldrich (Duke) and **Jim Granato** (National Science Foundation), "Introduction of the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Initiative" – TBA/À venir

Julian Ammirante (York), "From Nickel to Data Mining: Job Shifts and Regional Decline in Post-industrial and Post-Fordist Northern Ontario" - Much of the analysis of the structural changes that have characterized the global economy over the past 30 years have converged heavily on debates and analyses of trade, manufacturing, service sectors of the economy, and on certain idealized urbanized and industrial regions such as southern California, industrial Britain, or the "Third Italy." Aside from some of the literature on the geography of economic restructuring, resource-based industries, (particularly mining), and the hinterland economies in which they are normally found, have been relatively neglected. Such neglect, fails to recognize the explanatory potential that staple analyzes holds for confirming or rejecting competing hypotheses that are associated with globalization, post-industrialism and post-Fordism. This is particularly important in the Canadian case as a leading feature of its industrial complexion and Fordist variant has been its regional, staple, export based foundation and reliance. Because of the industry's link to broader, transnational industrial complexes through some rather significant multinational corporations, that bridge the transition between Fordist and post-Fordist eras, we are presented with an opportunity to capture in a microcosm many of the trends that seem to be besieging the larger Canadian economy. The interpretation of these factors have in turn re-enforced what is perhaps the most prominent and misleading notion in popular globalization literature: that businesses, if they can make a profit elsewhere, will pick up stakes and relocate offshore overnight, and that governments must now conform to this "new" reality. At the worksite, this has been translated into a search for a new competitive flexibility. This is embodied in the dismantling of the old, narrow division of labour for a reconfigured schema based on responding to uncertain and volatile market conditions. The challenges raised by developments in the Canadian mineral industry are often encapsulated in such notions as a transition from a Fordist to a post-

Fordist, or alternatively, a post-industrial economy. This paper takes up the debate around post-Fordism and post-industrialism within the theme of Canadian staple reliance. In particular, the staple sector of mining and mineral processing. It will be based on the case study which analyzes the political and economic restructuring of the region known as northern Ontario with the Sudbury basin as its central footing. In this instance, the forces that have eroded the older process of Fordist accumulation may not be completely the same to those identified throughout much of the literature on post-Fordism and post-industrialism. Therefore, by combining the historical specificity of a case study with the general conceptual categories generated and associated with post-industrial and post-Fordist theses, this paper seeks to enhance our general understanding of the current political and economic crisis in Canada's hinterland economies. The direction of the crisis and restructuring in the Sudbury basin essentially has been from a Fordist, towards a more flexible or post-Fordist regime of accumulation. I will argue that the forces underlying this transition were not only the outcome of international factors and technological innovation, but by changes resulting from pressures for labour flexibility by the region's largest employer, The International Nickel Company of Canada (INCO), and the attendant undermined and accommodating role played by the local labour unions and the municipal and provincial governments. The aim here is to create a research agenda for the exploration of the linkages between these actors and phenomenon revealing how defensive and/or reactive policy measures have come to be the norm.

Cameron Anderson (McGill), "Economic Voting and Multi-level Governance in Canada: An Accountability-centered Model" - Elections constitute the primary means by which governments are held accountable. The reward and punishment calculus of economic voting provides a particularly useful means by which to consider the question of accountability. While recent work (Anderson, 2004) indicates that the strength of economic voting (and accountability) for national governments is undermined by the presence of multiple orders of government, much less is known about how effectively citizens hold governments accountable at different levels within multi-level systems such as Canada. The proposed paper develops and tests a model that considers the extent to which voters are able to correctly hold federal and provincial governments accountable for economic conditions in Canada. While there is a rich literature on federal and state economic voting in the United States (e.g. Orth, 2002), little is known about these dynamics outside of the U.S. In the case of Canada, the lone previous study (using aggregate data) indicates that federal incumbents are held accountable for nationaleconomic conditions but not for provincial conditions and provincial incumbents are not held accountable for provincial conditions but rather for national ones. The proposed paper challenges these findings by developing and testing an accountability-centered model of economic voting in Canada. The accountability-centered model contends that governments should only be held accountable for those actions and outcomes that are reasonably consistent with their jurisdiction. As such, federal incumbent support should be affected by both national and provincial economic conditions because both fall within the jurisdiction of the federal government. By contrast, provincial incumbents should only be held accountable for provincial economic conditions, not national ones. These propositions are tested using data from the 1988, 1993 and 1997 Canadian Election Studies. Socio-tropic retrospective evaluations of economic conditions at both the federal and provincial levels as well as federal vote choice are included in all three surveys. Provincial vote intentions were asked in both the 1993 and 1997 studies. Estimations are conducted using logistic regression. As comparative trends of decentralization continue to strengthen the importance of sub-national governments, understanding the mechanisms of democratic accountability within decentralized multi-level states such as Canada becomes increasingly important.

Blake Andrew (McGill), "Partisanship, Political Interest, and Federal Elections on Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador" - Warnings about low turnout have intensified in Canada since 2000 when only 61 percent of eligible voters participated in the federal election. A basic Canadian politics textbook invariably explains how turnout has declined by 14-points over the past four elections since 1988. But we are not always reminded that the decline has been less consistent and less precipitous in certain parts of Canada. Neither are we informed about the significant gap between provinces in electoral participation. The fact is that people in some provinces are more likely to vote than people in others. This is most obvious in the case of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. In 2000 the gap between these provinces reached 16 percent when 73 percent of Prince Edward Islanders voted compared to only 57 percent of Newfoundlanders. What makes Newfoundland more prone to low turnout than Prince Edward Island? In order to examine the question this paper will use pooled data from the Canadian Election

Studies since 1988. The evidence presented here suggests that party identification, political interest, and political information do provide a partial explanation for the turnout gap. I argue that the differences in voting behaviour in these provinces may be a function of their unique experiences with Canadian federalism. The presence of cooperation between parties at the national and sub-national level on Prince Edward Island could explain why party identification, in particular, is a strong determinant of voting.

Cenk Aygul (York), "New Regionalism and the Nation State" - The 1990s witnessed the ascendancy of a new orthodoxy involving micro-regions, leading, in turn, to a simplistic acknowledgment of a weakening of the nation-state. This new regionalism thesis is buttressed by a wide variety of literature, such as the exhaustion of Fordism (Regulation School as a whole); the establishment of regions as a tier of government or three tiers of government interaction (public administration theorists mostly affiliated with the EU, like Mazey and Marks); the rise of network societies (Castells) or industrial districts (Sabel, Scott and Storper); theories about the 'hollowing out' of the nation-states (Jessop) or 'glocalization' (Swyngedouw), and lately various 're-scaling' theories (Brenner). This paper will examine the administrative aspects of the new regionalism literature and will argue that the 'rise of new regionalism' is an overgeneralization of the limited phenomena mostly gathered from some already prominent regions. For most of the 'less favored regions' new regionalism meant that regional development policies are to be sacrificed to the benefit of the market, leaving most of these regions with policies curbing wages and welfare services. In other words, rise of regionalism resulted in further peripheralization for many regions. Second, as will be shown using Germany as an example, rising regional mobility does not in every case imply regional ascendancy, but an endeavor of the regions to protect their power against the centralizing tendencies of European integration. Last, new regionalism does not come to mean any weakening of the nation-states, since they have been active throughout the process.

Hunter Bacot (North Carolina), "Charlotte" – TBA/À venir

Cristina Badescu (Western Ontario), "Armed Humanitarian Intervention: A Critical Examination of the Question of Authority" - The use of military intervention for human protection purposes is one of the most contentious issues in contemporary international relations, since humanitarian crises of vast proportions have been among the defining events of the post-Cold War era. My dissertation research deals with one of the most important questions related to armed humanitarian intervention, namely the right authority. I would suggest that despite the impressive literature on humanitarian intervention, there is an important gap resulting from the fact that the discussion has concentrated on whether external military intervention for human protection purposes is right, without looking so much at who has the authority to do it. My paper looks systematically and critically at claims about who has the appropriate authority and who should carry out humanitarian interventions. I consider that despite its increasing prominence within military humanitarian intervention, the relationship between the UN, on one hand, and regional arrangements, on the other hand, has received insufficient attention among scholars. I am examining this relationship in my paper. It is important to systematically explore possible interactions between the UN and regional actors, as previous interventions suggest the emergence of institutionalized partnerships, as ways to share responsibility. The methodology of analysis involves a comparative analysis of various case studies: first, the UN interventions in Somalia and Bosnia (1992), and second, NATO's intervention in Kosovo (1999) and ECOWAS intervention in Liberia (1997). I am also using the more recent example of Sudan to assess whether regional arrangements are now considered more suitable for assuming responsibility for ending atrocities. In these cases, I examine on the one hand, the ability of UN to address humanitarian crises, and on the other hand, how national and regional actors shape global politics, in the face of UN immobility.

Gerald Baier (British Columbia), "Legislative Mimicry: Uniform Law and Canadian Federalism" - Canadian federalism provides room for provincial governments to innovate, but the federal government has generally seen its role as the promoter of national standards. National standards are, in practice, still fairly broadly conceived, This spirit is demonstrated in section 36(2) of the Constitution Act, 1982 and its goal of "reasonably comparable levels of public services at reasonably comparable levels of taxation." But what of areas of provincial jurisdiction where detailed national standardization is beneficial or necessary? The Uniform Law Conference of Canada has promoted the harmonization of laws in areas of provincial jurisdiction since 1918. Legislative drafters have identified areas for harmonization and drafted Uniform

Statutes to encourage standardization in areas of civil, commercial and even criminal law. Scholars of federalism have paid this practice little or no attention. This paper will look at the practice of Uniform Law in Canada and investigate its potential for repairing some of the present deficiencies in Canadian federalism. Students of Canadian federalism have grown dismayed with the way intergovernmental relations presently work. Executives at the federal and provincial level informally set standards and reach agreements for the implementation of policy goals. Legislatures and legislation are usually absent from these intergovernmental processes. Uniform law, or 'legislative mimicry' has the potential to bridge the innovative capacity of federalism and the quest for more formal national standards and more accountable intergovernmentalism. As an empirical matter it is not presently clear how much subnational governments already learn or borrow from each other in Canadian federalism. Even in other federations, where there are indications of greater legislative mimicry or borrowing, there is little systemic research on how much the practice occurs and whether it serves to promote convergence of regulatory and service standards. Comparisons to Australian practice will be made in the paper to further explore the potential of this practice for Canada.

Abigail B. Bakan (Queen's) and **Audrey Kobayashi** (Queen's), "Backlash, Affirmative Action and Employment Equity: Policy and Ideology in the Canadian Context" - Employment equity policy has been a central element of Canadian policy discourse since the publication in 1984, of Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report. Under the direction of Commissioner Rosalie Abella, the term "employment equity" was suggested as an equivalent, and alternative, to what was seen to be the more controversial term "affirmative action." But what precisely was so controversial about affirmative action? In this paper, we consider the debates in the US regarding affirmative action that have impacted on the ideology, debates and policy initiatives shaping employment equity policy at the level of the and Ontario provincial levels. We argue that despite bold steps in the direction of equity, and against formidable opposition in some cases, ideological and practical concessions to the backlash have been embedded in the Canadian policies. This sometimes subtle, sometimes overt, acceptance of certain elements of backlash among advocates of employment equity, is, we maintain, central to the workings of backlash and to the influence of anti-equity policies.

Dennis Baker (Calgary), "The Constitution in Times of Fiscal Crisis" - The Supreme Court of Canada's recent decision in the Newfoundland Pay Equity case (Newfoundland v. N.A.P.E.) established that governments may lawfully infringe Charter rights during periods of severe fiscal restraint. This approach conflicts with the Court's earlier rulings (Singh, Reference re Remuneration of Judges, Martin) which declared that financial considerations alone could never provide an adequate justification for limiting rights. In attempting to resolve the "so-called 'dollars versus rights controversy'" (N.A.P.E. at para. 34), the Court displayed an admirable (if newfound) appreciation of the policy trade-offs necessary in times of scarce resources but, as this paper argues, the Court's preferred standard ("severe fiscal crisis") and means (judicial notice) are particularly vulnerable to results-based legal reasoning. An earlier experience with a similar federalism test – the economic grounds for an emergency use of the Federal government's 'peace, order and good government' (POGG) power – provides ample reason to be sceptical that the new "crisis" threshold for Charter rights will provide much legal certainty and judicial guidance. Under the 'POGG' test, for example, the Great Depression failed to qualify as an economic emergency (Unemployment Insurance Reference) but the double-digit inflation of the 1970s was deemed urgent enough to warrant federal intervention using the same emergency criterion (Anti-Inflation Reference). Building upon this historical analogy, this paper more broadly explores the judicial capacity for synoptic fiscal decision-making and considers the appropriate economic role for the Court in Canada's system of responsible government.

Keith Banting (Queen's), "Canada as Counter-Narrative: Multiculturalism, Recognition and Redistribution" – TBA/À venir

Paul Barker (Brescia University College), "Health Care and Federal Provincial Fiscal Relations: Will Targeted Funding Work" - In recent reports and agreements on health care in Canada, a new fiscal instrument has assumed some prominence. The 'designated transfer' or 'targeted fund' has been at the centre of recent federal-provincial agreements on health care, and the recommendations of the Romanow Commission also relied on the use of targeted funds. The fund involves a non-matching transfer of

monies from the federal government to the provinces with the stipulation that these monies be spent on specified areas of health care. The intent of the fund is to offer greater funding for areas deemed important to the renewal of the Canadian health care system. There is, however, some uncertainty about the efficacy of the new fiscal instrument. Some believe that the fund will shape the behaviour of recipients of the grant in the desired direction – the grants will be used to provide more financial support for designated areas. But others fear that the fund amounts to an unconditional grant and hence the provinces may allocate few of the new federal dollars to the targeted services. Still others have invoked the grant while appreciating that its use might require some accompanying arrangements. The uncertainty over the targeted fund combined with the importance of successfully reforming the Canadian health care system suggests a need to look more closely at this new element in federal-provincial fiscal relations. Using the theory of intergovernmental grants, this paper will seek to determine whether targeted funds can indeed achieve their purposes and what might be done if it is established that the funds will most likely fail in their present form.

Christie Barron (Criminology, Simon Fraser), "A Paradigm of Exclusion: The Impact of the Risk Society on Female Young Offenders" – TBA/À venir

Shane Barter (British Columbia), "The Role Of Ethnicity and Islam in the Aceh Conflict" - The conflict continues to fester in Aceh Indonesia after several decades of fighting. Not well known in North America, this is a large issue in Europe and Asia which has involved Thai, Swedish, Norwegian, Japanese, and other peacekeeping forces. But there is so little analysis of this conflict, specifically the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). Surface analysis has up to this point framed the Acehnese struggle as a mirror image of East Timor, looking to the economic exploitation and human rights abuses at the hands of the Indonesian military. Though important, we must look at the conflict in a much deeper sense, one that involves implicating the GAM where necessary and taking into account the role of civil society and Islamic organizations. Is the Aceh conflict an ethno-religious conflict? Does the GAM force this into being an ethnic conflict by attacking Javanese minorities in order to naturalize their struggle? What does this mean for international involvement? These questions necessitate detailing some characteristics of ethno-religious conflict in a theoretical sense, as well as a deep appreciation for the circumstances in Aceh. Specifically, the tedious relationship between Islam and the rebels, as well as the ethno-linguistic differences between the Acehnese, Javanese, and hill tribes will help us avoid several common traps. It is expected that such a framework will directly inform the expected renewed peace talks under President-elect Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, talks which the Canadian Embassy in Jakarta will play a major role in.

Sylvia Bashevkin (Toronto), "Training a Spotlight on Urban Citizenship: The Case of Women in Toronto and London" - This paper is among the first to assess the urban citizenship implications of disparate metropolitan governance changes. Using the concept of citizen representation as its main conceptual anchor, the study examines longitudinal patterns in London and Toronto, two cities that underwent divergent institutional and political leadership experiences during the late 1990s and following. The empirical analysis addresses three dimensions of citizen representation in each location: the election of women to urban public office, the status of city "femocracies," and the inclusion of feminist discourse in official spatial plans. It reports women's citizenship status according to all three measures was considerably more robust under the GLA arrangement in London than the amalgamation scheme in Toronto. Within cities, representation on two of the three measures declined over time in both London and Toronto. The article concludes that institutional and leadership shifts can hold immediate and meaningful consequences for urban citizenship.

Mustafa Kemal Bayirbag (Carleton), "Urban Coalition and Rescaling the State" - This paper looks at the dynamics of urban coalition building in the context of re-scaling of the state. It argues that re-scaling of the state is a process of hegemonic transformation and that a) this process goes hand in hand with a transformation of the axis of interest definition for local actors, thus altering the face of urban politics; b) local politics has become one of the sites which mediates the re-scaling process, as the meeting place of actors defined at various spatial scales; c) and, thus, re-scaling process of the state is associated with changes in the nature of the hegemonic coalition in general. The process of urban coalition building then could be understood as the site of hegemony construction which shifts the balances of power among different fractions of the hegemonic bloc. In that respect, the local business communities become the

centre of our attention. Then, this paper discusses the particular role played by local business communities in this re-scaling / re-structuring process of the state. One of the central arguments of this paper is that the re-scaling process results in / promotes / sustain the power imbalances amongst various social actors, and this happens via a re-definition of the means of participation and forms of representation of these actors. In sum, the paper concentrates on one of the significant claims of Brenner, that re-territorialisation of the state and the rise of the cities and regions are parallel processes, and it aims to investigate the links between these two processes.

Mustafa Kemal Bayirbag (Carleton) and **Evren Tok** (Carleton), "The Political Economy of European Citizenship" - This paper looks at the political-economy of the European citizenship. We claim that establishment of the EU is an active state re-structuring process re-defining the scales of "economic integration" and "social cohesion", which, were used to be resolved "simultaneously" at the national scale. As an imagined community, the nation has served to give a sense of coherence and cohesion to the citizens of a state, which in turn provided the ideological infrastructure for functioning of a national-economy. At this point, we witness the creation of the EU as a new supra-national state, being more responsible for the maintenance and regulation of a common market. However, this time, there are three (instead of one) types of imagined communities in order to serve as the source of social cohesion: the local, the national, the European, each offering different kinds of identities along with different levels of accessibility and accountability to their "potential" citizens. What is striking about the EU integration project is that these community projects do not necessarily match with the corresponding spatial framework of the new economy. If this is the case, then we are supposed to concentrate on the possible consequences of this likely mismatch. It can be argued that the various articulations between a "new common market" and these different "community-citizenship projects," introduces three competing state projects. We argue that the future of the European Union will very much be determined by the project which will have the upper-hand in this competition. Our paper will draw upon the recent literature on European integration and social cohesion in particular.

Bélanger, Éric (McGill), "A Theory of Party Mergers" - Income and wealth redistribution has been steadily declining in the United States over the last 30 years, while widespread political apathy and abstention has been on the rise. Today more than ever, legislators shape public policies in order to favor particular interests by increasingly rewarding politically active citizens at the expense of individuals who do not vote, or otherwise participate in politics. The following project proposes to address this apparent democratic deficit by analyzing the linkage between falling voter turnout rates, congressional legislative behavior, and partisan polarization within the United States Congress. Current democratic theory presupposes that elected officials represent the interests of their constituents. When political participation is low, the monitoring and effective punishment of legislators becomes the privilege of a selective group of citizens: those who turn out to vote. Because congressional behavior is affected by the broader political environment, we should expect declining voting rates to have an important limitation on electoral accountability. The main contention of this research project is that turnout influences political representation and that political elites will react to electoral participation in formulating public policies. As district turnout level declines, we should expect congressional voting behavior to become more extreme. This project will begin by measuring the ideological differences between voters and non-voters in a wide range of public opinion surveys. The second part will then proceed to study the relationship between political participation and policy by analyzing House and Senate roll-call voting from 1956 to 2002 in order to determine if turnout is a good predictor of extreme legislative behavior.

Éric Bélanger (McGill) and **Bonnie M. Meguid** (Rochester), "Issue Salience, Issue Ownership and Issue-Based Vote Choice: Evidence from Canada" - According to the issue ownership theory of voting, voters identify the political party that they feel is the most competent, or the most credible, proponent of a particular issue and cast their ballots for the party that owns that particular issue. Yet, the actual micro-level mechanism of such behavior has seldom been examined in the literature. We assess this question and, in the process, offer a correction to the original model of issue ownership. We argue that while party ownership of an issue is important to individual vote choice, its effect is mediated by the perceived salience of the issue in question. In other words, issue ownership should only affect the voting decision of those individuals who think that the issue is important. The conditional effect of issue salience on ownership-based voting is demonstrated through analyses of the individual-level determinants of vote

choice in the 1997 Canadian federal election. The results strongly suggest that salience should be more explicitly integrated into the formulation of the theory and in its empirical testing because it constitutes a key element in the micro-level mechanism of issue ownership voting.

Paul Bélanger (Buffalo) and **Munroe Eagles** (Buffalo), "The Geography of Class and Religion in Canadian Elections Voting Revisited" - Almost two decades ago, Richard Johnston advanced a provocatively counter-orthodox interpretation of the Canadian party system when he contended that "...far from lacking a social base, [it] is profoundly rooted in tribal loyalties." Specifically, he argued that when Catholics appear in significant numbers, the party system tended to be socially grounded in the religious cleavage (Catholic/non-Catholic divisions in party choice), whereas class politics (union/non-union partisan divisions) prevailed in areas where Catholics constituted no more than a small minority. In other words, according to Johnston, Canadian elections were powerfully structured by the interaction of geography and class. Though the precise causal mechanisms responsible for the priority religious cleavages assumed over material cleavages was not explicitly outlined, Johnston's suggestive empirical analyses focused on the concentration of Catholics at the provincial level. Unfortunately, his rationale for adopting this geographic unit, as opposed to a smaller level of spatial aggregation, such as the constituency, is not particularly compelling. Even more unfortunate, however, is the relative absence of any follow-up attempts to replicate or extend Johnston's pioneering and far-reaching insights. Our paper will employ appropriate multilevel methods (hierarchical linear modeling, or HLM) to test the interactions of class and Catholicism using information for individuals taken from the 2000 CNES, and contextual data for these respondents for their parliamentary constituencies and provinces of residence. This approach enables us to capture the interactive effects of class and religion across different levels of spatial aggregation.

Colleen Bell (York), "Canada's Guantanamo Bay? Vigilante Justice and the CSIS Security Certificate" - October of 2004 marks 164 months of collective detention of five Muslim men who are being held under powers granted to the Canadian Security Intelligence Agency (CSIS) since the events of September 11th, 2001. The CSIS Security Certificate enables indefinite detainment of people who are deemed to pose a threat to national security. Critics of these new powers, have been quick to point out that blanket declarations of "national security" serve as a gateway for the violation of legal rights, such as the access of detainee's lawyers to "evidence," and risk undermining basic human rights with threats of deportation to countries where detainees may face torture or execution. This paper considers the Security Certificate as an assertion of security mechanisms that exercise state power outside of processes of democratic accountability. By analyzing CSIS documents, information attained by the detainees legal council, and articles circulated by human rights advocacy organizations, while also drawing on critical security literature, the paper will examine how the treatment of law in this instance engenders its own retraction, by extending rights only to persons who are not considered a threat to national security. Indeed, CSIS's own statements on the issue presume that legal processes and detention are divisible. This inquiry examines the far-reaching consequences of the Security Certificate for the democratic trajectory of human rights jurisprudence in Canada and internationally, and contributes to research on recent developments in Canada's national security policy and the international context of Canada's enlistment in the 'war on terror.'

Afef Benessaieh (Southern California), "At the Margins of Global Society: Transnational Encounters Among NGOs and Donors in Southeastern Mexico" - In this paper, I wish to critically reflect on global or transnational society as a site of new opportunities and potential constraints for social actors. In particular, I am interested in thinking a nascent global society from North and South perspectives, and from the less familiar viewpoint of local actors that are not necessarily in the best position for taking advantage of transnational networking. Transnational civil networks are often said to be constructed on shared principles, norms or ideas, however less attention is directed to how those norms and ideas are defined, and by whom. What are the implications of such possibility on social action thought from Southern and local perspectives? What facets of these processes remedy the democracy deficit as some scholars suggest, and which may retrench it? Based on extensive fieldwork in Chiapas, Southeastern Mexico, I discuss these questions on theoretical grounds and empirical grounds vis-à-vis the transnational civil society that gathers in conflicted societies.

Nicole F. Bernier (Montréal), "Promoting Health and Addressing the Determinants of Health: Designing a Public Health Infrastructure and a Policy Approach in Quebec, Ontario and Alberta" - My paper will show the results of an empirical research comparing three provinces' approaches to public health from the mid-1990s and will propose an interpretation of the main observed differences, using a neo-institutional framework of analysis. More specifically, it will describe, compare and explain the policy approaches of Québec, Ontario and Alberta to public health in general, and to health promotion and addressing the determinants of health in particular. My observations comprise the recent evolution of the organizational, legislative and programmatic structure in public health, as it was developed in the three provinces in the past decade. The data necessary to examine the relevant policy developments was collected drawing from multiple sources including official publications and specialized literature in both political science and public health journals, as well as 20 interviews conducted throughout Canada in 2004 with decision-makers and academics involved in public health. The results indicate a great differentiation in terms of the structural approach and social scope of the provincial policies. This non-convergence may appear paradoxical given that the provinces evolve in a common legislative and budgetary framework (federalism) but are to be understood in terms of highly differentiated administrative structures and political traditions at the provincial level. This paper's anticipated contribution will consist in providing a better awareness of public health policies in Canada as this field of intervention is being structured and resourced at both the provincial and national levels. This research is part of a larger program aiming to compare public health approaches in advanced democracies.

Laurence Bherer (Laval), "Les villes : des démocraties de seconde zone ?" – TBA/À venir

John Biles (Metropolis Project) and **Erin Tolley** (Metropolis Project), "Ottawa" – TBA/À venir

Antoine Bilodeau (Australian National), **Neil Nevitte** (Toronto) and **Stephen White** (Toronto) "Regional Environment or Socio-Structural Position? The Origins of Immigrants' Political Attitudes" – Scholars have examined Canada's regionalism from a variety of perspectives; among others are its impact on Canadian politics (Schwartz 1974; Brym 1986; Brodie 1990; Tomblin 1995) and variations in partisan preferences and attitudes across regions (Simeon and Elkins 1974; Gibbins 1982; Gidengil et al. 1999; Young and Archer, 2002). Another central dimension, which has received far less attention, is the capacity of each region to transmit the regional norms, values and political grievances to the new immigrant population. This paper addresses the question of whether or not international immigrants adopt the dominant attitudes of their host-region in Canada. The data used for this paper are drawn from the 1993, 1997, and 2000 Canadian Election Studies and the 2000 Canadian component of the World Values Survey which includes a special sample of immigrants in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Several political attitudes and behaviours are examined, including partisan and voting preference, political cynicism, regional alienation, satisfaction with democracy, and social and economic values. Two competing theoretical frameworks help us explore such a question. First, research on contextual change suggests that people moving to a new environment tend to develop attitudes that resemble those of the local population (Glaser and Gilens 1997; McBurnett 1991; MacKuen and Brown 1987; Brown 1981, 1988; Markus 1979). The expectation is, then, that migrants will assimilate to the dominant attitudes of a given region. But there is an alternative possibility, namely that the specific socio-structural position of immigrants in their new regional environment (level and type of employment, experience of discrimination, pre-migration experiences, and lack of familial partisan tradition) matter and these lead them to develop attitudes that sharply differ from those of the local population (Finifter and Finifter 1989; McAllister and Makkai 1991; Michelson 2001; Portes 1984) This research question has implications for understanding the future of regionalism in Canada. If immigrants internalize dominant regional attitudes, then larger flows of migration are unlikely to have any significant impact on regional cleavages. But if immigrants develop attitudes rooted in their specific experiences as newcomers, then larger flows of migration could somewhat attenuate regional cleavages, at least among those provinces that receive substantial flows of immigrants.

Karen Bird (McMaster), "Hamilton" – TBA/À venir

Karen Bird (McMaster), "Look Who's Running For Office. Visible Minority Candidates in the 2004 Election" – TBA/À venir

Malcolm Bird (Carleton), "An Unintended Outcome: The Ontario Food Terminal Board as a Case Study in Postwar Ontario Agricultural Policy" - The Ontario Food Terminal Board (OFTB) is a non-profit, government owned and operated produce wholesale facility. It leases space to independent produce wholesalers and to farmers who, in turn, sell produce to small and medium sized produce retailers, institutions and restaurants. Opened in 1954, the OFTB was a part of a concentrated government effort in the postwar era to intervene in the agricultural market to stem declining farming incomes. Increasing the efficiency of the urban distribution network and providing a venue for producers to sell directly to retailers, it was argued, would help to increase farming incomes. It was the political power of the farmers that were responsible for its creation, however the terminal could not, nor did it make efforts to, resolve the structural problems facing Ontario's farmers. It was the independent produce wholesalers and the citizens of Ontario who were ultimately the principal beneficiaries of the terminal. With a centralized, efficient, non-profit facility to operate from, independent wholesalers could compete with the large corporate grocery retailers by providing independent retailers with cheap, quality product. It is these retailers that provide real competition to the large grocery store chains in market place that is a highly concentrated oligopoly. It was, and continues to be, a critical institution that maintains competition in the Ontario retail food market. Despite the dominant neoclassical economic discourse on how government intervention is a market 'distortion', the terminal illustrates how direct government intervention in this particular marketplace – the produce wholesale market – facilitates competition. If the competitive market equilibrium is the panacea to our collective action problems, then it follows that a strong interventionist state in this market is necessary to reach and implement that ideal.

Corneliu Bjola (Toronto), "Fear, State, and War: The Social Construction of Security Threats" – Theoretical context: By shaping the pattern of interactions between states, security threats represent a driving force in international relations (IR). They define the content of national interests, the direction of state foreign policy, and even the nature of the international order. Despite their significant analytical value, security threats remain, though, an under-theorized concept in IR theory. Realists take them for granted, as self-evident challenges prompted by domestic and external imbalances in the distribution of state capabilities, and framed by security dilemma considerations. Surprisingly, constructivists and post-structuralists ignore the term as well, although they mention it indirectly in the construction of national interests, identity, security, and foreign policy. In short, current studies recognize the significance of the concept for understanding various aspects of international relations or foreign policy, but they fail to examine how security threats emerge in the first place, and why only a few of them become politically active. In other words, the main question that remains yet to be answered is what is the process by which security threats are socially constructed? Research objectives: The aim of this study is to develop a theoretical model that is able to account for the formation, contestation, and stabilization of security threats. Drawing on the recent contributions of discourse theory, the paper will examine the mechanism by which different interpretations of political events are constituted, negotiated, and eventually naturalized into powerful definitions of security threats. More concretely, the paper will explore the conditions under which disruptions in the political order facilitate the emergence of competing images of political risks and military vulnerabilities, which are then refined, negotiated, and fixed around certain definition of security threats, depending of their degree of accommodation of the social structures of meaning available at a particular moment. The empirical validation of the model will be conducted by reference to the construction of the 2003 Iraqi threat in two case studies, United States and Canada. Both countries are part of the same security complex, and they also share a very close political and military relationship. Nevertheless, their definition of the Iraqi threat in 2003 differed significantly, fact that offers a challenging perspective for testing the analytical validity of the model.

Gerard W. Boychuk (Waterloo), "Territorial Politics and the Development of Health Care in Canada, 1942-2005" - Early in the postwar period, health care reformers in Canada envisioned a nationally-uniform system of public health insurance providing comprehensive coverage for physician services, hospital care, pharmaceuticals, dental and nursing care. Under the system that emerged more than forty years later, public insurance coverage would be limited to physician and hospital care provided through ten provincial plans governed under the Canada Health Act requiring the provinces to respect five broad principles. The paper aims at explaining the discrepancy between these early visions of reformers and the Canadian health care system as it actually developed. While the contemporary Canadian health care

system has been portrayed as both the embodiment of a set of distinctive Canadian values as well as a rational policy response to a given set of social conditions, the alternative interpretation presented in the paper sees this system as the result of a series of accidental reforms which resulted primarily from the intertwining of health care policy and the politics of territorial integration. The paper argues that the dynamics of territorial integration are still central drivers in Canadian health care policy and demonstrates how these dynamics have played out in recent attempts at reform. This paper represents a part of larger manuscript length project entitled *Second Opinion?: Race and Territorial Politics in the Historical Development of Public Health Insurance in the United States and Canada* which is under contract with Georgetown University Press for inclusion in their series *American Governance and Public Policy*.

Sophie Bourgault (Toronto), "The Sobering of Dionysus: Nietzsche's Classical Turn" - This paper seeks to challenge the conventional 'Dionysian' reading of Nietzsche's cultural and political vision via an exploration of his reflections on music. I will first show that the Apollonian Nietzsche's celebrator of law, order, and ascetic sobriety is a more faithful reading of the German thinker than that of the Dionysian aficionado of play, chaos, and intoxication. I will then assess the political implications of such an interpretation. The 'sobering' of Dionysus started most forcefully in Nietzsche's middle-period, in works which articulated a markedly harsh indictment of 'industrial culture' and of the toxic mixture of nationalism and art. Amongst the most remarkable expressions of Nietzsche's 'classical' turn are his virulent polemics not only against Wagner, but also against the notion of art pour art and the misuse of music as a 'narcotic' by overworked, alienated bourgeois Germans. As we shall see, the sobering of Dionysus in Nietzsche's middle-period is also accompanied by an insightful critique of the cult of the genius and of the death of leisure. This paper is a chapter of my doctoral thesis, which compares the thought of Rousseau and Nietzsche on music and particularly of its relationship to epistemology, education, and citizenship.

Alison Bramwell (Toronto) and **David Wolfe** (Toronto), "Universities and Regional Economic Development: the Entrepreneurial University of Waterloo" - Universities are seen as important agents of technology transfer in the knowledge-based economy, but an over-emphasis on the commercialization process obscures the fact that some universities are also highly engaged regional economic actors that have strong links with local industry and are deeply embedded in their local communities. Because the relationship between universities and regional economic development is neither directly causal nor unproblematic, a more nuanced and contextualized understanding of the actual role that universities play in regional economic development is required. Drawing upon historical research and interviews with university personnel, firms, and other local economic actors, this paper examines the case of the University of Waterloo (UW). We employ the concept of "entrepreneurial university" to capture the robust and numerous linkages and knowledge flows that the UW has with local high technology firms. Apart from the traditional roles of the performance of basic research and the training of highly qualified personnel, especially in the areas of software engineering and computer science, we find that the university is also highly "entrepreneurial". Much of its success is credited to its progressive Intellectual Property policy whereby professors retain complete ownership of their commercializable research, coupled with an extensive Co-operative Education program that is well integrated with both local and global industry. Finally, the UW actively and explicitly seeks to contribute to the local economic community. The results of this study go beyond the classic cases of Silicon Valley and Route 128 to suggest that there are other successful cases of entrepreneurial universities embedded in entrepreneurial communities.

Neil Brenner (New York), "New States Spaces" – TBA/À venir

Sandra Breux (Québec) et **Jean Pierre Collin** (Québec), "Réorganisation municipale et actions publiques locales en matière culturelle au Québec : des liens de rétroaction ?" – TBA/À venir

David M. Brock (Circumpolar Consulting), "Sannijaquq: A Parallel Vision for Intergovernmental Relations?" - Canada's three territories - Yukon, Northwest and Nunavut - are often recognized as a single mass known as 'the North'. This characterization is, at the same time, both accurate and a misconception. It is true that common characteristics – beyond snow and cold – bind the territories. Such characteristics include large aboriginal populations, high unemployment, and the potential for lucrative natural resource development. However, disparate geographical and historical factors have led to separate stages of political development for each territory. Since the creation of Nunavut in 1999, the

intergovernmental relationship between the three territories has varied. This paper examines the intergovernmental aspects of Canada's pan-territorial relationship by asking two questions: What variables are essential for determining successful political cooperation between the three territories?; and, Is tripartite multi-lateral cooperation the best method for achieving the political objectives of each territory? First, the social, political and economic composition of each territory is briefly identified and compared. Following from that, an historical progression of the tripartite territorial relationship since 1999 is analyzed taking into account leadership, geographical constraints and policy objectives. This paper is not only a commentary on territorial relations, but more widely on intergovernmental alliances within the federation as a whole. In conclusion this paper will answer the two research questions posed and make recommendations towards future territorial intergovernmental relations.

David M. Brock (Circumpolar Consulting), "Compliance agreements as an alternative enforcement mechanism in Canada's federal election law" - In 2000 major amendments were made to the Canada Elections Act. Among these amendments was a broadening of the enforcement powers available to the Commissioner of Canada Elections – the agent responsible for enforcement of the Act. Prior to 2000 the only enforcement option available to the Commissioner was prosecution. The Commissioner now has the authority to negotiate, enter into, and publish compliance agreements with an offender. Compliance agreements have been widely used in business law for some time, but represent a notable shift in election law enforcement. This paper explores this legal-administrative shift by examining three questions: What are compliance agreements?; How have they been implemented by Elections Canada?; and, What effect might their implementation have on our perceptions of Canadian political culture? In doing so, examples of compliance agreements will be provided to better understand what type of violations are enforced using this method. In addition, statistical analysis will be employed to gain wider perspective on how this new tool has changed our knowledge of election law infractions. Finally, the compliance agreement mechanism will be discussed with regard to issues around perception and trust. The enactment of an alternative to prosecution as a means of enforcement follows a broader trend in Canadian law shifting towards extra-judicial methods for resolving minor legal infractions. The compliance agreement mechanism will be situated within that context.

Kathy L. Brock (Queen's), "Accords and Discords: The Political Culture of Intergovernmental Relations" - TBA/À venir

Victoria Bromley (Carleton), "Questioning Human Security in Racialized and Sexualized Communities in Canada" - In June 2000 Canada undertook the Human Security Agenda as a key tenant of its foreign policy and peacekeeping operations. The Canadian Government defined its directive to ensure the protection of individuals and groups from: "pervasive threats to their rights, safety and lives, with a particular focus on protecting people from threats of violence." While this is an important foreign policy initiative, it is likewise a significantly domestic one. However, Canadians, particularly racialized and sexualized groups and individuals, are not afforded the same security commitments by the state as those living outside our borders. In this paper I will examine configurations of power that shape current discourses about security and violence in Canada, particularly those of race, ethnicity and gender. Invoked variously among the wider discourses of local, national and international security, 'enemy images' are central to maintaining a culture of fear and insecurity. Consequently, the racialized and sexualized body has become representative of the discourses of citizenship, immigration and security in national and global contexts. This paper will examine the cultural implications of these discourses and the resultant police and military-style surveillance in racialized and sexualized communities in Canada. In particular, I will explore the construction of black masculinity in the portrayal of escalating 'black on black' crime in Toronto and the constructions of racialized women sex trade workers in the murders that have occurred in Vancouver's Downtown East Side. In so doing, I will question the processes that (re)configure boundaries and borders of belonging in Canadian society.

Christiane Buie (Toronto), "Does North American Transboundary Water 'Governance' Exist?" - The systems of 'governance' of transboundary waters have long been the subject of intense scrutiny and debate by a diverse array of actors with a stake in the management of North American transboundary water resources. Whether these actors invest their energies in assuring the long-term integrity and availability of shared waters or exercise pressure to achieve short-term economic and political gains, the

existing regimes of North American transboundary water 'governance' are highly fragmented and unable to balance the competing economic, ecological and health needs of transboundary water users. Given this disarray, my paper asks to what extent 'governance' of North American transboundary water can be deemed to exist. I will start by exploring the concept of 'governance' as it pertains to the sustainable use of water basins intersected by the U.S.-Canada and U.S.-Mexico borders. I will then look at the institutional and civil society actors which impact upon transboundary water decision-making with a view to identifying the institutional deficiencies that cause fragmentation in national and bi-national approaches to water governance. Of particular interest is the failure of governments to apply the 'ecosystem approach' in their legal and regulatory frameworks. Scientists have advocated an ecosystem approach for the governance of common resources since this principle was developed over thirty years ago, yet there has been limited institutional reform in North America towards achieving this goal. A growing practice of watershed-based governance is in fact emerging in many countries, including in several regions in Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. This paper will examine several recently established watershed governing bodies in order to extrapolate principles and practices that could be applied to reforms in transboundary water governance. Finally, I will make the normative case that effective bi-national governance of transboundary waters requires that institutional capacity and an ecosystem approach first be developed at the local watershed level. Better co-ordination among municipalities and between other levels of government around such issues as land-use, storm water management, hazardous waste disposal etc. must be the foundation on which transboundary water governance is built.

Tannis Bujaczek (Carleton), "An Action That Has Been Allowed to Subside: An Analysis of the Decline of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC)" - From its pinnacle as a 'Parliament of women' and "the official voice of the women's movement in Canada," 2004 saw NAC requesting forgiveness from the federal government for unpaid taxes, three years after being it stopped being able to pay its staff, and more than thirty years after it was founded. Between the years of 1982 and 1988, NAC overcame possible avenues of divisiveness as represented by ideological splits, became institutionalized and accepted the challenge of inclusion by acting in a real way as a 'Parliament of women." However, this period was followed by de-institutionalization as NAC radicalized, facing a more precarious funding situation that reduced its ability to act as a stable centre for the women's movement, and found the challenge of inclusion now related to its ability to be seen as a player in mainstream politics. This paper seeks to identify and explain the decline of NAC both as an organization and as a force in Canadian politics, using social movement theory as a guide. The political process model, particularly the idea of political opportunity structures (POS), resource mobilization theory (RM) and frame alignment processes, are utilized in examining the period following the movement peak surrounding the 1984 federal election, and the potential for a revitalization of feminist organizing in Canada.

Sean Burges (Carleton), "Middle and Emerging Powers: What are They?" - Events at the September 2003 WTO Ministerial meeting in Cancun highlighted the increasingly active role that emerging powers are taking in the evolution of major international economic regimes. This trend was amplified in the summer of 2004 when both Brazil and India played central roles in guiding WTO negotiations on agriculture. The problem from a theoretical point of view is that neither actor adhered to the broadly outlined role of a middle power when pressured by dominant actors such as the US or the EU. The purpose of this paper is thus to not only establish how the literature in IR and IPE defines middle and emerging powers, but also outline what sort of action we should expect from these actors. Attention will then be turned to understanding how, if at all, events over the last four years fit into the existing attempts at defining the nature and role of middle and emerging powers. The goals of this paper are thus two-fold: definitional and evaluative, seeking ultimately to provide a new understanding of middle and emerging powers that can be applied to studies of issues in contemporary IPE. This exercise is central to the author's larger research project on the assertive role that Brazil is demonstrating both in the WTO and the FTAA.

Charles Burton (Brock), "The Role of China's Political Institutions in Chinese Economic Development" - China's astonishing economic development has been under conditions quite variant from those pre-conditions the "Washington consensus" requires of developing nations to qualify for financial aid. Moreover, China's initial phase of economic take-off was under a Government that refused all developmental aid from multilateral or bilateral aid and loan granting institutions. The China experience

presents a challenge to the theories of development. China's political institutions dominated by the Chinese Communist Party are not well-regarded by Western political scientists. Many have seen them as necessarily transitional in the context of the social changes engendered by China's economic development and the creation of a middle class in China. This paper examines the relationship between China's political institutions and China's post-Mao economic development. The paper argues that it is not China's non-democratic institutions per se that are instrumental in China's rise as most Chinese political scientists maintain, but that there are historical and cultural factors that dominate over these political factors in accounting for China's recent great economic success and rise to power. The theory of civil society is re-examined in light of China's social reality.

Thomas Butko (Augustana), "Terrorism as Non-Hegemonic Political Violence" - In the ongoing war on terror few terms are as contentious as the concept of terrorism. In the post 9-11 world, many argue it is no longer legitimate to simply state that "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter" (see Elshstain). Yet, by examining the definition of "terrorism" and applying it to three particular case studies - the United States and Iraq, Israel and the Palestinians, and Russia and the Chechnyans - it is clear that many definitions are meaningless because they fail to consider the hegemonic basis of contemporary definitions of terrorism. While there are several definitions of terrorism, most contemporary descriptions employ similar elements. A standard definition of terrorism involves "the indiscriminate use or threat of violence to advance social, political, economic, or religious objectives by creating a climate of fear" (Shimko). Therefore, despite subtle distinctions, all definitions of terrorism contain three primary elements: (a) the threat or use of violence; (b) the furtherance of broader political objectives; and (c) the psychological effects on innocent victims. The fact as to whether the perpetrator of a terrorist act is a state or non-state actor is clearly irrelevant. Therefore, by employing these criteria it seems unquestionable that the American bombings of Fallujah, Israeli incursions into the refugee camps of Gaza, or Russian attacks on Grozny all fit the standard definition of terrorism. However, since most observers, especially in the West, argue that such actions do not constitute acts of terrorism, other variables must be considered. This is where the term "hegemony" becomes central. As developed by Antonio Gramsci, hegemony encompasses not just the economic structure or coercive power of the dominant forces within a particular society but, more importantly, involves "the cultural, moral, and ideological leadership over allied and subordinate groups" (Gramsci, Buci-Glucksmann). Recently, such ideas of hegemony have been applied to the international context as represented most specifically by the global dominance, not just militarily and economically, but culturally and ideologically, of the United States and its Western allies (Gill, Cox, Rupert). In examining the modern history of terrorism, in its first application to the radicals of the French state after the revolution, through the anarchists' movement of the late nineteenth century to the nationalist movements of the Third World throughout the twentieth century, terrorism has consistently been applied to those movements that have challenged the dominant / hegemonic powers. In fact, the seven states that the United States currently lists as sponsors of terrorism correspond to the states that have adamantly refused to succumb to or accept American global hegemony. In the conduct of international relations, Realist theorists argue that war is endemic to the structure and conflict is a natural part of the interactions between states. Consequently, all states use violence to incite fear for some political objective. The only distinction is between the Western perception of whether or not that state is allied with or against the current hegemonic powers. Consequently, a reconstructed definition of terrorism would define it as "non-hegemonic political violence." Or to paraphrase Noam Chomsky: "Terrorism is something done by the other guy."

David Campbell (Notre Dame), "Community Heterogeneity and Public Engagement" - Does community-level heterogeneity ignite or extinguish participation? Some studies find the former, some the latter. This seeming contradiction regarding the effect of heterogeneity on participation can be reconciled by distinguishing between types of participation. Mistakenly, the literature on participation often indiscriminately groups disparate activities together, notwithstanding considerable evidence that various forms of participation are qualitatively different from one another. Civic activity, like volunteering in the community, is a different dimension of participation than activity that communicates political preferences. Using data from the Current Population Survey, Citizen Participation Study, and Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, this paper tests the hypothesis that civic activity is facilitated in homogeneous places, while politically-oriented activity is sparked in communities that are heterogeneous. The analysis finds that the most theoretically coherent and analytically consistent type of heterogeneity is

not ethnic, racial, or economic (the focus of the current literature). Instead, it is political heterogeneity.

Dominique Caouette (Montréal), "From National to Transnational Activism: Contemporary Social Movements and Transnational Advocacy in Southeast Asia" - While the study of contemporary transnational activism is becoming a growing area of interest among social movements and international relations specialists, case study analyses have primarily focussed on Europe and the Americas. In recent years, Southeast Asia experienced a significant expansion in the number and density of regional civil society organizations involved in transnational advocacy and mobilization. Looking at examples from the Philippines, the paper will first discuss how and why a growing number of social movements and activist networks engage in regional and transnational civil society activities and explore how this form of activism can complement local and national-based efforts for socio-political change. Secondly, it will review the relevance of existing approaches to explain the growing importance of transnational collective action in the Philippines to account for the growing importance of such form of activism.

Angela Carter (Cornell), "Canadian Environmental Activism: A Transnational/National Paradox" - This paper attempts to clarify a significant paradox in the environmental social movement literature: while environmental problems are inherently transnational, environmental activism remains predominantly national. The argument begins by situating current environmental activism within the social movement and environmental politics literature. Specifically, this work emphasizes a crucial relationship between social movements and the nation state, with each responding to and constraining the other. Drawing on an innovative re-evaluation of the social movement field by della Porta and Tarrow in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (2005), as well as on other significant works in transnational social movement and environmental social movement literature, I examine the characteristics of new transnational social movements (including a new conception of the nation state), and the recurring paradox (that of transnational ecological problems yet continued national activism), using cases throughout the developed world. Closer to home, I examine how Canadian environmental activism confirms and challenges these general trends. The paper concludes with comments on the conflict between historical Canadian environmental nationalism and new conceptions of global citizenship. The state of transnational environmental activism in Canada is shown as emblematic of this cultural tension.

Alfred L. Chan (Huron University College), "The New Chinese Political Leadership: The Fourth Generation" - The new (or fourth) generation of leadership that has taken shape over the past two years or so affords an excellent opportunity for the analysts to take stock and to evaluate Chinese politics in the new millennium. Political leadership is one of the most important concepts in political science, and the new and younger cohort of leaders now in place in China has excited the imagination about which trajectories may be followed in a number of areas such as political reform, democratization, economic development, and international relations. The dramatic rise of China in an increasingly tightly interdependent and intertwined world also raises questions about the country's impact on the world and world order. Given the context of rapid and massive domestic changes and almost equally radical changes internationally, how has the new political leadership responded to the challenges and opportunities? To what extent has the leadership offered novel and innovative approaches to old and intractable problems? What are the constraints confronting the Leninist system? The five panellists, who have done extensive research on Chinese elite politics and policy-making, will address the above systematically and thematically by focussing on the nature and characteristics of the new leadership, the role of political institutions, the constraints for political reforms, developmental strategy, and foreign policy doctrine. Preliminary conclusions by the panellists are not optimistic, however. The leadership is still mired in traditional thought paradigm leading to more continuity than change, and radical and far-reaching changes may have to be determined by exogenous sources.

Mielle Chandler (York), "Reconceiving the Political: Levinas, Arendt and the Potential for Politics to Become Otherwise" - This paper will discuss Hannah Arendt's conception of natality as providing politics with the critical feature of 'new beginnings' in relation to the concept of fecundity as a mode of being beyond the political which Emmanuel Lévinas offers us. A comparison of these two concepts allows for an understanding of the radically different angles from which each of the thinkers approach a very similar model of the political. Through this comparison I will critique Lévinas' recourse to transcendence (which feminist scholars have noted leaves out, in Lévinas' terms, 'the feminine') as necessary to the ethical

sensibilities from which he suggest politics be approached. However, I will also produce a reading of Lévinas' concept of fecundity that provides a reply to the feminist critiques of fecundity and transcendence. Secondly, I will discuss how Arendt's particular redeployment of natality as political (rather than as an aspect of the non-political feminine sphere of the household) constructs a particular ideology of liberal individualism (and, indeed, of liberal democracy and, at the global level, what we might call 'liberal statism,') that circumscribes the political in ways that stymie its radical potentials. These potentials for yet unconceived political strategies and formulations, I will argue, would find more fertile ground in 'feminine' elaborations of Lévinas' concept of fecundity. Indeed, the political natality Arendt espouses is itself made possible and facilitated by the very aspects of fecundity Arendt relegates, as unable to enact new beginnings, to the non-political. A rethinking of political strategy and engagement as a facilitation of the other (feminine fecundity), rather than as a championing of the voice of the self (individualist natality), I will suggest, would ultimately allow for the development of political potentials beyond the democratic/totalitarian binary.

Kina Chénard (Laval), "The Politico-Institutional Determinants of Public Health Expenditures in Canadian Provinces: An Empirical Investigation" - This paper assesses the impact of legal decision-making on public health policy. Based on a number of economic and particularly politico-institutional arguments, we examine the reasons for the growth of public health expenditures in Canadian provinces using panel data for the period 1980 to 2001. Starting with an empirical test of traditional economic explanations, we extend the model to account for several politico-institutional variables suggested by public choice theories. Influences of the form of legal constraints, ideology, political parties, and the political business cycle are tested regarding their ability to explain the growth of public spending in the Canadian health sector. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the ageing population is not the primary cause of growing public expenditures in the Canadian health sector. There is some empirical evidence for systematic influence of legal constraints and government behavior in accordance with public choice theories. Besides, it seems that the most important influence on Canadian health policy is the timing of elections, which has a significant influence on the decisions made by policy-makers. Overall, this paper shows that institutionalist approaches provide better explanations of the determinants of Canadian health policy than traditionalist microeconomic approaches.

Nadine Changfoot (Trent), "Art(ists), Politics, and Community" - This paper will examine how labor with an artistic and political intent is being deployed as political resistance, in political spaces traditionally not examined by, nor always understood as political, by political science. In the paper, I will explore how political science is opening itself up to conceptions of labor and politics beyond its traditional boundaries to include aspects of politics and labour as understood by, for example, its ³humanities cousins² such as Art History and English as well as its interdisciplinary cousins of Cultural Studies and Fine Arts. In political science, labour is often studied as activity circumscribed by the form of capitalist exchange, either paid or unpaid, located within liberal capitalist political and economic systems. Politics has been traditionally studied, especially according to feminist political scientists such as Barbara Arneil, Jill Vickers, and Marla Brettschneider among others, in political science as those forms of citizen activity directed toward the state through voting, pressure group lobbying, i.e., electoral processes. Political economy has focused on structural problems with an eye toward initiating substantive improvements for workers (male and female, visible minorities, workers with disabilities, etc.). These ways of studying labour and politics have provided many rich lines of questioning in the discipline. In this spirit, this paper will ask whether labour and politics need to be supplemented with conceptions of the aesthetic. While political theory has been open to this need for what I am calling a supplement in the work of thinkers such as Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Herbert Marcuse, the reception of this ongoing reconsideration needs to be included in the discipline's subfields such as Canadian politics. I will argue that artistic and literary endeavor with political intent challenges political science's concepts of labour, politics, and political resistance particularly in the Canadian context. On a related note, my research in progress will involve interviewing artists in Toronto, Peterborough, and Berkeley, California to discuss artist's own understanding of their political role(s) in relation to their creative labour. Alternatively, I am also interested in kick-starting discussion on interdisciplinary approaches to politics and culture providing a survey of what courses are offered or what initiatives have been undertaken in Canadian political science that incorporate the study of art and literature s itself political resistance. In particular, I would like to share my experience in teaching a special topics course entitled the ³Politics of Creativity² that has the following objectives: to explore ways in which

exchange and non-exchange labor produces value that has a more tenuous connection with wealth accumulation; to examine some cases of cultural interventions that are expressly understood by their creators as forms of political resistance; and to examine the relationship between political science defined forms of political participation and interventions which are seen to lie outside those forms. This is a new course offering in Political Studies and Trent University and I would like to share my assessment of its reception by students who take the course, from within the discipline and outside of it, and issues relating to interdisciplinarity. For the latter, some issues may include how political science as a discipline becomes transformed and yet still recognizably distinct as its own discipline, and how the locations where artistic political resistance takes place can be considered political by the discipline.

Guy Chiasson (Québec en Outaouais) et **Caroline Andrew** (Ottawa), "L'impact des fusions sur la capacité municipale : le cas de Gatineau" – TBA/À venir

Fernando Chinchilla (Montréal), "Deterrence, Protective and Preventive International Interventions: Preventing New Waves of Violence in Africa and Latin America" - In recent years there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of international intervention in conflict resolution. There still does not exist, however, a comprehensive framework that would enable researchers to answer the following question: why are some peace agreements more effective in preventing new waves of violence, when others fail with the renewed eruption of hostilities? This paper proposes an analysis of international interventions in the Colombian, Salvadorian, and Angolan civil wars. First, I suggest a typology composed of three types of international interventions (interventions based on deterrence, protection and prevention). I focus on prevention (State-/nation- building). I argue that the establishment of liberal democracy (independent variable) is necessary to obtain sustainable peace (dependent variable). Here, "sustainable peace" is understood as a kind of peace that is less vulnerable to new waves of violence. By contrast, "precarious peace" is constantly threatened by new eruptions of hostilities. I link sustainable peace to "liberal democracy" while precarious peace is associated to "power-sharing" arrangements. It is important to emphasize that all peace agreement institutionalize the interests of its signatories. Power-sharing institutions usually protect zero-sum interests between radical actors, while "Liberal-democratic institutions" establish rules that enable actors to negotiate peacefully, on a regular basis, in order to protect their own interests. This argument constitutes a key element in the main hypothesis for my Ph.D. dissertation. It highlights the importance of weakening extremists (independent variable 1) and reinforcing power relations favorable to moderate actors (independent variable 2) in order to achieve sustainable peace (dependent variable). Precarious peace results from the lack of a clear strategy to weaken extremist actors, in a context in which power relations favor at least one of them.

Kevin Clarke (Rochester) and **David Primo** (Rochester), "Modernizing Political Science: A Model-Based Approach" – Although the use of models has come to dominate much of the scientific study of politics, our understanding of the role or function that models play in the scientific enterprise has not kept pace. Political science clings to an outdated theory-based approach to scientific inference known as hypothetico-deductivism. We argue for a new approach to scientific inference that highlights the centrality of models in scientific reasoning, avoids the pitfalls of the hypothetico-deductive method, and offers political scientists a new way of thinking about the relationship between the natural world and the models with which we are so familiar.

Jeremy A. Clarke (Queen's), "Federalism v. Charter: Provincial Arguments Before the Supreme Court of Canada" - This paper will investigate the relationship between the Charter of Rights and the nature of Canadian federalism, and the way in which each of these has been shaped by the other. While neither federalism nor the Charter want for scholarly interest, insufficient attention has been paid to how they intersect. This is somewhat unexpected. Although the Charter may be best known for its role in rights-protection, it was widely accepted at the time that the Trudeau administration's constitutional agenda was at least as concerned with the creation of a pan-Canadian nationalism that defied the significance of provincial boundaries. To the extent that this intersection has been examined, it has generally been limited to descriptions of what the Charter, defined as its arbiter, the Supreme Court, has to say about federalism. But what does federalism have to say about the Charter? If the Charter is what the courts say it is, then surely federalism is what the provincial and territorial governments say it is. I propose to undertake an examination of the written arguments (factums) of provincial governments before the

Supreme Court in a number of cases in which: a) provincial legislation has been impugned by Charter challenge; and b) multiple provincial governments have intervened. Preliminary research of these factums suggests that there is more involved in these cases than simple arguments in defence of "parliamentary sovereignty" (though this, it could be argued, is also an argument about federalism). These cases suggest that the arguments presented by the various governments of Canadian federalism vis-à-vis the Charter reveal much about the different conceptions of federalism held by citizens in different regions of the country.

Stephen Clarkson (Toronto) and **Antonio Torres-Ruiz** (Toronto), "In Search of North American Governance: Formal and Informal Political Authority" - In contrast with this session's other proposed papers, which deal with discrete cases, this study will present a general reflection on the particular characteristics of North American governance. The paper's *raison d'être* arises from the contradiction between the reality of NAFTA -- a treaty which formalized economic rules for the three-state continent of North America -- and the informality of the continent's political structure. Without presenting anything like the European Union's elaborate institutional framework, trans-border governance in North America has to be located functionally and sectorally. Functionally, the two national borders are both open and closed. They have to be guarded in terms of their security against crime, immigration, and terrorists. But water in the two border regions has to be managed as a shared resource by a complex mix of state, market and civil-society stakeholders. Sectorally, some industries show a clear trend towards continental corporate integration and governance, steel being a prime example. Other sectors such as national banking regulation, intellectual property rights for pharmaceuticals, and regulating the stock markets to suggest that governance is less a matter of North America's continental governance than of its participation in global regulation. In some areas, the issue is government, not governance: defence is run by the three capitals both for their domestic states and in their intergovernmental relations. The paper will shed light on the following four general problems: 1) whether any trilateral governance is emerging in the shadow of the two dominant binational relationships. 2) whether the power asymmetry between the United States and its two peripheries is growing or declining. 3) whether the skewedness between Canada's relationship with the US and Mexico's relationship with the US is growing or declining. 4) whether governments are ceding their pre-eminence to nonstate actors in trans-border politics.

Daniel Cohn (Simon Fraser), "Out-of-Pocket Health Expenditures in Alberta and British Columbia: The Role of Sub-National Governments" - Out-of-Pocket expenditures made by families and individuals represent roughly 15 percent of health spending in Canada. These costs sometimes constitute a major barrier to accessibility. The degree to which sub-national politics impacts on these costs is assessed by comparing annual out-of-pocket health expenditures (as a percent of after-tax and transfers income) for families with varying characteristics in Alberta and British Columbia for the years 2001 and 2002. The data source used is Statistics Canada's Survey of Household Spending. Alberta and British Columbia form something of a natural experiment in that voters in the early years of the 1990s made fundamentally different choices. Those in British Columbia elected a New Democratic Party government which remained in power until 2001. In 2001 voters replaced the New Democrats with the BC Liberals who have reshaped public policy along lines typically described as neoliberal. Meanwhile, in the early 1990s, Albertans renewed the mandate of the Progressive Conservatives after the party adopted a neoliberal stance under its then new leader Ralph Klein. As a result, it is possible to compare the provinces after approximately a decade of government by parties with very different political ideologies and agendas, and also, after voters in British Columbia elected a government with an ideology and agenda similar to that which was already in place in Alberta.

Cheryl Collier (Toronto), "Do Strong Women's Movements Get Results? Measuring the Impact of the Child Care and Anti-Violence Movements in Ontario 1970-2000" - From the early days of the second wave of the Canadian women's movement, feminists have fought for important child care and anti-violence gains. Yet, it is unclear how effective these women's movements have been in impacting government policy over thirty years of activism. A number of feminist researchers argue that there is a link between women's movement strength and securing favourable policy results, even though they often disagree on how to measure "strength" or how to firmly establish the links between policy and activism (For example Lisa Young, 2000. *Feminists and Party Politics*; Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller, 1987. *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*). The

delivery of child care and anti-violence programs have fallen under provincial jurisdiction since the creation of CAP in the 1960s and therefore it is important to study feminist policy gains at the sub-state level. As part of my broader dissertation research, this paper will examine the link between women's movement strength and policy outcomes in Ontario between 1970-2000. Using archival and interview data, it chronicles and measures the strength of the child care and anti-violence movements and compares this to pro-movement and anti-movement policy results. It will argue that although movement strength can impact policy in a favourable way, this is not always the case. This contributes to the debates over how to measure movement impact on policy in the literature as well as addressing the need for increased feminist scholarship at the provincial level.

Frank Colucci (Purdue), "Justice Anthony Kennedy's Canadian Connection" - This paper explores the influence of comparative constitutional law on the jurisprudence of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy, particularly the area of gay rights. Part One traces this influence back to a speech he gave in 1986, before coming to the Court, to an audience of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Studies. In that address he outlined his fundamental interpretive approach about the role of courts in enforcing constitutional guarantees of liberty and equality, and did so by contrasting the then-recent U.S. decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick* to several cases decided by courts in other nations. Part Two compares and contrasts Kennedy's opinion in *Romer v. Evans* with the Supreme Court of Canada's decision a year earlier in *Egan v. Canada*. Part Three turns to Kennedy's opinion in *Lawrence v. Texas*. It focuses on how Kennedy applies his ideals from the pre-nomination address and on precisely how Kennedy employed comparative materials to support his constitutional argument. The paper concludes by situating Kennedy's comparative examples within his larger jurisprudence, and by considering his position within the ongoing debate inside and outside the Court about the appropriate use of comparative materials in interpreting the American constitution.

Catherine Connors (Toronto), "Sex as a Weapon: Love and Politics in Machiavelli's *La Mandragola*" - Harvey Mansfield has noted that despite the prominence of sex as a central plot device in Machiavelli's *La Mandragola*, it is not a play about eros: "it has dirty jokes galore," he says, "but no scenes of attraction or arousal, and it has no speeches of love." The passions that move men in this play are not noble ones, and require no great sacrifice. Despite their narrowness, however, these passions exercise enough force to provoke the characters of the play to extraordinary actions and to render them vulnerable to extensive manipulation. The desire of one character to seduce the wife of another, and his attempts to fulfill this desire by exploiting the desires of other characters, sets in motion a series of events that eventually overturn the conventional modes and orders of love, family, and morality. Although desire here has been drained – comically – of any (classically) meaningful erotic substance, it clearly has a role to play in the overturning of old, and creation of new, "modes and orders," and so must be taken seriously. This paper argues that although *La Mandragola* is not a play about eros, it is certainly a play about desire, and one that reveals something about the place of desire in politics. It argues further that this is clearest in Machiavelli's characterization of love in the play: although love in *La Mandragola* is reduced to narrow sexual desire, it remains as powerful and politically relevant a force as those forms of love that point to something higher. This baser love disarms those who are vulnerable to their desires and so provides arms to those who possess the virtù to manipulate those desires. Insofar as it can be wielded as a weapon, then, love becomes a political tool, one that I will argue is, for Machiavelli, a potent accessory to virtù. The paper examines Machiavelli's treatment of love and desire in *La Mandragola* within this context, and considers what insights this yields into the places that desire, virtue and women occupy in his political teachings.

Damien Contandriopoulos (Montréal), "Interest Groups in Health Care: A Canadian Perspective" - The study of extent, nature and effect of interest groups' influence over policy making has been on the academic agenda since the beginning of the last century. However, academic knowledge on those questions remains incomplete even in the most studied setting (i.e. UK and the US). In Canada, the body of evidences on interest groups' influence is at best scarce. Our paper has the objective of providing a typology of interest groups nature and strategies in Canadian health care policy making that is both theoretically and empirically based. On the theoretical side, we performed a systematic search of all published works (both theoretical and empirical) on 15 potentially valuable computerized search engines. We reviewed around a thousand scientific papers and synthesized their contribution to our objective. On

the empirical side, our work benefited from the analysis of three case studies in Quebec's health care sector. Nevertheless, we hypothesize that the structural properties of the Canadian health care sector grants our results some external validity in other provinces. The resulting typology seems an interesting tool in fostering our understanding of the nature of health care sector interest groups' as well as the strategies they use to influence policy making.

Tjis Creutzberg (Toronto), "Scales and Dimensions of Economic Governance of Knowledge Intensive Industries: A Look at the Microelectronics Industry in the GTA" - This paper presents a framework for identifying the multilevel dimensions of economic governance of knowledge intensive industries. By classifying the different dimensions of governance that collectively shape the development of knowledge intensive sectors, the framework provides a way of distinguishing among the relevant actors and the respective scale at which they function. To this end, it is helpful in assessing the claim, suggested in the literature on globalization (Garret and Rodden 2002) and economic geography (Cooke 1998), that the locus of governance is shifting to subnational levels as a result of global economic integration and the growing importance of local and regional institutions to the performance of knowledge intensive sectors (Maskell 1998, Cooke and Morgan 1998). What the framework reveals when applied to a case study of economic governance of the microelectronics industry of the Greater Toronto Area, is that such a claim is only tenable in one area of economic governance, that which is concerned with the strategic development of infrastructure on which knowledge intensive industries depend. In the other categories of governance, the locus of governance is either shifting upward to the international level, or remains resolutely national in scale. In the broader theoretical debate in 'the hollowing out of the state' thesis (Rhodes 1994, Jessop 1997), it may be more accurate, therefore, to suggest that there has been a bifurcation of economic governance, not so much at the expense of the national level but from the empowerment of the local level.

Timothy Culbert (OLIP), "Ontario MPP Views on Democratic Renewal: Comparisons with Other Provinces" - TBA/À venir

Fred Cutler (British Columbia), "Intergovernmental Policy and Electoral Accountability: Responsibility and Voting in a Federal Context" – This paper uses recently completed federal-provincial panel election studies in Saskatchewan and Ontario to address questions concerning voters' ability to manage the complexities and confusion of the federal context. This study is part of a research programme entitled: "Federalism and Electoral Accountability: Can Voters Cope with Multi-Level Governance?" In both Ontario and Saskatchewan, during provincial (2003) and federal (2004) elections, the same voters were asked a series of questions tapping their attributions of responsibility to both levels of government on a number of issues. In this paper I elaborate a theory of the effects of responsibility judgments on evaluations of governments in federations. I then ask: Do these attributions of responsibility mediate retrospective, performance-oriented voting? Does confusion about responsibility mute the voice of electoral accountability? And does the mediating effect vary across issue areas? I provide standard election-study voting models for these two provincial elections, estimated by multiple regression. These models are then supplemented with measures of responsibility and issue salience to gauge the degree to which the federal context and the attendant uncertainty about responsibility complicates the seemingly simple link between policy outcomes, government performance, and support for the governing party.

Fred Cutler (British Columbia), **Patrick Fournier** (Montréal), **Stuart Soroka** (McGill) and **Greg Lyle** (Innovative Research Group), "Q: Who Responds to Election Campaign? A: Ambivalent and Attentive Voters -- That's Who" - The information that flows from campaign events affects election outcomes. The effects are powerful and widespread, but we should expect interpersonal heterogeneity in susceptibility to these effects. So which events matter for which voters? Building on the McGuire-Converse-Zaller model of opinion change, we propose that real campaign events should disproportionately affect the voting decisions of voters who are both ambivalent and attentive to the campaign. We test this model on four campaign effects in the Ontario election of 2003: ads, debates, media coverage, and polls. The data are drawn from the rolling cross-section 2003 Ontario Election Study and media content; the analysis is regression-based. We find that the effects of these real, measured campaign events are for the most part limited to voters who had both high levels of information and who were also somewhat ambivalent, or cross-pressured, in their vote choice. Only poll information affects voters who are not both ambivalent and

attentive. This paper establishes that a more economical two-mediator model can be applied to changes in political behaviour. Our analysis extends the general model due to Zaller and his forbears to the relatively short period of an election campaign, but we expect our version of the model to apply to opinion change, broadly construed. The paper deepens understanding of campaign effects and merges this line of inquiry with the theoretical thrust of work on attitude change.

Rita Dhamoon (British Columbia), "Beyond Inclusion Politics: Theorizing Cultural Exclusion" - This paper contends that within the discourse of identity/difference it is necessary to resituate the study of exclusion, both to supplement inclusion theories and as a way to go beyond strategies of inclusion. Analysis of inclusion can be broadly categorized as liberal rights discourse; philosophies of political community; democratic theories of participation/representation; and democratic theories of dialogue/deliberation. Whilst these theories have advanced ways to accommodate and 'integrate' subjugated identities, and take account of cultural difference, inclusion strategies are limited in two ways. They do not adequately explore the ways in which inclusion can be oppressive, and they fail to analyze the consequences of shifting analysis away from the practices of exclusion to those who need to be included. Rather than asking how to include subordinated identities, I ask 'from perspectives of the Othered, what principles and mechanisms are useful tools to create and sustain sites of meaning-making in anti-subordinating ways?' Drawing from critical viewpoints, I propose that it is essential to resituate analysis of the results of exclusion for both the oppressed and the oppressor (e.g. hate, fear, material loss and gain); the role of reflection and healing within a group rather than between groups; strategies of resistance and oppositional consciousness; and a politics of accountability.

Alexandra Dobrowolsky (St. Mary's), "Social Exclusion and Changes to Citizenship in Britain: Women and Children, Minorities and Migrants" - The aim of this paper is to examine the tensions arising out of a citizenship regime in Britain that is fundamentally in flux. This will be done by focusing on the rise of discourses of "social exclusion". At the centre of these discourses we find the figure of the child. However, while children and youth are "in", i.e., they are prominently featured in recent political rhetoric as well as in new social policy designs others are "out" such as women. Moreover, we also underscore that not all children are being included. In fact, the children of racial and ethnic minorities, of im/migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are particularly excluded. We will conclude by outlining the nature and effects of these developments on citizenship. The paper has theoretical significance to studies of citizenship. It will explore the following: the origins and manifestations of social exclusion and its links to citizenship: the centerpiece of New Labour's welfare reform strategy: the figure of the child; how not all children are included; how women are excluded; the repercussions for women in general and racial and ethnic and im/migrant women in particular; past and present developments in Britain relating to racism im/migration and asylum.

Agnieszka Dobrzynska (Montréal) and **André Blais** (Montréal), "The RAS Model: A Simple Test" - In 1992 John Zaller formulated the most influential theory of opinion formation, the Receive-Accept-Sample, or RAS, model. The theory is based on four axioms about the conditions under which a message is received, and, if received, accepted or rejected. According to Zaller the reception of a message depends on the intensity of the message and on individuals' general level of political awareness. And the most sophisticated should be more able to resist a message when the latter does not accord with their predispositions. The RAS model, though highly influential, remains largely untested. The author himself provides only indirect empirical evidence that is consistent with the reception and resistance axioms. The aim of this paper is to propose a rigorous and direct test of the RAS model. The study deals with the 1988 Canadian election, an election that was fiercely fought over one central issue, the Free Trade Accord with the United States. We use the 1988 Canadian Election Study campaign rolling cross-section survey, and we test Zaller's propositions about who is most likely to receive, and then accept or reject the parties' messages about the central issue of the election.

Graham Dodds (Concordia), "Executive Orders and Presidential Power" - My paper will present a portion of my ongoing dissertation, focusing on a crucial change in the American presidency that occurred almost exactly one century ago: I argue that the regular presidential use of executive orders for important and controversial policy purposes constitutes the single most important change in the development of the presidency and that Theodore Roosevelt was the pivotal figure in the legitimization and institutionalization

of this practice. My analysis indicates that presidential power is best understood primarily in terms of its legal and constitutional bases and that TR was the true founder of the "modern" presidency. I briefly trace the evolution of executive orders from a starting point of constitutional ambiguity, through their judicial sanction in a series of otherwise obscure early court cases, and I survey their infrequent use in the nineteenth century, TR's barrage of executive orders for a variety of matters, their greater use by Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt in World Wars I and II, and their use from their postwar era to the present. My approach is qualitative and historical and thus broadly accessible. My paper should be of interest to scholars interested in historical institutionalism, the US presidency, US constitutionalism, and US politics in general.

Timothy Donais (Windsor), "Back to Square One? The Politics of Police Reform in Haiti" - This paper will focus on the politics of police reform in Haiti, paying particular attention to the renewed effort to professionalize Haiti's police services in the aftermath of the country's recent turmoil. The paper will begin from the premise that the Haitian National Police (HNP) has in recent years become increasingly politicized and corrupt, despite nearly a decade of externally-led reforms. It will then attempt to trace how and why the international effort to create and consolidate a professional Haitian police service came up short, and what lessons this experience has to offer for the latest international effort to stabilize Haiti's public security situation. The central argument of this paper is that the international effort in Haiti paid insufficient attention to the links between politics and policing, and focused too narrowly on the technical aspects of policing. It will suggest that the international community must approach the latest phase of police reform in Haiti from a broader, longer-term perspective, the goal of which should be to fundamentally re-orient the relationship between both police and political elites and police and society. Short of this, the current international reform effort risks the same fate as its predecessor. Theoretically, this paper will ground itself in the emerging literature on security sector reform, which emphasizes the importance of domestic security sector institutions in post-authoritarian and post-conflict transitions, and which increasingly recognizes the links between effective, public security-oriented policing and human security. In the particular case of Haiti, there is an additional link to be explored between policing and state security, since the abolition of the Haitian Armed Forces has left the police as the country's key security sector institution. Methodologically, the research for this paper will draw both on published sources (including reports of successive United Nations and Organization for American States missions in Haiti) and on interviews with foreign police officers with experience in Haiti (including a significant number of Canadians). Security permitting, field research will also be conducted in Haiti in February 2005. This paper will build on my ongoing work on the links between police reform and human security in post-conflict contexts.

James Driscoll (Trent), "Reading the Supreme Court: Jurisprudence as Text and Conversation" - Analysis of the Supreme Court of Canada's Charter jurisprudence too often replicates research perspectives in American political science that search for ideological or institutional determinants of Supreme Court decisions. Social conservative critique of the content of Supreme Court decisions, studies of voting preferences and coalitions in the Court, and various attempts to reduce the Court to an institution which simply reflects the underlying power structure of a liberal democratic and capitalist society deflect attention away from a rather different institutional role and constitutional framework in Canada. The Canadian Court not only interprets the text of the Charter but also must consider section 1 which permits rights to be limited if the Crown can demonstrate that it is justified within a free and democratic society. Some important work has already been done on the dialogue with Parliament which has opened up since the early 1990s with respect to judicial review, but the Court is still engaged in internal debates as to how it should respond to revised legislation which has previously failed constitutional testing. The section 1 cases are, therefore, not only precedent decisions (texts) but they are also an accumulating body of decisions which represents the Court's developing sense of the boundaries and appropriateness of rigorous judicial review (conversation) in a parliamentary democracy. This paper, building on some recent work in the analysis of political discourse in the history of political thought, will review the reasonings in a series of section 1 cases in order to determine whether a stable pattern of interpretation has emerged.

Sébastien Dubé (Montréal) and **Raul Berton** (Montréal), "Income and Values in the 25 Countries of the EU" - La construction de l'Union européenne suscite de nombreux débats auprès des pays membres.

Tant l'élargissement à un nombre plus élevé d'États que le transferts de pouvoirs nationaux vers les institutions européennes soulèvent des sentiments allant de l'appui ferme au rejet massif en passant par les inquiétudes nourries. Ce projet de recherche a pour objectif de déterminer si et dans quelle manière le revenu, aussi bien individuel que collectif, influence les attitudes vis-à-vis de l'Union Européenne. Selon les tenants du postmatérialisme, plus un individu jouit d'une sécurité physique et financière, plus il devient préoccupé par les enjeux politiques qui concernent des valeurs non matérielles telles l'environnement, la parité homme-femme et les droits humains. Au niveau agrégé, plus une société est riche, plus son électorat devrait aussi accorder de l'importance à ces questions. Puisqu'elle est menée autant pour des considérations morales (unité de l'Europe, paix et démocratie) que matérielles (croissance économique, libre-circulation des produits), la construction de l'Europe devrait théoriquement susciter un appui fort des États riches pour des raisons morales et un appui fort des États pauvres pour des raisons matérielles. De même, au niveau individuel, les individus devraient privilégier des craintes ou des espérances d'ordre postmatérialiste au fur et à mesure que leur revenu s'accroît. Dans cet esprit, les variables dépendantes qu'il s'agit d'expliquer sont un certain nombre de valeurs au nom desquelles les européens craignent ou désirent l'avancement de la construction de l'UE. Le choix des valeurs pris en compte sera fondé en partie sur la distinction matérialisme/postmatérialisme, mais aussi sur deux hypothèses qui viseraient à préciser la pertinence de cette distinction. Premièrement, il s'agira de mettre en évidence les relations entre revenu et sentiment identitaire. Les valeurs identitaires sont généralement peu traitées dans les travaux sur le postmatérialisme, alors qu'elle semble une question importante. De manière générale, ce type de valeurs n'est pas relié directement à une condition matérielle. D'un autre côté, les valeurs identitaires ne semblent pas vraiment liées à un revenu collectif élevé. Une attention particulière sera donc donnée à la compréhension du développement de ce type de valeurs en Europe. Deuxièmement, les tenants du postmatérialisme considèrent les valeurs comme un système assez cohérent permettant d'évaluer indistinctement les différentes situations politiques. Ce projet vise également à tester une hypothèse alternative selon laquelle les revenus n'influencent pas de la même manière les valeurs que les gens mobilisent selon qu'ils craignent ou désirent quelque chose. Cette hypothèse repose sur l'idée que les plus riches et les plus pauvres ne procèdent pas aux mêmes calculs des coûts et opportunités que comporte le projet de construction européenne selon qu'ils habitent des pays riches ou pauvres.

Evelyne Dufault (Québec à Montréal), "Half Turns in Canadian Environmental Foreign Policy: A Sociological Assessment" - Research on the role of non-state actors in IR and foreign policy formation has been expanding in recent years. Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998), especially, have underlined the influence of transnational advocacy networks in agenda setting, on the discursive positions of states and IGOs, on institutional procedures, and on policy change on the part of "target actors". This paper examines the potential contribution of these approaches to the understanding of foreign policy reversals, an especially dramatic type of policy shift. Borrowing from the literature on transnational networks, advocacy coalitions and policy networks, it asks under what conditions a coalition of actors concerned with a specific foreign policy issue can induce policy reversals, and therefore emphasizes the need to broaden the scope of analytical tools used for the study of foreign policies when tackling the environmental issue area. The argument will rest on two case studies of Canadian foreign policy reversals on international environmental issues (the Cartagena Protocol and the Kyoto Protocol) and pay particular attention to the impact of the introduction of new ideas and actors among coalitions. This will be conducted through an analysis of the networks and coalitions drawing from a documentary research and interviews conducted with various actors involved in the policy formulation process.

Munroe Eagles (SUNY Buffalo), **Harold Jansen** (Lethbridge), **Anthony Sayers** (Calgary) and **Lisa Young** (Calgary), "Financing Federal Nomination Contests in Canada: An Ecological Perspective" - The passage of Bill C-24 brought sweeping changes to the financing of party leadership, candidate nomination, and election contests. Many of these changes were implemented for the first time in the context of the 2004 federal election. Existing studies of party nomination contests are necessarily based on surveys of party officials. The relatively low response rates that are characteristic of these studies mean that prior assessments are plagued by missing data problems. We propose to take advantage of the extensive financial data on contributions and expenditures associated with nomination campaigns collected by Elections Canada during the lead-up to the 2004 campaign in order to provide the first definitive and exhaustive depiction of this "secret garden" of Canada's parties. Because of the fragmentary nature of existing evidence on nomination contests in Canada, much of the paper will be

devoted to identifying intra- and cross-party variations in the incidence and financing of contested nominations. We will also explore ecological relationships linking features of nomination contests with a number of geographical, political, and socio-economic setting characteristics at the riding level. By contrasting the experience of contested and non-contested nomination candidates in the subsequent general election, we will also provide an estimate of the consequences of intra-party conflict for the capacity of local associations to mount competitive campaigns.

Fred Eidlin (Guelph), "Ideal Types and the Problem of Reification" – Admired by some, despised by others, Karl Popper's *The Open Society and Its Enemies* is widely known. Popper's penetrating criticisms of ideas that served as weapons for enemies of liberal democracy have had an impact going far deeper than is usually realized. Nevertheless, his political writings do not contain a theory of politics—either normative or explanatory. Popper was not troubled by either the theory or practice of democracy. He believed the virtues of actually existing democratic regimes to be self-evident. Readers will search his political works in vain for discussion of most, of the standard problems that usually preoccupy those who study the theory and practice of democracy. Popper was simply indifferent to most of them. He would never have undertaken scholarly work in political philosophy had liberal democracy not been subjected to mortal threat from fascist and communist totalitarianism. Popper faces two distinct tasks—to refute the ideological underpinnings of totalitarianism and to show that democracy represents a viable alternative. Toward the first, he levels a barrage of powerful arguments, some flowing from his study of the advanced natural sciences, others from his intensive research into the ideas he set out to criticize. In addressing the second task, however, Popper does not go far. Since he takes the soundness of existing liberal-democracies for granted, he does not feel compelled to elaborate a positive alternative. He has only to sketch out practices which the reader can observe in actually existing democracies.

John Boye Ejobowah (Wilfrid Laurier), "New Theories of Federal Preservation: Insights from the Nigerian Federal Practice" - The last twenty five years have witnessed the emergence of new theories that make arguments about the institutional features of federalism that lead to system persistence or collapse. The theories draw on the early economic arguments of the 1950s by emphasizing competition and efficiency but go beyond to explain ways that federal governance relates with the market to provide for its own survival. My paper attempts to test the validity of the new theories by drawing on case information from Nigeria. Several cogent reasons exist for focusing on Nigeria instead of another country: it has a complex ethno-religious makeup that has posed real challenges for governance; it is currently debating the best ways of reforming its highly centralized system into one in which the states enjoy autonomy and in which there is credible commitment to institutional rules; and, the national government has been attempting to establish effective markets within the last few years. Marshalling case information about Nigeria will draw attention to key questions such as: what does it mean to be federal?; how is the political community defined?; and, what does a shared community presuppose? Answers to these questions will generate the understanding that, in a multiethnic society, federalism is not simply about markets and that keeping the shared community together would require prioritizing political issues over market economics. The main thesis is that, the arguments of the new political economy are meaningful in some ways but the emphasis on market efficiency creates practical difficulties for governance.

Thomas Ellington (Wesleyan College), "Both Victims and Executioners: Rethinking The Wretched of the Earth" - In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon makes a case for anti-colonial violence, arguing not only from a strategic point of view, but also from a psychological perspective. In Fanon's account, violence is therapeutic, indeed indispensable in reconstructing the colonized self. Fanon's position is not a statement of universal principle, and he is quite clear and unapologetic about its origins in the authentic, subjective experiences of colonized peoples. Is the experience of degradation and grievance as limited as Fanon's analysis suggests? It may not be, as the language of therapeutic violence and the experience of degradation find expression from seemingly unlikely sources far removed from the colonial experience. President George H.W. Bush claimed in 1991 that "by God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all," suggesting the existence of a national disorder that could only be cured through warfare. Top British officials recall the Falklands War as a positive event at a time when only war and victory could restore the damaged British psyche. If the subjective experience of national degradation and grievance is more widespread than Fanon first imagined, it calls into question how best to respond, particularly as the categories of victim and perpetrator become muddled. In this age of renewed grievance, with its

accompanying violence, formulating a response is as important as ever.

Diane Éthier (Montréal), "Why Do Candidates for Enlargements Unevenly Comply with EU's Conditionality" - The European Community (EC)/European Union (EU) is one of the very few international organizations that uses conditionality, rather than incentives or control, to induce non member States to comply with its norms and rules. This strategy, however, is only applied in the framework of enlargements towards less developed European countries. The rare studies devoted to this topic indicate that all candidates of the Southern and Eastern Enlargements have fully or partially complied with EC/EU conditionality, but they do not explain (a) why this strategy is somewhat effective in all cases and (b) why some target States do better comply than others with the latter. This paper brings answers to both questions. Firstly, it demonstrates that the Eastern Enlargement (EE) conditionality has been less effective in Romania and Bulgaria than in other applicant countries, while the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) conditionality proved to be less effective in Macedonia and Albania than in Croatia. Secondly it explains the relative success of EE and SAP conditionality in all cases with the help of the neo-realist theory of international cooperation. Thirdly, it relies on the theory of modernization to explain the slower pace of EE and SAP prescribed reforms in four Balkan countries. Two variables are empirically tested : (a) the extent to which politicians elites adhere to western modern values, as the independent variable; (b) the willingness of parties to cooperate together, as the dependent variable. The analysis does not entirely confirm the modernization theory, since the impact of economic and social development upon the culture of political elites is not verified, given the present lack of relevant data and studies.

Judit Fabian (Carleton), "Post-Communist Transformation and Changing Discourses of Gender and Nationalism in Poland" - Post-communist transformation has been one of the central focuses of academic research since the collapse of the Eastern block. Countless areas have been examined in order to understand better the complexity of changes that transition countries have experienced. Nonetheless, academics have great difficulty explaining the role and status of women in post-communist societies. By focusing on Poland, the paper argues that in order to understand better the status of women in post-communist Poland, it is necessary to explore the changing relationship of gender and nationalism discourses. Specifically, the paper argues that post-communist transformation in Poland required a significant ideological shift, along with the economic, social and political transition, that contributed to the changing nationalism and gender discourses; this shift in turn changed the relationship of gender discourse and nationalism discourse. The paper will examine how gender and nationalism discourses seemed to be allied prior to 1989, and how their relationship transformed into one of competition after changes from communism were achieved. The paper has three sections. Part I) provides an historical analysis of the events leading to the political changes of 1989. Part II) examines the changes that post-communist transition entailed in Poland. Part III) examines how the ideological shift that facilitated the transition in Poland towards liberal democracy affected changes in the relationship of gender and nationalism discourses. The major theoretical grounds for analyzing gender together with nationalism are the following: that nationalism discourses are gendered discourses; that neither nationalism nor gender discourses are static; that the relationship of the two discourses reflects the changes within each, and vice versa; and that the role of women in perpetuating the idea of the 'Polish nation' was essential for transformation to have occurred as it has so far.

Colin Farrelly (Waterloo), "Justice in Ideal Theory: A Refutation" - In this paper I argue that political philosophers need to begin to engage in a substantive methodological debate concerning what it is that a theoretical examination of political ideals (such as freedom, equality and justice) is supposed to accomplish and how effectively theorising in ideal theory is in securing those aims. More specifically I argue that theorising about justice in ideal theory (i.e. John Rawls and Ronald Dworkin) has impoverished liberal egalitarianism and that we need to begin to shift debates in political philosophy so that we take more seriously the demands of justice in non-ideal theory. Taking concerns of non-ideal theory (e.g. scarcity, partial compliance, indeterminacy, disagreement, globalisation, cultural plurality, patriarchy, etc.) seriously will permit liberal egalitarians to better understand why liberalism has been assailed by its many critics, including communitarians, democratic theorists, cosmopolitans, environmentalists, multiculturalists and feminists. So, at a minimum, liberals will be better prepared to defend liberal egalitarianism against its many critics if they defend a public philosophy that takes non-ideal theory seriously. Secondly, if, as I

believe is the case, liberal egalitarians wish to endorse a public philosophy that has the transformative potential to reduce the injustices of existing social structures then they should take seriously the complexities of non-ideal theory. Functioning at the level of ideal theory, I argue, results in impotent normative conclusions. Thus we need to shift debates towards what I call practical political philosophy. Doing practical political philosophy requires philosophers to engage in a self-conscious dialogue not only with other political philosophers, but also with executives, legislatures, courts and others. So practical political philosophy is itself an exercise in deliberative democracy. Political philosophers should aspire to satisfy what Robert Goodin calls "deliberation from within". Doing this will lead to more serious consideration of the need for tradeoffs and the relation between justice and democracy.

Peter Ferguson (British Columbia), "It's All Over Now: Rational Choice Model of Democratic Survival and Breakdown" - This paper introduces a rational choice model of democratic breakdown. Five major groups are introduced and an analysis of each group's interest satisfaction is undertaken. The model then allows players dissatisfied with the goods they receive under a democratic regime to first attempt to resolve their problems through existing political institutions. If institutions fail and actors continue in the breakdown game, they next consider the potential for long-term solutions given the uncertainty of democracy (the institutionalized potential for change). Actors that remain dissatisfied, then move on to risk assessment for breakdown efforts, examining, for example, the potential for failure and the costs of securing allies. Here, the interactive elements of the model allow actors to incorporate anticipated actions of other actors in the game. The model introduced in this paper addresses an area of the study of democratization that has been largely ignored for the past twenty five years: democratic breakdown. Despite the fact that democracies can, and do, break down, this problem has received little recent academic attention. Prior attempts to model breakdown present a very rudimentary picture of the process. This paper advances such efforts by expanding the number of actors considered and tying interests to specific actors. It further addresses previous shortcomings by incorporating political institutions as well as an assessment of risks associated with regime change. Finally, the model includes a unique attempt to incorporate the notion of democratic uncertainty. This paper is an unpublished chapter from my dissertation. It builds on my prior work addressing democratic uncertainty, including the paper presented at the 2004 CPSA meeting.

Peter Ferguson (British Columbia) and **Cristine de Clercy** (Saskatchewan), "Regulatory Compliance in Poll Reporting in the 2004 Canadian Election?" - In this new paper we continue our multi-year study of regulatory frameworks governing the reporting of opinion polls during elections. We investigate the effect of recent legislative changes in Canada's Election Act regulating how new poll information is reported. The methodology is to analyze the content of opinion poll reporting in a fairly large sampling of print and broadcast media for the 1997, 2000 and 2004 federal elections toward establishing whether citizens were supplied with adequate information to make informed decisions about election poll results. Our findings indicate that there is widespread non-compliance with the new regulatory framework passed in May of 2000. The findings for the 2004 election particularly are intriguing because they suggest that the new law continues to be ignored despite the passage of time and increased publicity concerning its tenets. We conclude by offering some suggestions to aid agency monitoring and amend extant enforcement provisions.

Leonard Ferry (Toronto), "'Tis in Ourselves That We Are Thus or Thus": Or Is It? Aquinas on Responsibility of the Emotions" - Recent interest in the moral psychology of emotion has largely centered on the connection, or lack thereof, between intentional states and emotional experiences. Some of that interest has returned to pre-modern authors for insight, including Martha Nussbaum's neo-Stoic account of the emotions developed in *Upheavals of Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). Cognitive accounts of the emotions like Nussbaum's seem to increase the control that agents exercise over their emotions significantly. This differs dramatically from key liberal understandings of the emotions and their place in moral and political deliberation. Kant famously averred in the *Groundwork* (Harper, 1964) that a "mixed moral philosophy, compounded of impulsions from feeling and inclination and at the same time of rational concepts, must make the mind waver between motives which can be brought under no single principle and which can guide us only by mere accident to the good"(79). Similarly, in *Political Liberalism* (Columbia University Press, 1996) John Rawls excluded what he calls object-dependent desires, such as "attachments and affections, loyalties and devotions of many kinds," from political consideration (82-3). For both the intention seems to be to demarcate certain types of motives for action as ineligible because

they are somehow beyond the controlling influence of reason. If we accept a cognitive account of the emotions, the question is how, if at all, we can preserve our intuitions that an emotion, like fear, can limit the control that an agent exercises over her actions in a given set of circumstances. If we follow the liberal tradition stemming from Kant, the question is can we be satisfied with a political conception that excludes central elements of personality. Alternatively, we might look for a more complex understanding of the emotions, one that leaves room for limited responsibility for the emotions but accepts that some emotions in some situations are actually frustrative of human flourishing. In this paper I look to the moral psychology of St. Thomas Aquinas to provide just such an account of the emotions and responsibility for them.

Tammy Findlay (York), "Experiments with State Feminism in Ontario: Limitations and Lessons for Democratic Administration" - Within democratic administration, writers such as Albo, Panitch, Langille (1993), and Sossin (1999), have argued for greater citizen participation in the policy process. Unfortunately, they have largely ignored the gendered nature of bureaucracy. Furthermore, while feminists have extensively studied the relationship between women and the state (Allen 1990, MacKinnon 1989, Brodie 1995), fewer have considered the bureaucracy expressly. Feminist critiques of bureaucracy are developing (Ferguson 1984, Findlay 1997, 1995). Notably, the importance of feminists in the bureaucracy has been a common thread in Australian scholarship by Sawer (1990, 1994), Eisenstein (1996), Yeatman (1990) and Franzway et al. (1989). Nonetheless, little research has examined parallel structures of representation in Canada (Rankin and Vickers 2001), and even less at the provincial level in Ontario. The paper aims to fill in these gaps by applying ideas about democratic administration and Australian state feminism to the Canadian, or more specifically, the Ontario, case. My paper, "Experiments with State Feminism in Ontario: Limitations and Lessons for Democratic Administration," interrogates analyses of the gendered nature of bureaucracies. I begin by outlining the feminist critiques of the main elements of Weberian bureaucracy: hierarchy, compartmentalization and neutrality. I then apply these critiques to the limitations of state feminism experienced during women's engagement with the Ontario bureaucracy from the 1980s to the early 1990s, based on interviews with women in the Ontario public service and members of feminist community organizations. Finally, I argue that despite its limitations, democratic lessons, both procedural and substantive, can be taken from the experiments with state feminism during this period. The paper is a chapter of my dissertation, "Femocratic Administration: Gender, Democracy, and the State in Ontario," which examines the impact of state restructuring on women's structures of representation and the prospect of gender democracy through women's policy machinery in Ontario. It is also related to my wider research interests in gender and Canadian politics, gender and public policy, and feminist political economy.

Alexandra Flynn (California-Berkeley), "Out of Bounds: The Shifting Jurisdiction of Homeless Policies in Canada" - Homelessness is a legal and public policy issue which impacts each of the three levels of government. Municipal governments, responsible for the imposition of order and subject to criticisms from residents and local business, turn to city ordinances (including zoning laws) to regulate the movement of homeless people. Provincial governments, charged with protecting the overall provincial economy and providing social services, may impose regulatory sanctions (such as BC and Ontario's "Safe Streets Act") or re-formulate welfare programs. Simultaneously, the federal level may opt to fund certain initiatives, enact criminal laws, or create a pan-Canadian approach to dealing with homelessness. This paper will, first, generally explore how municipal, provincial and federal governments in Canada have identified their responsibility for and approaches to homelessness over the last twenty years. Second, the intersections between the government initiatives will be examined, including areas of overlap and conflict, particularly where laws are enacted to regulate the conduct of homeless persons. Finally, this paper will propose a framework for the division of responsibility where legal and regulatory directives are concerned.

John Erik Fossum (Oslo), "Constitutional Patriotism: Canada and the European Union" - The purpose of this paper is to discuss the question of allegiance formation in the EU and Canada, both multinational and poly-ethnic entities. These entities are not only highly complex; their complexity is also recognized and informs policy making and institutional, even constitutional, design. These entities raise in a particularly telling manner the question of how to forge a sense of community allegiance within a highly complex, pluralist and composite polity. The particular approach to allegiance formation that will be studied here is the notion of constitutional patriotism. Both entities have formulated institutional-

constitutional and policy arrangements that at least to some extent are informed by the spirit of constitutional patriotism (for Canada see Cairns 2003, for the European Union, see Eriksen and Fossum 2000, Fossum 2003). With constitutional patriotism is meant a mode of attachment that sees citizens as bound together by subscription to democratic values and human rights, rather than those traditional pre-political ties that nation-states have appealed to (Habermas 1994, 1996, 1998, Ingram 1996, Eriksen and Fossum 2000, Fossum 2003). This type of identity is conducive to respect for and accommodation of difference and plurality. It is post-national and thinner than national identity. It is thin also in that its substantive content is shaped by and ultimately made subject to consistence with a set of constitutionally entrenched procedures. Rights are central to this notion of allegiance, through our recognition of other persons, as holders of rights. As such rights can ensure both an individual sense of self and a collective sense of membership of a community, although the core of modern rights is their individual nature. But there are obvious limits to identity formation through rights, as communitarians in particular, stress. Whilst legal principles can be universal, law is bounded in that it applies to specific settings. Therefore, one can count as the bearer of rights of some kind only if one is socially recognized as a member of a community. (Honneth 1995:109) The social recognition serves to underline that rights are always steeped in and shaped by a particular political culture: (t)he universalism of legal principles is reflected in a procedural consensus, which must be embedded in the context of a historically specific political culture through a kind of constitutional patriotism. (Habermas 1994) There are several important questions that emanate from this, as there is an inbuilt tension between the legal principles and the context within which and on which they operate. These tensions are reflected in the rapidly growing body of literature on constitutional patriotism. To shed further light on the notion of constitutional patriotism, I will discuss the following questions: What are the minimum requirements for such a mode of allegiance to serve the necessary integrative needs for a community? This clarification serves to establish the set of yardsticks required for the subsequent investigations, which are intended to clarify how thick this form of allegiance can be. This is important to the degree of exclusiveness and community identification and also to the last question, namely: how accommodating of difference and diversity is constitutional patriotism? After this theoretical clarification, I will examine how constitutional patriotism works in practice. The intention is to test it in some of the most demanding cases, namely the EU and Canada. I will conduct two brief comparative case studies. First, I will examine the attempted insertion of constitutional patriotism through Charters into each entity's constitutional order. To do so we need to clarify how and the extent to which such efforts are reflective of constitutional patriotism in the first place. Once that is clarified we can proceed to the next step, namely to examine what these cases tell us in terms of how far rights extend in promoting/fostering constitutional patriotism. The second case study is intended to test the scope for difference/diversity. This is done through examining the respective multiculturalism policies of the two entities. I first identify the philosophy of allegiance underpinning each entity's policy framework so as to establish whether these are informed by the spirit of constitutional patriotism. An important aspect of this is to examine whether the policies are essentially reflective of respect for difference/diversity or reflective of a more subtle form of integration. This serves to clarify whether these qualify as critical tests. Once this is done, I will examine the second question, i.e., what they might tell us of the diversity awareness built into constitutional patriotism.

Antonio Franceschet (Acadia), "Transitional Justice: Global Legalism from Above" - My current research project examines how the "rule of law" as a normative ideal is implicated in global political and legal relationships. One facet of this project is to examine how liberal and Western states have projected their own understandings of "legality" into other states and societies, whilst simultaneously resisting legal constraints upon their own global activities. As an example of this dynamic, this paper situates contemporary "transitional justice" in an analysis of global legal and political developments that make the particular, "internal" governance arrangements of non-Western states part of a global "public" domain. The paper asks: (1) is the normative regime in favour of transitional justice a product of global hierarchy? And, if so, (2) what are the political implications of this "legalism from above" for efforts to promote the rule of law and justice, not just within states and societies but among and across them? My thesis is that "legalism from above" presents significant legitimacy problems for global society. Politically, although such legitimacy problems can be managed, they point to a critical fault in world order that has received little attention in the dominant liberal legalist literature.

Mary Francoli (Western Ontario), "E-Government in Canada: Practice and Possibilities" - TBA/À venir

Erica Frederiksen (Toronto), "Restorative Justice: Rethinking Justice in a Postcolonial World" - Restorative justice has become the focus of intense political, legal and academic debate over the past two decades. Depicted as a more humane approach to crime than traditional retributive models of state justice, restorative justice aims to re-establish a just equilibrium within a community deeply affected by crime by adopting punitive measures that focus on healing and forgiveness rather than vengeance, on repairing the afflicted community (counting both victim and offender) rather than punishing a social deviant. This model of justice has gained advocates – and opponents – around the world, in strikingly varied political contexts. In places like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it has acquired strong support among those disillusioned by high rates of incarceration and recidivism – particularly for youth and Aboriginal peoples – and who seek greater protection of victims' rights. Restorative justice has also been touted as a means of incorporating values more in line with indigenous cultures and traditions into a highly Euro-centric legal system. Peacebuilding efforts around the globe, most notably in post-Apartheid South Africa, have appealed to restorative justice in laying the groundwork for long-term reconciliation and peace within deeply divided states. Why there has been this apparent discursive and intellectual convergence is the question behind this paper and the wider project from which it stems. This paper aims to uncover the meaning of restorative justice in light of the varied political contexts in which it has emerged, with particular focus on the challenges restorative justice raises for traditional retributive approaches to justice and punishment.

John Freeman (Minnesota), "Macropolitical Processes and EITM" – TBA/À venir

Melissa Gabler (Guelph), "The WTO, the EU and Trade and Environmental Policy Integration: A Social Learning Explanation" - Why have some supranational actors' attempts to integrate environmental norms in trade policies been more successful than others? This paper addresses this question by examining trade and environmental policy integration in the GATT-WTO and the EEC-EU since the 1987 Brundtland Report and the 1992 Earth Summit. In general, EU actors have achieved moderate to strong degrees of trade and environmental policy integration in outcomes, while comparable attempts by WTO actors have resulted in weakly integrated outcomes. To explain such variation, the paper relies on a social learning explanation. The argument is that stronger forms of policy integration in the EU have resulted from higher levels of compatibility between trade and environment norms and higher levels of institutional capacity for complex/reciprocal styles of learning. In contrast, lower levels of norm compatibility and lower levels of institutional capacity in the WTO have contributed to weaker forms of policy integration. This social learning approach combines insights from IR/EU social constructivist research and comparative public policy research. Recent scholarship emphasizes how supranational actors' identities/ interests and policy outcomes are shaped and changed by norms, but neglects to theorize or empirically explore the processes of social interaction through which this occurs. The account of WTO-EU policy integration in this paper builds on this work by conceptualizing degrees of policy integration as resulting from different types of social interaction, which are dependent on particular normative and institutional conditions. The methods in this comparative study include the qualitative analysis of policy documents and interviews with key policy actors in Brussels and Geneva. Gilbert Gagné (Bishop's), "State Autonomy and the Canada-US Softwoods Lumber Dispute" - This paper proposes to discuss the impact of the process of economic globalization on the Canada-U.S. Softwood Lumber dispute. The conflict over the Canadian exports of softwood lumber to the United States has been a major dispute in international trade and deserves to be studied carefully in view of its implications for State policy autonomy. The United States has argued that Canadian forest policies, including the fees charged by provincial governments to private firms to harvest trees on public land, result in subsidization and dumping. For its part, Canada has insisted that its forestry practices constitute general public policies that are not related to trade and unfair conditions of competition. Unlike the United States, Canada and other countries apply a more tempered model of economic liberalism, which allows for a greater role for the State in certain key sectors, in this instance, the ownership and management of natural resources. Debates over issues of this kind will intensify in coming years in a context of ever-increasing economic integration. How can the notions of "fair" conditions of competition be accommodated with the maintenance of differences in States' socio-economic policies? Economic globalization leads States to increasingly discuss and negotiate on such issues. In fact, from a broader empirical and theoretical perspective, the paper argues that the Softwood Lumber conflict, through the central issues it raises, has stood at the forefront of the development of

international trade provisions and jurisprudence as they pertain to subsidies and trade remedies. This paper proposal is part of an ongoing research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

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Alain-G. Gagnon (Québec à Montréal), "Asymmetrical Federalism: Weakening Conditions in an Era of Exacerbated Centralization" - TBA/À venir

Juliet Gainsborough (Miami), "Miami" – TBA/À venir

Nibaldo H. Galleguillos (McMaster), "The Development of the Notion of 'Enemy' in the Military Discourse During the Globalization Era" - This paper examines the renewed construction of the notion of enemy among the Latin American military institutions in the post-Cold War era. It argues that, with the demise of the Communist threat and the subsequent de-radicalization of Marxist, Socialist, and Communist parties, organizations, and movements the military found themselves with no alleged subversive enemy that could justify their *raison d'être*, as reflected in the overall acceptance of the so-called "national security doctrines" of the 1960s and 1970s. In their search for a new role in the post-Cold War era, the military adjusted their ideological arsenal by constructing "new enemies"; this time, under the umbrella of the profound changes taking place as a result of the adoption of neoliberalism, friendly-market economics, and globalization. The latter, as it is commonplace knowledge, have prompted the emergence of civil society organizations whose main objective is to challenge what they perceive as the negative effects of neoliberal economics. Following the 1985 gathering of the commanders-in-chief of Latin America, Canada, and the US. in Argentina military doctrines have specifically targeted civil society as the main enemy to be faced by their countries in the years to come. By this, they mean environmentalists, indigenous organizations, opponents to economic liberalization, human rights groups, anti-poverty movements, and the like. The paper examines how this theoretical construction has evolved by examining the development of this new notion of "enemy" during subsequent meetings of the armed forces since 1985, as well as the directives emanating from the US South Command, by far the most influential North American institution in Latin America today.

Stella Gaon (Saint Mary's), "Globalizing Democracy? Human Rights, Citizenship, and the Cosmopolitan Ideal" - The erosion of the nation-state seems to have given rise to a shift in the democratic concept of the 'natural' right to self-governance: rather than the rights of the citizen, it is now of cosmopolitan right that we speak. In contrast to the early modern conception of right, moreover, the cosmopolitical promise of democratic right is the promise of a state without exception. In this paper, I argue that this recent development in democratic theory should be treated with every possible caution. Just as the old notion of the 'rights of man', grounded as it was on European values of civility, justified and indeed morally obligated imperialist expansion into the lands of those who 'failed in their duties' to themselves to exploit

natural resources to the utmost (Anthony Pagden, 2003) so too does the cosmopolitan conception of citizenship seem to obligate a practice of “preventative warfare” around the globe. Thus the proposed ‘universalization’ of citizenship is no antidote at all to the exclusionary notions of “civility” that have always attended citizenship when constituted within national borders. Now, however, exclusion is upheld under the auspices of “preventative warfare” and “legitimate” force. Whereas as Sofia Näsström (2003) sees in globalization as solution to this problem in democratic theory, I therefore submit that it is precisely because of the way in which (as she says) globalization does mask democracy’s performative limit, and does ‘mystically’ authorize cosmopolitan right, that justifications of “preventative warfare” are enabled, and Western hegemony is undemocratically maintained.

Joseph Garcea (Saskatchewan), "Saskatoon and Regina" – TBA/À venir

Michelle Garvey (British Columbia), "The Personal Vote in Canada and Australia: An Emerging Phenomenon" - The conventional wisdom regarding British derived parliamentary systems argues that local candidates have little effect on election results, the dominant factors being party label and the image of party leaders. The activity of local members in campaigning and providing services for their constituents is assumed to be of little importance in terms of electoral success. This contention has largely escaped any rigorous formal testing outside the United States even though preliminary studies of incumbency in the Canadian context have suggested the existence of an electoral advantage for incumbents. While limited to Ontario, one study points to the existence of a sizeable vote bonus for incumbents. This paper seeks to investigate whether the emergence of the career politician with more resources for contacting and providing services to constituents has resulted in tangible electoral benefits on polling day. Specifically, the paper will test for the existence and extent of an incumbency advantage in sub-national parliamentary systems in Canada and Australia (the province of British Columbia and the state of Western Australia) between 1950 and 2001.

Paul Gecelovsky (Windsor), "Constructing a Canadian World" - The paper will examine three related questions: (1) what is the constructivist approach to International Relations? (2) how does the approach conceptualise international relations? and (3) what is the relevance of Constructivism to Canada? The paper will build upon previous work completed. Along with the others on the panel, this paper is exploratory in nature and will work towards sketching out a new research agenda concerning Canadian International Relations.

François Gélinau (Montréal) and **Sébastien Dubé** (Montréal), "Are There Consequences to Political Malapportionment? Evidence from Argentina and Brazil" - “One person, one vote” is a fundamental principle of democratic theory. In practice, however, most democratic arrangements produce discrepancies between the shares of legislative seats allocated to each district and their relative population size, a phenomenon called malapportionment. As a result, a single vote in an overrepresented district carries more weight in the legislature than one in an underrepresented district. Although the literature points to strong theoretical reasons why this phenomenon should be seen as problematic, so far, few efforts have been done to explore its true consequences, at least in the Latin American context. Among other things, the literature has argued that malapportionment produces a rural-conservative bias in national legislatures, the estrangement of the executive and legislative branches and the strong capacity for subnational elites to hold the center hostage with regards to major policy issues. The proposed paper will explore the policy consequences of malapportionment in Argentina and Brazil, two of the most important federations of the Latin American region. The paper will provide evidence to assess the policy consequences of malapportionment on the basis of national and subnational macroeconomic and budget data. It will measure the extent to which malapportionment causes overrepresented districts to receive a disproportionate share of the national wealth, as well as the relationship between the districts’ performance and the relative inflow of national resources. The findings of this paper have the potential to contribute to the study of institutional design and the political economy of decentralization. More broadly, the findings will have implications for the study of democratic theory.

Meagan Gergley (Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services), "BC Municipalities' Practices with Measurements and Reporting Prior to the New Community Charter" – TBA/À venir

Elisabeth Gidengil (McGill), "Network Diversity and Political Knowledge" – TBA/À venir

Elisabeth Gidengil (McGill), **André Blais** (Montréal), **Joanna Everitt** (New Brunswick-Saint John), **Patrick Fournier** (Montréal) and **Neil Nevitte** (Toronto), "Back to the Future? Making Sense of the 2004 Canadian Election Outside Quebec" - The proposed paper will use a bloc-recursive model to assess the impact of a variety of explanatory factors on the outcome of the 2004 federal election outside Quebec. The data will be drawn from the 2004 Canadian Election Study. Multinomial logistic regression will be used to model vote choice. Interpretation will be aided by a series of "what if?" simulations, based on the regression results. For example, what if the sponsorship scandal had not mattered, how much would the Liberal vote have increased? Important elements of continuity in the bases of each party's support will be highlighted, along with factors that rose to prominence in 2004. Comparisons will be made with the 2000 election, where appropriate, with particular attention to the factors motivating a vote for the new Conservative Party, compared with those that influenced Alliance and Progressive Conservative voting in 2000. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the strategic challenges facing each party as we approach the next election. The implications of the analysis for an understanding of the evolution of the party system outside Quebec will also be discussed.

James Gillies (British Columbia), "The Creation of the US Department of Homeland Security: Lessons for Canada" - In June 2002, President George W. Bush asked Congress to create a Department of Homeland Security to better protect the United States against further terrorist attacks. The public service reorganization that has taken place is perhaps the largest in American history apart from the post-World War II armed forces restructuring. But it remains to be seen whether this initiative will be effective. This paper is an analysis of the factors at play in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. It focuses on how the department came about, and what challenges, both political and bureaucratic, those who administer and manage the department will face. It also analyzes the Bush administration's governing style and their execution of presidential power. Special attention is paid to the president's advisory system and in particular, the role played by Bush's chief strategist, Karl Rove, in forging the new department. The paper focuses on the concept of ideological entrepreneurship, a term that refers to when principal advisers like Rove concentrate on political maneuver at the expense of canvassing the entire spectrum of alternatives and submitting those to the test of collegial consultation. The inner circle of ideological voices can constrict the access to challenges to their own views and block out collegial dissent, thereby marginalizing formal decision making processes. The creation of the Department of Homeland Security not only allows for investigation of presidential advisory systems but it also provides valuable lessons for Canada as Ottawa perhaps embarks on a similar path.

Iain Gow (Montréal), "A Practical Basis for Public Service Ethics" - Public service ethics is a relatively recent concern in research, one which has been stimulated by the neo-liberal programme of making the public service more like a business. As this occurs, what happens to all those classic public service values like justice, equality, fairness and accountability? Two trends are apparent in the literature. In one, business values like competition, efficiency, economy, effectiveness, and innovation take ascendancy while classic values, although still proclaimed, fall behind. In the other, philosophical analysts find some transcendent good like justice, citizenship, rule of law, loyalty or stewardship which public servants are called to follow. The problem is that the first purpose of the public service is not to serve the public, nor is it to uphold various personal transcendent ideals. Instead, an ethic based on clear, practical and shared values would give priority to the maintenance and adaptation of the democratic political system as the first duty of the public service. This translates into a stewardship or conservator role which begins with serving the elected government of the day within the framework of the law and political conventions. Such an approach also recognizes the « moral contract » between politicians and public servants, one which carries obligations for both parties.

Peter Graefe (McMaster), "Roll-Out Neoliberalism and the Social Economy" - There is a growing sense that social policies are taking new directions, as policy ideas and debates move from an earlier embrace of privatization and marketization, to the retooling of the state to face new social risks and to reproduce the "social" (social cohesion, social capital etc.) (e.g. Esping Andersen et al. 2002; Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003; Taylor 2003). Nevertheless, some have argued that these are shifts within a broader and uneven process of neoliberalization and represent the rolling-out of new institutions and governmentalities

to stabilize neoliberal accumulation strategies. This position nevertheless conceals disagreement between a view of new policies “flanking” neoliberalism through the marginal introduction of non-market logics (e.g. Jessop 2002) and those rolling out market metrics into further realms of social life (Larner 2000; Tickell and Peck 2003). This nevertheless poses the issue at a high level of abstraction, and risks positing a “logic” divorced from the messy realm of policy development. There is thus a need to track patterns of neoliberal restructuring and make part-whole connections between local instances of policy reform and broader neoliberal discourses (Peck 2004; Uitermark forthcoming). This paper takes up this challenge by considering one field of policy innovation in one jurisdiction, namely the social economy in Québec. It considers how the “flanking” and “roll-out” mechanisms have played out in social economy policies dealing with local development, social service delivery and child-care. It concludes that while flanking policies appear to have been more successful in meeting the policy goals advanced for the social economy, they have also opened the most opportunities for actors seeking more profound policy changes. Roll-out neoliberalism may be more brittle than suggested, as it strives to balance policy effectiveness while limiting the scope of policy change.

Robert Grafstein (Georgia), "From Partisan Policy to Income to Consumption to Utility to Votes" – TBA/À venir

Jim Granato (National Science Foundation), "Not Even Wrong: Using the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models to Maximize Falsification" – We provide a framework for the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) initiative. The objective of EITM is to encourage political and social scientists to test empirical models that are directly connected to a formal model. As scholars merge formal and empirical analysis they minimize non-falsifiable research practices and lay the foundation for social scientific cumulation. Our EITM framework takes political, social, economic, and behavioral concepts (analogues) and links them to applied statistical concepts (analogues). The significance of this EITM framework is that it encourages scholars to use a set of plausible facts or axioms, model them in a rigorous mathematical manner to identify causal relations that explain empirical regularities and aid in valid policy advice.

John Grant (London), "Rethinking Althusser: Ideology, Dialectics and Critical Social Theory" - This paper interrogates work by Louis Althusser within the larger context of an ongoing study into the efficacy of a dialectical approach to critical social theory. Althusser's work occupies a productive place in twentieth century thought: it rejects the existential humanism of Sartre, while upholding the type of determinate political positions often abandoned by poststructuralists such as Foucault or Derrida. My aim is to read Althusser predominantly against himself in order to rework and relocate his rendering of the dialectic. His focus on the uneven development of the social whole and its structure in dominance does not escape the economism he so vigorously opposes, which reduces the dialectic to a rigid account of social structures. I believe the real virtue of Althusser's thought for social theory lies in rethinking aspects of his theory of ideology in order to develop a more rigorous dialectical approach. 1) By refusing, as Althusser did, to overemphasize the homogeneity of any ideological conjuncture, we can begin to identify the contradictory ways in which we are produced as subjects. 2) Maintaining the category of the subject over against Althusser's strict anti-humanism allows us to recognize the movements and rhythms of a subject-object dialectic. 3) Althusser's posthumously published work identifies what he terms “aleatory materialism.” It places significant importance on the ‘encounter’ as a moment of ontological becoming that is open and multiple. By emphasizing the singularity of every encounter alongside the insights of (1) and (2), a dialectical approach is produced that allows the subject to identify the contradictory elements of its own, always incomplete, production. Finally, and most significantly, these elements can then be recast as points of resistance within a larger critical social theory.

Joyce Green (Regina), "From *Stonechild* to Social Cohesion: Anti-Racist Challenges for Saskatchewan" - In October 2004, Mr. Justice David H. Wright released the report of the Stonechild inquiry, a provincial investigation into the freezing death of Neil Stonechild in . In this paper, I look at the report and the incident as exemplars of the racism in Saskatchewan's political culture, and consider what possibilities exist to erode this damaging and sometimes deadly phenomenon. I locate this discussion in critical race theory as well as in the literature about self-determination and decolonization. In particular, I examine what policy efforts have been made by the Government of Saskatchewan to address racism; and I look

for evidence of inclusion or indigenization of policies and programs. I argue that, given Saskatchewan's demographic trajectory, failure to deal with white racism will guarantee social stresses between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations and therefore, a proactive self-reflective anti-racist policy and a strategy for building public support should be a priority for any Saskatchewan government.

Ozgun Emrah Gurel (Toronto), "The Concept of Political in Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt: Decision and Plurality" - In this work, I will try to question the possibility to consider the concept of political as an authentic realm of existence from the point of Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt. Despite the sharp contrast between two thinkers, I believe that they are both criticizing the liberal philosophy for destroying the specific nature of the concept of political in the liberal-democratic societies where politics becomes only an instrumental tool. Against the liberal hegemony of the neutralization of politics, Schmitt's analysis suggests a total conceptualization of politics by concentrating on only a strong state and homogenous political community within the context of friend-enemy distinction. For Schmitt, homogeneity, by pinpointing the ongoing existential struggle between friends and enemies, is the condition for the possibility of politics. His argument is that the political world is a pluriverse, a dangerous jungle of self-interested partnerships, shifting tactical alliances, open disagreements and outbreaks of violent conflict. Thus, Schmitt believes that these specifically political phenomena are a reflection of the fact that human beings are dynamic and dangerous creatures who are often driven, by force of circumstances, to commit devilish acts. Therefore, those who rule through the state are consequently forced to recognize that, at home and abroad, they are always confronted by alien others, by enemies with whom extreme and violent conflicts are possible and indeed likely. However, Arendt's endeavor is to formulate the "Socratic" formation of modern citizenship and different ways of participation and dialogue for the re-construction of public sphere. Her conception of politics is in fact based on the idea of active citizenship, that is, on the value and importance of civic engagement and collective deliberation about all matters affecting the political community. Arendt rightly locates individual with the world of other individuals and argues that "men are not strangers or enemies to each other" but ontologically interdependent. It is my contention that Arendt's analysis necessarily requires an independent concept of politics and public space. I think, by examining Arendt's suggestions and critics, it is not utopian to indicate that there are still possibilities for the civic virtue, political equality and particularly the new dimensions of active citizenship by referring an authentic meaning to the concept of political. My paper tries to acknowledge that Arendt's politics of friendship could be a better way to comprehend the democratic implications of the specificity of the political against the arguments of the Schmittian-conservative analysis that tries to find a common substance for the ontology of politics. This work is also trying to claim that the very reality of the public realm emerges only through the robust communication of opinions emanating from a multitude of diverse perspectives. In this way, I hope to show that Arendt's conception of political remains important for contemporary attempts to revive the idea and the practice of democratic citizenship.

Ali Burak Guven (Toronto), "The Political Economy of State Restructuring in Post-Crisis Turkey" - Turkey's half-hearted market reforms in the 1990s established a vicious cycle of complementarity between discordant institutional orders regulating different spheres of the economy. In a severely fragmented political environment, fiscal expansion via new mechanisms of debt financing helped reinstate antiquated patterns of populist redistribution. The poorly regulated banking sector became increasingly dependent on capital flows to finance this operation, and in turn the lucrative gains in arbitrage fuelled a massive income transfer toward domestic and international financiers. When the ax fell on the Turkish economy in 2001, policymakers responded with an IMF-backed program of state restructuring to harmonize economic governance. What is the likelihood of the current phase of state reform to provide effective remedies for Turkey's economic woes? This paper holds that while this neoliberal re-entrenchment has effectively curtailed the prospects of populist redistribution, it does not address the real sources of the country's structural impasse: (i) high levels of external vulnerability due to the fisco-financial legacy of foreign capital-induced growth; and (ii) high levels of distributional conflict due to lack of social compromises to sustain reform coalitions in the long run. Drawing on my recent research in various state organizations in Turkey, I present an institutional analysis which explores three components of reform: the modest reorganization of debt financing; the nascent re-regulation of the banking sector through the rise of an alternative bureaucracy; and the total dismantling of agricultural support schemes. One theoretical unfolding of this discussion is that domestic policy preferences at early stages of internationalization can lead to the locking-in of incentive structures with far-reaching consequences.

Also, decision makers and IFIs alike seldom pay enough attention to the potential outcomes of institutional interaction while designing reform programs, as exemplified in the revised mainstream of neoliberal theory. Finally, both institutional stasis and institutional reorganization can be effectively utilized for maximizing the leverage of international constraints/opportunities to attain domestic goals.

Dejan Guzina (Wilfrid Laurier), "Dilemmas of Nation-Building and Citizenship in Post-Dayton Bosnia" - Ten years after signing the Dayton Peace Accord on 21 November 1995, the task of forging a unifying state of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia) and common identity of its citizens remains as elusive as ever. This raises a fundamental question as to whether can democratic citizenship and integrative ethnic pluralism be achieved by international means of administrative fiat? At a more concrete level, the question relates to the relationship between the international community's (IC) model of simultaneous democratization and nation-building and the local nationalizing projects that, despite the IC best efforts, have been continuously espoused and supported by the Bosnian elites and public of all national colours (Serb, Croat and Bosniak). My intention is not to dismiss upfront local models of nation-building and citizenship as openly exclusivist and nationalistic, but rather to point out the ramifications that these competing projects have for the IC efforts to bring up the ideas, values and practices of liberalism, democracy and ethnic tolerance in Bosnia. In the paper, thus I argue that the Bosnian political space remains a work in progress, a patchwork of competing ideologies and practices that make the liberal democratic model of nation-building and citizenship but one that is currently being tried in the region and that ultimately it remains unclear whether common Bosnian identity and citizenship is possible at all.

Rodney Haddow (Toronto), "Mapping Canadian Political Economy: Lessons from, and for, Comparative Scholarship" – TBA/À venir

Geoffrey Hale (Lethbridge), "Energy Interdependence and the Politics of North America Economic Integration" - This paper explores the political economy of energy interdependence as a mention of ongoing debates over the processes of North American economic integration. The post-1983 cycle of falling energy prices, political decentralization, and the partial and asymmetric integration of North American energy markets has been replaced since 2001 by debates over the potential role of Canadian energy resources – and a potential North American energy strategy – in attracting the United States into a new “strategic bargain” supportive of further North American integration. These issues are complicated by growing pressures for the integration of energy and environmental policies, prolonged uncertainties over the future security of global oil and gas supplies, and Canada’s relatively marginal place within U.S. policy priorities. This paper will explore these issues through the context of the emerging literatures on North American economic integration and multi-level governance of energy and related policies. It will examine the role of national and sub-national governments and business interests in structuring ongoing discussions of cross-border cooperation and the management of interdependence, along with the roles of other organized societal interests in shaping these debates. It will also examine emerging initiatives to promote a bi-national energy security agreement as part of a broader agenda for the extension of the North American Free Trade Agreement. This paper builds on the author’s research into the political economy of North American economic integration, its impact on Canadian federalism, regionalism and specific policy fields.

Mary Halloran (Foreign Affairs Canada), **Greg Donaghy** (Foreign Affairs Canada) and **John Hilliker** (Foreign Affairs Canada), "The Department of External Affairs and the White Paper Process in Canada (1968-1984)" - The paper will examine the role of the Department of External Affairs in the preparation of the Trudeau government's white paper Foreign Policy for Canadians in 1970. It will examine the impact of that paper on the department's formulation of policy proposals, and the way the department responded to the subsequent vogue for policy planning by the Trudeau and Clark governments. The principal sources will be archival records, especially those of the Department of External Affairs, and interviews.

Paul Hamilton (Brock), "Substate Nationalism and European Integration: Does the EU Encourage Autonomy Seekers" - Scholars have long studied the Europeanization of domestic politics and attempted to find uniform patterns of domestic transformation in response to integrative steps. This paper seeks to determine whether European integration has encouraged the mobilization of subnational movements for autonomy/statehood, and if so, why this pattern has occurred. The paper is a cross-national study of the

current 25 members and regional/nationalist movements within these. The paper attempts to isolate the variables, which seem to encourage nationalism and those that appear to discourage it. The paper fits into the broader literature on the dynamic relationship between regionalism and supranationalism in contemporary Europe. In particular, the paper examines the effects of Europeanization on the dynamics of political mobilization. The paper is a continuation of the author's work on nationalist political parties and continental integration.

Antoinette Handley (Toronto), "Business and the State: Policy-Making in Africa's Neoliberal Era" - For the last two decades, supporters of a neo-liberal model of economic reform have asserted that the most effective way to revive Africa's moribund economies is to engineer the withdrawal of the continent's states from those economies and facilitate a more prominent role for the private sector in driving recovery and growth. In the 1980s analysts associated with the World Bank and IMF advocated the almost complete withdrawal of the state from any attempts at African development on the grounds that that state was ineluctably flawed and that only the forces of "the market" could restore sustainable growth. However, while studies of the failed African state abound, there is no similar embarrassment of riches for the "market." In Africa at least, this policy flirtation has not been informed by sustained empirical and analytical attention directed toward the continent's business sector. As a result, we know very little about the character of the formal, indigenous business sector in Africa, and its capacity to play its apportioned role. What is the character of the African business class? And does it have the potential to secure, in partnership with government, the necessary preconditions for long-run capitalist growth? This paper investigates these issues by considering the contribution of business to economic policymaking in four varied African countries (Zambia, Ghana, Mauritius, and South Africa) during the 1990s, a crucial reform period. Based on fieldwork conducted in each of these four countries, the paper seeks to review dominant assumptions regarding the character of the African business community and to develop a coherent analytical framework for considering its broader contribution to economic policymaking on the continent.

Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser), "Humanizing Globalization: The Contributions of a Care Ethic" - Approaches to global ethics have drawn on a number of diverse theoretical traditions such as Kantianism and utilitarianism. While emerging frameworks contribute to a growing awareness and interest in ethics within a global society, the values that they prioritize are not adequate for realizing a just, equitable and fair system of global governance. In this paper, I consider the possibilities of an alternative ethic - a feminist ethic of care, and explore how it can bear on present circumstances including global inequity and injustice. This care ethic has been put forward as a viable normative approach to politics and policy. In my own work for example, I have examined its implications in Canadian social policy. Little attention, however, has been paid to the potential of a care ethic within the globalization and ethics debate. I will argue that its values and corresponding principles, grounded in caring, relationships, and responsibilities are essential to responding adequately to the current challenges of globalization. By examining the relevance of care in this context, I hope to broaden dominant ethical worldviews and contribute to the articulation of normative tools for examining globalization while at the same time avoiding the trappings of conventional universality – the abstract and a priori thinking, typically associated with conceptions of global ethics. The paper is an extension of the work I have done applying care ethics to a variety of public policy contexts.

Allison Harell (McGill) and **Jillian Evans** (Illinois), "Gendered Social Capital and Its Political Implications: The Canadian Case in Comparative Perspective" - Social capital is defined as social networks, norms of reciprocity, and generalized trust. At the micro-level, it is supposed to facilitate the resolution of collective action problems, serve as a recruitment ground for other forms of political participation, and generally increase an individual's civicism. As the macro-level, this translates into a healthier democracy, more efficient governance, and even improved economic performance. Yet, Vivien Lowndes (2000) recently drew attention to the fact that social capital has the potential to capture many types of social networks that have traditionally been relegated to the private sphere and generally under-appreciated in political science. In this paper, we use the Canadian National Giving, Volunteering, and Participation survey to examine the differences between men and women's levels and types of social capital in the Canadian context. We find that gendered differences do exist, and we explore the implications for these differences on political participation. In particular, we argue that not all social capital has the same potential beneficial effects on other forms of political participation. Women have traditionally played a helping role in society

and are often expected to maintain social relationships whereas men are taught to value independent initiative. As a result, women are often rich in social capital, yet, we examine how well this translates into political participation. We conclude by addressing the implications of these differences on the value of social capital as an undifferentiated concept for understanding political participation.

Stephen L. Harris (Ottawa), "The Politics of Regulating Finance in Canada" - The purpose of this project is to examine the Canadian Government's most recent efforts to reform the financial services industry. While there were a number of stresses and cross currents that influenced the legislative changes implemented in 2001, a key policy resource for the national government's formulation of its policy towards the financial services industry was the MacKay Task Force Report. It was published in 1998. Earlier in Canada's economic history, in the first half of the 1960s, Canada's financial sector was also under stress. At that time, the federal government appointed a Royal Commission (Porter Commission) to examine the structure and operation of the financial system. This Commission's work and recommendations were contained in the 1964 Report of the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance. The world that confronted Porter was a much simpler one than that faced by MacKay. Nonetheless, contextually, both inquiries had to confront a rapidly changing world. Porter was faced with global liberalized capital flows rooted in the fallout of Bretton Woods, the reemergence of postwar Europe and Japan, and the development and resultant uncertainty surrounding the Eurodollar market. MacKay, on the other hand, was faced with the full-blown phenomena of globalization of finance, markets and production and the intense cross-border competition in corporate and government finance. These phenomena resulted in "mega-mergers" of financial institutions in order to cope with the capital requirements needed to service these corporate and government financing needs. The juxtaposition of Porter and MacKay will help to determine whether there has been a regime change in respect of the regulation of Canada's financial services industry. A regime change means that there has been "a qualitative shift in the underlying system of ideas, institutions and policies" regarding how this industry is governed. It will be postulated that a regime change in finance can occur for a number of possible reasons: a change in political ideology; a change in public philosophy or in the political dynamic; a change in the industry landscape or the capital market; insufficient effort expended by policy elites to understand the industry and markets; changed external environment; and, public and particularistic interests. The analysis will attempt to show that financial sector policy in Canada has not been adequately informed by developments in the global financial services industry. This has constrained the development of the Canadian industry. In most of the countries in the OECD area, policy supply is designed not to constrain the financial services industry, but to give it the flexibility to respond to the unknowable. This is not to suggest that Canadian policymakers should robotically pursue the policies of other countries. National culture does indeed matter. The actions of Canadian policy makers, different in substance from the other industrial democracies will be examined and explained. Regretful policy in financial services takes a long time to correct. If the Canadian industry is competitively disadvantaged by the current regime we will want to understand why the Porter Commission was so prescient; what can be done to shift to the proper course; and the risks associated with the present policy course.

Kathryn Harrison (British Columbia) and **David Green** (British Columbia), "Racing to the Middle: Minimum Wage Setting and Standards of Fairness" - Previous studies of minimum wage policymaking in Canada and the US have focused on the influence of such factors as business and union pressures, economic conditions, and partisanship, but have not considered the possibility that governments do not act independently of each other in setting their minimum wage standards. This paper examines the degree to which Canadian provincial governments react to each other in setting their minimum wages. We offer a formal model of how voters, and in response governments, deliberate about appropriate standards of redistribution using benchmarks such as median wages within their own province and minimum wages in other jurisdictions. We then test the explanatory power of this model of intergovernmental benchmarking using data on provincial minimum wages from 1965 to 2000. We find that as provinces look to each other as benchmarks, what emerges is more akin to a race to the middle than the proverbial race to the bottom. The evidence of a race to the middle challenges the assumption implicit in both the economic and political science literatures that governments invariably compete – whether in response to threats of mobility or pressures for emulation – either to outdo or undercut each other. Races to the middle prompted by intergovernmental benchmarking might be expected to prevail in policy areas where voters are sympathetic to the need for tradeoffs between policy objectives and thus

look to their governments only to be "reasonable," with possible candidates including public sector wages, welfare benefits, and health care workers' salaries.

B. Timothy Heinmiller (Western Ontario), "Muddling Through the Regulation of Great Lakes Diversions" - This paper traces the evolution of efforts to regulate diversions of Great Lakes water, culminating in the recently negotiated Great Lakes Charter Annex. Since the mid 1980s, the governments of the Great Lakes Basin have negotiated and implemented a series of regulatory regimes to control and limit the diversion of Great Lakes water, but none have proved satisfactory. Instead, each regime has had shortcomings that became obvious after its implementation, and the regulation of Great Lakes diversions has been a trial and error process reminiscent of Lindblom's concept of 'muddling through.' From this perspective, the somewhat unusual design of the Great Lakes Charter Annex is best explained in relation to the identified shortcomings of the regulatory regimes that preceded it.

Volker Heins (Institute for Social Research), "Human Rights Cultures in Western Democracies; Digging Up the Differences" - As human rights issues gain momentum, scholars of comparative politics are re-examining the relationship between human rights policy and cultural plurality. Here the focus has mostly been either on differences between "the west" and "the rest" or, more recently, on American exceptionalism vis-à-vis Europe. This paper makes a serious effort to move beyond these debates by examining differences between various national western rights cultures. Taking the example of how links between "terrorism," "war," and "human rights" have been created and contested in the United States, Canada, Germany and France after 9/11, I propose to start from a multiplicity of political cultures relating the same idea of human rights and its legal instruments with different intentions and in a different sense (instead of starting the other way round from the somewhat ethereal international human rights regime struggling to impose itself on those professing their commitment to it). The paper summarizes the results of a study on the political discourse on the "war on terror" among both governmental and nongovernmental human rights bodies in those four countries. Unlike other authors who try to explain the effects of international human rights pressure on state behavior, this study is concerned with the domestic sources of foreign policy including ambitious human rights agendas. The thesis is that although human rights are now an inescapable global frame of reference which is strengthened even by ongoing quarrels over interpretation and implementation, particularistic political cultures of competing "moral nations" do not fade away in light of universal norms. Human rights transcend the nation-state but they are also predicated on the vitality of its political culture. The paper is part of a research project that was started earlier this year at Michael Ignatieff's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University and will be continued both in Frankfurt and in Montreal.

Ailsa Henderson (Wilfrid Laurier), "Are Three Parties Better Than Five?: A Mapping of Ideological Space in Canadian Politics, 1984-2000" - Canadian voters hold disparate views about politicians and policy. Economic models of voting help us to understand how parties 'hunt where the ducks are', how they track these disparate views and articulate the policy positions most favoured by voters. We assume, in these circumstances, the voters cluster meaningfully along a number of issue spectra, and provide a useful target for parties. Using data from the Canadian Elections Study this paper examines ideological clusters of voters in elections since 1984 to determine whether clusters are stable over time, and how partisans compare to unattached voters. It tracks both the location and consistency of party supporters according to traditional dimensions of political ideology and to other spectra. The paper concerns itself primarily with how efficiently political parties cover the ideological space of Canadian voters, and whether the advent of five party campaigns better represented the diversity of political views. The paper is part of a larger research agenda on regional political cultures in Canada.

Ailsa Henderson (Wilfrid Laurier), "Support for (quasi) Self-Government: Assessments of Northern Political Life Ten Years After the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement" - Public opinion data for northern Canada is rather thin on the ground but three recent surveys make a longitudinal analysis of support for the 1993 Nunavut Land Claim Agreement possible. The 1999 add-on to the NWT Labour Force Survey and the 2001 Nunavut Household Survey both contain questions on the expected benefits of the land claim and the establishment of a new territorial government. More recently, the 2004 Nunavut Household Survey contains an unprecedented number of questions on the political attitudes and beliefs of northern residents, including ten year assessments of the land claim. This paper explores support for the claim and

the government, and focuses on two possible explanations for support. It examines whether economic or cultural motivations were initially best able to account for evaluations, and identifies which predictors account for positive assessments of political life in Nunavut, more than a decade after the agreement. The paper is part of a larger research agenda on political culture in northern Canada.

Matthew Hennigar (Brock), "The Same-Sex Marriage Cases and Lessons for Attorney General Independence" - In the spring of 2003, the Canadian federal government chose not to appeal two lower court losses on the heterosexual definition of marriage to the Supreme Court of Canada. It has since come to light that the Attorney General (AG) of Canada at the time personally agreed with the lower court rulings. However, the federal government's lawyers argued vigorously in court against the rights claimants, and pursued a course of action regarding the response to those rulings that has delayed the ability of same-sex couples to marry across the country. In short, the AG's litigation choices appear suboptimal, from the perspective of his own policy preferences. This is all the more surprising when one considers that the AG Canada has exclusive statutory authority over government litigation, and there is a largely uncontested line of argument, from both former government AGs and legal theorists, that AGs should exercise this authority independently from the political interests of the executive branch. However, the same-sex marriage cases (EGALE/Barbeau, Halpern and the SSM Reference) suggest quite the opposite. Employing a blend of George Tsebelis's concept of "nested games" with neo-institutionalism, the proposed paper will explore how the unique institutional role of the AG and government lawyers, at the nexus of the executive, legislative and judicial branches, fosters a complex set of overlapping, and at times conflicting, preferences. In particular, we can understand that government lawyers are simultaneously pulled between concerns of legal principle, institutional authority, and partisan interests. Furthermore, the proposed paper will explore how the same-sex marriage cases raise normative questions about AG "independence," including its desirability in the context of Charter of Rights cases, and whether the time has come to separate the roles of Minister of Justice from Attorney General of Canada.

Nicola Hepburn (OLIP), "The Role of Backbenchers: Constituency Versus Policy Work" - Should the backbench member of the 38th Parliament of Ontario be more policy-focused or constituency-oriented, and why? If the Member was elected to represent his constituents in the Pink Palace, is this where the majority of his/her energies should be directed, thereby leaving the constituency-related issues and complaints in the hands of the Members' constituency staff, the ombudsman, the respective Ministry and social workers? How accountable would a Member be to his/her constituents if he/she has willingly limited his/her personal active involvement with the people being represented? What are the factors that may preclude the Member from maximizing his/her utility as a constituency-focused Member, OR which factors preclude the Member from realizing his/her goal of being an effective policy-oriented Member? Do all Members need to perform a balancing act between the two extremes if they are to be effectual politicians, loyal party members and retain the majority of the vote, or is one orientation (policy or constituency) more effective and/or important than the other? After defining the concepts 'policy-oriented' and 'constituency-oriented' I intend to conduct interviews with various Members, particularly those that have been re-elected for two or three consecutive terms (to show that despite the shift in government, these Members retained their seats). These long-standing Members should provide incite into what it means to be an effective MPP (ie. policy-oriented or constituency oriented) and whether they perceived themselves as more policy-oriented or constituency-oriented. The most interesting interviews will be those long-standing Members who served as Ministers at some time in office – in these positions, these Members would be able to shed light on their experience as (assumedly) policy-oriented MPPs, and how this position affected their perception of the ideal role of the MPP. I intend to include a discussion on rational-choice institutionalism to explain how the MPPs' perception of the role of the backbencher will remain an ideal. I believe that existing institutions (rules, norms, values and common practices preclude MPPs from fully maximizing their interests in serving as a completely policy-oriented or constituency-focused Member.

Martin Hering (McMaster), "Do Institutions Explain the Failure of Welfare State Restructuring? A Comparison of Health Care and Public Pensions in Canada and Germany, 1995-2004" - A large body of literature shows that welfare state reforms were predominantly marginal in the past two or three decades, and only rarely structural (Bonoli 2000; Hacker 2004; Huber and Stephens 2001; Pierson 2001). Much of the current scholarship assumes that governments, irrespective of their partisan composition, prefer

structural reforms to the status quo in pension policy and health care policy, and relies on institutionalist approaches to explain why governments often fail in making large-scale changes in these policy areas. This paper seeks to intervene in the ongoing debate on the politics of structural reform. First, it will revisit the assumption of uniform partisan preferences. Second, it seeks to re-examine the argument that institutional constraints, such as federalism and program financing structures, prevented governments from enacting and implementing structural reforms in the welfare state. To achieve these objectives, this paper will conduct a comparative case study of Canada and Germany, which due to multiple veto points and strong policy legacies face many institutional barriers in welfare state reform. It will first describe and analyze the attempts of Canadian and German political parties to change or maintain their alternatives in pension policy and health policy. Second, it will examine whether or not such changes in the preferences of the major parties in government led to the enactment of structural reforms in health care and public pension systems. By taking differences in preferences into account, this paper will lead to a better understanding of the importance of institutions in policy change.

Jack Hicks (Hicks and Associates) and **Graham White** (Toronto), "Decentralizing the Nunavut Government: A Case Study in the Design, Implementation, and Evaluation of Organizational Engineering" - Students of government organization rarely have the opportunity to observe and document major episodes of organizational engineering from initial conception through implementation and evaluation of their effectiveness. This paper does just that for a highly innovative design feature of the Government of Nunavut (GN): the 'decentralization' of 'headquarters' functions to ten communities across the territory. The designers of the GN had a mandate to recommend whatever governmental structures they thought would best serve the goals of the new territory and its largely Inuit population. Much of the GN is fairly conventional, but one key feature is distinctive: the number of headquarters functions located outside the capital. All modern governments have extensive networks of regional and field offices; indeed, the GN, like the Government of the Northwest Territories from which it was spawned in 1999, has front-line staff in each of its 25 communities. Decentralization in Nunavut, however, entails far more: the placement of substantial numbers of entire governmental units, which in most governments would be located in the capital, in ten communities scattered across the territory. The proposal to 'decentralize' the GN in this way excited considerable controversy and raised expectations about the nature of governance in the new territory. The paper begins with a brief literature review, which compares the conventional public administration literature conception of decentralization with that animating the Nunavut approach. The former is quite broad (Rondelli, writing for the World Bank, describes it as "the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations or the private sector"), whereas in Nunavut the term is used far more narrowly – to refer to the physical placement of government jobs and functions outside the capital. The paper proceeds with an analysis of the rationale for decentralization, including a brief look at the two very different approaches to decentralization considered by the Nunavut Implementation Commission. It then examines the administrative and political issues surrounding the implementation of decentralization. Finally, an evaluation is presented of the successes and failures of the first six years of the 'decentralized' GN. Data are drawn from primary documents, elite interviews and participant observation.

Janet Hiebert (Queen's), "Parliamentary Rights Model: Is the Concept of Political Rights Review Desirable? Is it Realistic?" - New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the Australian Capital Territory have adopted bills of rights that either reject judicial supremacy outright or, in the case of Canada, allow for temporal yet renewable political decisions that give primacy to legislative judgements, even when these conflict with judicial interpretations of rights. This development is associated with what legal and political scholars have characterized as a new model for protecting rights, referred to in a variety of ways including the 'Commonwealth model' a 'hybrid' approach, or a new 'parliamentary rights' model. When discussing the significance of these bills of rights, most commentators emphasize limitations on judicial review as the essential point of departure from the more traditional model associated with the United States. This paper will discuss the innovative character of this model but will have a very different emphasis. Although the introduction of judicial review into parliamentary systems that formerly eschewed any such role does indeed represent a departure from earlier political and constitutional principles, what is more significant about the introduction of bills of rights in these parliamentary systems is their decision to utilize 'political rights review'. I use this term political rights review to capture the new responsibilities given to public and political officials to assess the implications of legislation for rights, with the goal of either preventing rights

abuses from occurring, or to ensure that political decisions that implicate rights are, nevertheless, justified. The combined effects of the introduction of new statutory political responsibilities for rights-vetting, and exposure to judicial review, introduced a new dynamic in the quest to ensure that state actions are consistent with fundamental rights. It is this dynamic tension between political rights review and the judicial interpretation of rights that truly marks the significance of this new approach for rights protection.

John Hiemstra (King's University College), "Faith-based School Choice in Alberta: The Advent of a Pluriform Model" - On the question of faith and schooling, many provincial school systems in Canada are currently in a state of ferment. Most noteworthy are provisions rolling back faith-based school choice in Newfoundland and Quebec. In the past, Alberta's school system was classified as non-sectarian public schooling with minority denominational districts. This meant public schools were funded and indirectly controlled by a government department and reflected, at least in early Canadian history, a non-sectarian version of Protestantism. Separate denominational schools were funded along side this system (generally) for Catholic minorities. Thus, faith-based school choice was essentially restricted to two options. In the 1960s, most public schools adopted secularism thereby further restricting faith-based school choice. Based on empirical analysis of 2001-2002 data, this paper argues that on the question of religion and schooling, Alberta's current school system no longer fits the non-sectarian public schooling with minority denominational districts type, nor does it fit any of the other type previously used in Canada. Both the structure of Alberta's system, as well as the religious/philosophical content of its schools, have changed dramatically in response to pressures for school choice during the past two decades. This paper surveys the wide diversity of types of school authority and schools that currently function within Alberta's overall system. It analyses the wide range of types of faith-based schooling offered within many of these school authorities and schools. Based on these empirical findings, the paper concludes that while the non-sectarian public schooling with minority denominational districts model is still the backbone of Alberta's school system, it no longer adequately portrays the reality of faith-based school choice in Alberta. Alberta's school system constitutes a new model of relating religion and schooling not previously seen in Canada.

Tina Hilgers (York), "The Nature of Clientelism in Mexico City" – "The nature of clientelism in Mexico City" is based on ethnographic fieldwork examining clientelistic ties between the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and citizens in Mexico City. The guiding hypothesis is that in conditions of extreme socioeconomic inequality clientelism will persist. Clientelism is often described as a structure of exchange that distributes individualistic benefits in relationships of unequal power, and that will disappear with democracy. However, my research in Mexico City leads to conclusions that run counter to much of the literature. First, it is socioeconomic inequality - not a lack of democracy – that allows clientelism to flourish. Political contests combined with high poverty result in a struggle for the vote of the numerous, and easily bought, needy. Second, clientelism is a strategy often used successfully by the poor to gain housing, electricity, or work; in such a context, clientelism cannot be defined as unequivocally negative. Third, in conditions of political competition clientelism is not necessarily restricted to a relationship between individuals. When leaders of social organizations forge links with politicians, they bring the membership of their organizations with them. These groups gain resources precisely because of the power exerted by their being organized. The relation appears corporatist, but the existence of political competition makes it a fluid link which the social organization may leave, rather than a fixed structure tied to the state. This paper is part of a research project examining factionalism and clientelism; the effects of informal institutions on political outcomes; and ethnography in comparative politics.

Tony Hill (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), "Regional and Temporal Dimensions of Support for Sovereignty in Quebec, 1976-2004" - Support for sovereignty in Quebec has fluctuated greatly since the Parti Québécois first came to power in 1976. It is widely believed that the electorate can be divided into "hard" sovereignists, "soft" sovereignists, and federalists. The broad election of the Liberals under Jean Charest in 2003 called into question the idea that the province would never elect a strong federalist government, and the broad victory by the Bloc Québécois in 2004 suggested that the nationalist movement is once again gaining strength. This paper analyzes support for the PQ and the BQ in national and provincial elections from 1976 to 2004 and their 1980 and 1995 referenda (and the 1992 national referendum on the Charlottetown Accord) to consider whether there is a consistent pattern related to

support for sovereignty in these elections or whether the election merely represents the same clash of personalities and parties found in other polities where sovereignty is not at issue.

Ran Hirschl (Toronto), "Canada's Contribution to the Comparative Study of Rights and Judicial Review" – TBA/À venir

Marc Hooghe (Leuven), "Building Social Capital in Diverse Societies" – TBA/À venir

Martin Horak (Western Ontario), "Why Municipal Re-organizations Fail?" - In most industrial democracies outside the United States, the structures of urban government in large cities have been subject to periodic reorganization by higher levels of government. The goals that have motivated such reorganization differ widely, ranging from functional integration of metropolitan areas to cost savings to support for local democracy. Whatever the stated goals, reorganization has often failed to achieve them (Lefevre 1998). Drawing together historical institutionalist theory and a survey of case examples from Europe and North America, this paper proposes an analytical framework that can help us to understand the common failure of urban government reorganization, as well as identifying some necessary conditions for its success. Building upon the work of Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek (1994), the paper argues that urban government reorganization typically overlays, but does not displace, prior institutional arrangements in cities. As a result, the initial period after reorganization is typically marked by conflict among differing institutionally embedded visions of urban politics, a condition that I call "institutional incoherence". Drawing upon case examples, I argue that institutional incoherence often creates a complex and confusing decision environment for urban political leaders, and that political leaders thus tend to focus on short-term crisis management at precisely the time when strategic action is necessary in order to complete the transition to a new institutional order. However, the experience of cases such as Toronto in the 1950s and Barcelona in the 1980s suggests that this catch-22 can be overcome if urban political leaders enter the post-reorganization period with a clear political agenda. The paper concludes that in order to maximize the chances that the goals of reorganization will be met, higher levels of government must try to ensure that reorganization is supported by a pre-existing local political coalition that will have access to strong institutional resources during the transition period.

Alison Howell (York), "Victims or Madmen?: The Diagnostic Competition over 'Terrorist' Detainees at Guantanamo Bay" - In encounters with war, the psy disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, etc.) have been harnessed in various ways. This paper specifically examines the ways in which the psy disciplines have been deployed by both those who support, as well as those who oppose the imprisonment of suspected 'terrorists' at Camp Delta at the Guantanamo Bay military base in Cuba. The 'detainees' have been variously diagnosed as traumatized, stressed-out victims, or as mentally ill madmen, prone to violence. The occurrence of several reported suicide attempts among 'detainees' (or 'prisoners') held captive at Camp Delta, provided 'proof' for their captors that terrorists are indeed often madmen. A reported 25% of detainees have subsequently been diagnosed as 'mentally ill' – a diagnosis that is asserted to be relevant regardless of 'culture' or 'ethnicity.' Approximately a quarter of these 'terrorists' have thus been medically diagnosed as violently mentally ill. These same reports of suicide attempts, however, were contradictorily 'diagnosed' by human rights and humanitarian organizations opposing such imprisonment, as the result of stress induced by prolonged detention with no legal counsel nor date of release to look forward to. Here, the detainees have come to be understood to be traumatized, stressed-out victims. What is notable in this diagnostic competition over what, exactly, afflicts the detainees, is that both advocates and resisters to such detentions are invested in the psy disciplines. Resistance to the imprisonment of detainees has thus failed to detach 'violence' from 'madness.' This paper draws on recent work in the area of disability studies in order to raise questions about the terms upon which resistance to such detentions has been carried out.

Michael Howlett (Simon Fraser), "Assessing Instrument Mixes: Methodological Issues in Contemporary Implementation Research" - Theories of policy instrument choice have gone through several 'generations' (Goggin et al 1990, O'Toole, 2000) as theorists have moved from the analysis of individual instruments (Salamon 1981 and 2002) to comparative studies of instrument selection (Howlett 1991, Bemelmans-Videc, 1998, Peters and Van Nispen, 1998, Varone 2000) to the development of theories of instrument choice (Trebilcock et al 1982, Hood 1986, Linder and Peters, 1989). Current "next generation" theory on

policy instruments centres on the question of the optimality of instrument choices (Gunningham 1998, Grabosky 1995, Howlett and Rayner, 2004). However, empirically assessing the nature of instrument mixes is quite a complex affair, involving considerable methodological difficulties and conceptual ambiguities related to the definition and measurement of instruments and their interrelationships (Eliadis et al, 2004, forthcoming). Using materials generated by Canadian governments, this paper examines the practical utility and drawbacks of three techniques used in the literature to inventory instruments and identify instrument ecologies and mixes: the 'legislative' approach used by Hosseus and Pal (1997), the 'policy domain' approach suggested by Burstein (1991) and the 'programme' approach developed by Rose (1988). The paper suggests that although possibly the least satisfying on conceptual grounds, the programme approach may be the only realistic option available for empirical study of instrument mixes.

Cristina Howorun (Queen's), "Who Leads the Pack? The Effects of Ownership on Newspaper Coverage of Federal Budgets and Throne Speeches" - "Who Leads the Pack? The Effects of Ownership on Newspaper Coverage of Federal Budgets and Throne Speeches" explores the interplay between newspaper ownership and coverage of discrete political events. 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 were concerned that his conservative views would infiltrate the news content. With the change in ownership from Hollinger to CanWest (between 2000-2002), there have been renewed concerns; particularly, that the Asper family would use their papers to disseminate their political values onto the public with little respect for balanced reporting. These fears were not without warrant; CanWest owns the National Post, over a dozen other daily newspapers and the Global television network. Press owners hold a theoretical power to greatly influence not only what the public knows, but also what the public consider to be of importance; having an immense opportunity to influence the way Canadians think about pertinent issues and their governance. Freedom of the press is a tenet of liberalism that Canadians hold dear; however the very notion that this "freedom" could be used to disseminate ideological and partisan views as facts threatens the ideals of an informed electorate. In a recent poll, 78 percent of Canadians agreed that "Owners of Canada's media have gone too far in trying to impact their own personal, political opinions into what their medial outlets say and what they report," yet there remains little quantitative evidence of this. The rise of Canadian media conglomerates, beckons for an investigation into the effects that ownership has had (if any) on the coverage of Canadian politics and the aforementioned change in ownership provides a unique opportunity to study these effects. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of ownership and agenda setting by addressing the questions of whether ownership affects coverage? And, if so, are readers' informational needs being met in a balanced fashion? Using content analysis, coverage of federal budgets and throne speeches that have appeared in Southam owned newspapers purchased by CanWest (the National Post, The Ottawa Citizen, The Windsor Star) will be assessed in terms of prominence, tone and frequency of articles. The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star will be used as control papers.

Thomas Hueglin (Wilfrid Laurier), "Working Around the American Model: Canadian Federalism and the European Union" – TBA/À venir

Christie Hurrell (York), "Shaping Policy Discourse in the Public Sphere: Evaluating Civil Speech in an Online Consultation" – TBA/À venir

Louis Imbeau (Laval) and **André Gosciniak** (Laval), "Measuring Provincial Premiers' Fiscal Preferences Through a Content Analysis Using the Word Score Technique" - The empirical public choice literature on public deficits and debts has identified three sources of policy-makers' preferences: benevolence, opportunism, and ideology. Empirical evidence suggests that party ideology (left-right) has no significant impact on deficits and debts. We suggest that the relevant ideology is one of fiscal conservatism («guardian» vs «spender») that transcends parties. Guardians prefer a higher budget balance and a lower debt than spenders who insist on programs. Through a content analysis using the Word Score technique, we measure the fiscal preferences of provincial premiers in Canada over the 1970-2000 period. We then discuss the validity of our measure and assess the relationship between premiers' preferences and the provinces' budget balances.

Stephanie Irlbacher Fox (Cambridge), "The Discursive Use of Temporal Language in Justifying Contemporary Injustice Toward Indigenous Peoples in Canada" - The ideas in Jeremy Waldron's 1992 article "Superceding Historic Injustice" has prompted much scholarly debate over the nature of contemporary restitution for historic injustice toward Indigenous peoples. The analysis of Waldron's ideas in this paper marks a radical departure from critiques offered to date. In the article, Waldron argues that it is not "time per se" which fades injustice, but circumstances. However, by interrogating the discursive uses of temporal language throughout the article, and replacing his "time language" with "circumstances language", his ideas are revealed to consist of ideological posturing rather than philosophical argument. Waldron's temporal approach and the arguments that his discursive use of temporal language allows for are eerily consistent with the philosophical orientation of Canada's "Aboriginal policy" (such as the 1998 Gathering Strength and the 1995 Inherent Right policies). In this paper, the author compares how Waldron's temporal characterizations correlate closely with those offered by Canada; and how specifically these relegate contemporary injustice toward Indigenous peoples as historic, and the subsequent implications for everyday life in Indigenous communities. In the analysis, the author draws on close to a decade of working on self government negotiations and associated processes for Indigenous peoples' governments in the NWT, Canada.

Stephanie Irlbacher Fox (Cambridge), "Why Self-Government Negotiations Will Result in Re-Colonization of Indigenous Communities in the NWT, Canada" - Based on close to a decade of professional experience working on self government negotiations for Indigenous peoples' governments in the NWT (including Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, Sahtu Dene, and Deh Cho Métis peoples), the author looks at how policies and processes shaping negotiations effectively foreclose potential for substantive community control of governance responsibilities. Beginning with an overview of Canada's 1995 federal self government policy, the author draws on a case study from an NWT community's negotiations to illustrate how the policy's philosophical architecture gives rise to government negotiating mandates which deny substantive control of a key governance authority. The author shows how this example provides a window onto profound flaws in Canadian Aboriginal Policy which not only result in a massive failure to resolve ongoing social suffering in Indigenous communities, but also result in mechanisms supporting Aboriginal-focused programs and services which serve primarily to reproduce and legitimate conditions giving rise to the social suffering they are intended to address.

Patrick James (Missouri), "Constitutional Politics in the Charter Era: The View from Systemism" - This paper will identify and reassess theories about constitutional politics in Canada during the post-Charter era. The greater purpose is to derive a synthesis that enhances understanding and produces ideas for improvement of the constitutional system. Basic and substantively important questions are posed to the respective theories: Is the constitutional status quo the most likely future for a still-united Canada? Or, is Canada headed toward some form of constitutional renewal? Or, again, in reflection of a virtually regionalized political system, is the end of confederation in sight? Informative and potentially lasting answers to questions like these cannot be obtained through a review of current events or even a more thorough constitutional fact-finding mission. Instead, the key ingredient is theory: What variables would enter into viable theories of constitutional politics in Canada? How would the variables be related to each other? Once identified, how could such theories be combined to result in a greater overall level of understanding? These would appear to be the most fundamental questions to ask about the Canadian constitutional system, guided by a perspective on how theories are supposed to work and what ultimately can be expected from them. The paper will use systemism, a perspective on theorizing borrowed from the philosophy of science (Bunge 1996), to answer the questions enumerated above. Systemism asserts that a compelling theory must deal comprehensively with linkages from both the level of the system, or macro entities, as well as its units, or micro entities. Thus a given theory must be expressed in terms of macro-macro and micro-micro connections, as well as micro-macro and macro-micro linkages. Respective schools of thought on Canadian constitutional politics will be articulated and evaluated in those terms, with implications being derived for their value as foundations for understanding of the historical record and prospects for the future.

Harold Jansen (Lethbridge) and **Lisa Young** (Calgary), "Solidarity Forever? The NDP, Organized Labour, and the Changing Face of Party Finance in Canada" - On January 1, 2004, Canada's regulatory regime for party finance was changed (Bill C-24) to ban corporate and trade union donations to political

parties and to limit severely donations to individual candidates. To compensate parties for the loss of revenue, the new party finance system instituted a system of public subsidies to parties. This legislation has significant implications for the relationship between parties and civil society. As state funding becomes an increasingly important proportion of party revenue, it is possible that parties could become less responsive to societal interests. This paper will consider this broader theoretical question through a case study of the relationship between the NDP and organized labour. The NDP has and continues to have a formal relationship with organized labour. However, as the research of Keith Archer and others has demonstrated, organized labour has never been particularly successful in mobilizing union members to vote for the party. The labour movement has been an important source of revenue for the party, though. This paper will analyze the financial importance of organized labour to the NDP over the last decade through a careful analysis of the statements filed by the party with Elections Canada. The paper will then look at the levels of public subsidy given to the party under the new regulatory regime, to try to understand the net impact of the new system on the NDP.

Jayantha Jayman (Toronto), "And That True North, Whereof We Lately Heard: The Failed Construction of a Compliant Post 9/11 Canada" - With 9/11 becoming a topic of analysis and its ramifications for Canada now becoming near conventional wisdom that suggests Ottawa must follow Washington's lead, why is it that the "true North, whereof we lately heard," has managed to maintain its sovereignty so well? This paper makes the case that contrary to the conventional wisdom, and consistent with Tennyson's refrain the US leverage on Canada is overstated. The reality of the situation has enabled successive Canadian prime ministers to follow a more independent foreign policy from Washington, even under stressful times of war. In the post Cold War order this tradition continued, first with Jean Chrétien's refusal to join the US led coalition invading Iraq and then with the Paul Martin government toning down promises to re-tool the Canadian forces that could participate in US-led missions. By first adapting a framework of international political economy developed by Susan Strange, the paper investigates US structural power suggesting that weakness in the areas of knowledge, production and finance has made Washington's hegemony to be weaker than is commonly understood. With a clear understanding of structural weakness in US power, the paper then interprets US relations with Canada. It suggests that a weaker Washington has had to stoop to using its relative power to compel Ottawa into the coalition. However, given the nakedness of such attempts as cross border bans on soft wood lumber and beef, this has only led to the alienation and resentment of Canadians. Thus, one might further interpret that the new minority government in Canada has to be even more sensitive to public pressure and a rising sense of Canadian nationalism (however defined). We might then expect that issues such as Canada's missile defense cooperation with the US is even less likely to come to pass than when the liberal government had a clear majority. Ironically, it seems as if US attempts to compel Canada has led to a form of democratization of foreign policy to the true North and out of the total control of the elite in Ottawa.

Margaret Jenkins (McGill), "Being Liberal Abroad: An Exploration and Defense of Rawls's Argument for Toleration" – Ever since John Rawls first proposed a preliminary version of the Law of Peoples in 1993, critics have attacked his theory of international justice for compromising liberal values and placing peoples, not persons, in the original position. Rawls argued that such an approach was necessary to ensure the Law of Peoples was tolerant of, and acceptable to, decent nonliberal societies. Many criticized this framework, however, claiming that anyone committed to liberalism should construct principles of global justice from an original position of persons. This paper argues that the peoples vs. persons debate in international justice theory is based largely on a misinterpretation of Rawls, and diverts attention from the important differences between Rawls and his critics. The critical difference concerns the manner in which liberal ideals should shape international political theory given global pluralism. In other words, how cosmopolitan should liberals be, given the diverse political projects individuals may ascribe to and identify with? The paper unfolds in four stages. I begin by elaborating the reasons peoples are placed in Rawls's global original position. The second section responds to major criticisms of Rawls's argument for toleration. I then discuss the ethical status of persons in Rawls's Law of Peoples. In the final section, I examine Rawls's idea of a "realistic utopia" and challenge the view that Rawls's vision is a pragmatic reconciliation to an unjust world. I also point to difficulties with Rawls's international political theory that remain even if my interpretation of Rawls is accepted.

Michael Johns (Laurentian), "To Influence or Ignore? The Impact of the Institutions of Europe on Ethnic

Conflict" - This paper will examine the role of the institutions of Europe, specifically the European Union and the OSCE's High Commissioner on National Minorities in preventing ethnic conflict. With the accession of many East European states into the EU there has been an effort to promote minority rights in the region. While there has been an emphasis on minority rights in Eastern Europe, the same attention has not been placed on minority groups in pre-existing EU member states. This paper, relying on primary interviews with both state officials and representatives of minority groups, will assess the impact of both the intervention by the European institutions and the lack of intervention in Western Europe. The paper will focus on four cases: Estonia, Latvia, Spain and France. Secondary information will also be used with special attention placed on the data collected by the Minorities at Risk Project (MAR). After outlining the level of intrusiveness into Eastern European states by the EU and OSCE the impact of these activities will be assessed. This will be juxtaposed against the lack of attention placed on the Western European minorities. The paper will show that minorities in Eastern Europe have seen these institutions as ombudsmen and therefore have remained relatively quiet. Groups in Western Europe feel abandoned by the EU and resort to more militant strategies in an attempt to raise awareness to their cause. The paper will conclude with predictions on the long-term impact on the EU of this current double standard of treatment of minorities.

Candace Johnson (Guelph), "Gender and Nationalism: Reproductive Rights in Cuba" - One of the contradictions of Cuban society is the incredible openness of public and private debate over social issues in the context of closed political debate. The commitment of the Revolution to social rights, such as health care, education and gender equity has created tangible benefits, symbolic currency (relevant to nationalism) and, seemingly, public "spaces" for the sharing of experiences, struggles and solutions. Some of these public spaces are obligatory, in that there are few prospects for privacy, even if one should seek them out. People live in close proximity to one another, share accommodations, transportation, and telephones. To the extent that Cubans are regulated, they are also empowered. What is perhaps most striking is that this holds especially true for women, who tend to not fare well under intensely nationalistic regimes (Enloe 2000: 42-64; Puri 2004:107-141). Cuba shares its tradition of underdevelopment, scarcity and poverty with many other Latin American and Latin Caribbean countries. It also shares several components of its culture. Where it is completely distinct is in its social rights orientation, which includes policy concerning gender. In a country where, with few exceptions, women don't drive (and don't know how to), it is remarkable that they have full access to abortion, contraception, gender-specific health care, as well as education, and participate fully in politics and the workforce. What accounts for this exceptionalism? I will consider three possible explanations: 1. Oppositional nationalism. Cuba's sense of nationalism has been developed in accordance with commitments to international socialism as well as in opposition to its colonial adversary, the United States. With regard to the former, religion and tradition are precluded as justifications for denying women reproductive rights. However, the lengths to which the state has gone in order to offer and deliver these rights seem to extend beyond socialist rhetoric. The second factor noted above, opposition to the American politics and society, might better explain this exceptional approach to recognition of women's rights; 2. Duty-focused social citizenship and efforts to create social cohesion; and 3. Practical necessity. Following the Revolution, many professionals fled the country and women were needed to fill critical positions in the new society. Therefore, women have had place and power from the beginning.

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (Montréal), "Discursive Democracy and the Precautionary Turn in Public Reasoning" - Moral decision-making ideals can clarify which qualities should obtain and how they should obtain in public decisions. They can thus be useful in providing policy makers direction as to how to address the lacuna between the abstract ends of equality, freedom, democracy, justice, and legitimacy and the more messy day-to-day public decision making in which power struggles, bargaining, and corruption are often constitutive of the prevailing modus operandi. Many political and moral theorists extol the virtues of deliberative or discursive as a regulative ideal, arguing that it best captures the requirements of social and distributive justice and democratic legitimacy for our public decisions and institutions. Very few, however, have examined the ideal in light of the claims of future generations. What accounts for the silence vis à vis future generations? Does the deliberative ideal have nothing to say about the moral status of future generations? Does it have nothing to say about our obligations to future generations? Are future generations simply beyond its moral scope? I argue that the ideal of discursive democracy actually does yield conditions and considerations that would serve to bring members of future

generations, as they come into existence, into processes for the justifiable rendering of policy decisions. I begin by outlining a certain evolution in normative theories of democracy toward an ideal that is increasingly inclusive of a diversity of actors and their perspectives. This evolution has been propelled by a certain recognition that, given the fact of cultural difference, Rawlsian understandings of public reason and reasonableness may threaten to thwart the qualities of inclusion and uncoercion so crucial to their conceptions of democracy. Many theorists have therefore modified or jettisoned these components, thus further honing the democratic ideal to serve the ends of inclusion, justice, and legitimacy. I argue that the recognition of the transgenerational effects of our decisions should inspire further developments to serve these policy ends. But to include future generations necessarily involves responding to particular challenges: future generations cannot be included in deliberations in conventional ways (i.e., direct participation or accountable representation) since they do not currently exist and since we cannot know for certain what their fundamental interests will be and what reasons and decisions will be acceptable to them. When they will exist, their conceptions of the good and the right may be quite different from ours. My overarching argument is that the discursive ideal can and should respond to these challenges.

Richard Johnston (British Columbia), **Stuart Soroka** (McGill) and **Keith Banting** (Queen's), "Ethnicity, Ethnic Context and Trust" - This proposal extends work we initiated in chapters soon to appear in an edited volume, *Diversity, Social Capital, and the Welfare State*. There we observed an ethnicity-ethnic context interaction in one form of interpersonal trust but no such interaction in another form. Where trust was gauged by questions that ask about the subjective probability of the return of a lost wallet, the fit between the respondent and the neighborhood was a major predictor. Where trust was cast in abstract terms, the determinants were not so much experiential as cultural, with education being outstandingly important. The earlier work took advantage of the first wave of the Equality, Security, and Community survey. The work proposed here deploys data from the second wave and from a two-wave merged file. In the second wave we probe in depth respondents' integration into their neighbourhood, the ethnic heterogeneity of their kinship networks, workplace contacts, and neighbourhood links, and their perceptions of Canada's ethno-cultural characteristics. These questions will paint an interesting portrait by themselves but should, when joined to the already rich inventory of indicators for network affiliations, be especially fruitful in elucidating the microfoundations of trust.

Richard Johnston (British Columbia), **J. Scott Matthews** (British Columbia) and **Amanda J. Bittner** (British Columbia), "Turnout and the Party System in Canada: Spatial Perceptions and the Competitive Base" - Accounts of turnout decline in Canadian elections have a strong generational component, and this encourages the view that the source of turnout decay is cultural. But the cultural story misses two domains in the theoretical and empirical literature. One domain is the stakes in the outcome, as indicated by perceptions of party location. Citizens may have become more indifferent, as they see smaller differences than before among the parties. Or citizens may have become more alienated, where the typical citizen sees even the closest party as more distant than before. The other dimension concerns citizens' perceptions of their ability to affect the outcome, regardless of the stakes, that is, their perceptions of the system's competitiveness. This paper will work through observable implications in each domain and will test fully specified models with a merged 1988-2000 Canadian Election Study file (if 2004 data become available in time, we will extend the file accordingly). This allows ample representation of indicators in each domain, with full comparability across all four elections in the span. The file also embodies constituency data that can flesh out alternative conceptions of competitiveness. This makes cross-level inference possible, including tests of alternative geographic scales for the circulation of strategic information and estimation of the age structure of cross-level effects. From the age structure we may be able to deduce by indirection the cultural, as opposed to structural, component of turnout decline. Estimation will be sensitive to the degrees-of-freedom issues endemic to clustered data.

Adrian Jones (McMaster), "Citizenship Without Borders: Incipient Institutional Architecture and the International Criminal Court" - My core research considers whether the final establishment ICC in 1998 is suggestive of new and expanded possibilities for International Relations and Multilateralism. I propose to situate those implications within the context of Global Citizenship, a recent body of Globalization scholarship which reevaluates citizenship-like rights and responsibilities which should or do exist vis-à-vis other citizens and the broader community. What then, is the nature of this broader community? Formal citizenship remains rooted in the states-system. In the absence of a global sovereign, how can individuals

be global citizens? A possible answer, embedded in the normative bases and policy orientations of International Criminal Law, is the surrogate notion of a global social system. Overall, formal institutionalization of global citizenship remains at an incipient stage of progression. Should/will such formal institutionalization precede popular-level internalization of global social solidarity, or, alternatively, are sufficiently broad and deep popular sentiments a prerequisite for enacting and sustaining such formal architecture? I intent to engage Constructivist and Institutional approaches to Law and Social Norms to further assess the potentially unique implications of the ICC in this respect. First, it legally establishes a limited though significant basis of transnational individual rights and responsibilities. Second, it not only reflects, but may also in turn reinforce, global social solidarity. As popular-level sentiments of citizenship-type rights and obligations further evolve, the role of formal institutions in reflecting and catalyzing these global social norms is a crucial consideration. Accordingly, not only is Global Citizenship a timely and heuristically useful concept, but its specific application to the ICC is potentially very insightful for prospective analyses of International Relations and Global Governance.

Bernard Jouve (Québec à Montréal), "Réforme municipale et gestion de la diversité culturelle à Montréal : quelles transformations des modes de médiation ?" – TBA/À venir

Tom Keating (Alberta), "The English School and Canada" – TBA/À venir

Paul Kellogg (Toronto), "A Reconsideration of the Political Economy of Canadian Trade Part I: Escape from the Staple Trap" - Canada's trade profile has been central to all examinations of Canada's place in the world economy. Most political economists argue that Canada is unusually dependent on the export trade in general, and the export of raw materials in particular. When contrasted with an import history weighted towards the import of finished manufactured goods, a picture is painted of an economy that does not fit the profile of most advanced capitalist economies. This paper will examine one aspect of this thesis through a critique of the 'staple trap' model of early Canadian development. Much of the Canadian political economy literature accepts the fact that Canadian manufacturing failed to properly develop because of the way high levels of foreign control of the economy led to an over-reliance on the export of staples. This paper will first, briefly outline this staples thesis; second, present empirical evidence which is hard to reconcile with that thesis; third briefly outline an alternative "home market" view of the early years of Canadian capitalism; and finally, make a few suggestions of the implications this discussion has for ongoing debates in political economy.

James Kelly (Concordia), "The Commonwealth Model and Bills of Rights: Comparing Legislative Activism in Canada and New Zealand" - This paper challenges the judicial-centred model that has dominated the analysis of Bills and Rights by discussing the Commonwealth Model as a legitimate and perhaps more effective approach to the protection of rights in government action. Specifically, it discusses the importance of non-judicial review in the legislative process and the ability of legislative activism and not judicial activism to be the most significant variable ensuring that legislation conforms to constitutional guarantees. By focusing on what Tushnet describes as 'non-judicial review' this paper focuses on two Westminster parliamentary democracies, Canada and New Zealand, and their distinct attempts to protect rights within the paradigm of parliamentary democracy. Canada and New Zealand present two important case studies and evidence of the weakness of the judicial centred approach, as I will contend in this paper. For instance, Canada has an entrenched Charter of Rights whereas New Zealand has a statutory Bill of Rights. The established literature and its judicial-centred approach would conclude that Canada has the strongest commitment to the protection of rights, 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. New Zealand, because it does not allow for judicial invalidation of legislation and simply has a statutory Bill of Rights, therefore, is considered a 'weak' model to again cite Tushnet. In effect, the status of a bill of rights and the review functions provided to the judiciary are considered the critical factors determining the efficacy of an institutional approach to rights protections.

Geoff Kennedy (Saskatchewan), "Historicizing Liberty and Empire: Machiavelli, Rome and Florentine 'Imperialism'" - Much has been made of the role of liberty and greatness in Machiavelli's Discourses on Livy. Some scholars have argued that this problem constitutes a 'republican dilemma' that Machiavelli is unable to resolve due to the limits of Renaissance political discourse. Others argue that Machiavelli

subordinates republican liberty to the desire to attain greatness and empire. Still others claim that this problem represents Machiavelli's repudiation of contemporary admiration of Florentine expansionism amongst fellow republicans. Much of the debate around Machiavelli's discussion of liberty and greatness places too much emphasis on the determining role that Rome plays in the way that he approaches this problem. The Roman model, transferred largely through the work of Sallust, is said to inform Machiavelli's approach to the relationship between liberty and empire (or greatness). Yet, this reduces the problem to an ahistorical abstraction that is to be resolved at the level of theory. Not enough emphasis has been placed on the role of Florentine commercial expansion in Machiavelli's characterization of the tension between liberty and empire. This paper seeks to place Machiavelli's understanding of the relationship between liberty and empire within the context of Florentine commercial expansion. Only in the context of the real contradictions and problems of Florentine expansion does the historical model of Roman expansion come to have the significance that it does in Machiavelli's work. Thus, it is only by placing the republican dilemma and Machiavelli's understanding of Roman history within a contemporary context of Florentine commercial expansion and the affect it had on republican politics, can we come to an historically specific understanding of Machiavelli's thoughts on liberty and empire.

Paul Kershaw (British Columbia), "Permissive Federal Spending Power: As Good as it Gets?" - Ottawa is engaging the provinces and territories in negotiating a pan-Canadian child care system. The negotiations reflect the federal government flexing its spending muscle successfully to bring provinces and territories together in respect of an issue that Ottawa wishes to advance. This success belies, however, the limited influence that the federal government enjoys once funds are transferred to provinces and territories. The Early Childhood Development (ECD) Agreement of 2000 is instructive on this point. Among other issues, five provincial/territorial signatories self-report that they did not fully invest funds received in year one of the agreement in ECD programming, while a sixth did not publish an account of its expenditures. In the following year, two of these six jurisdictions did not fully invest the transfer again, while a third did not issue a report. Such patterns invoke questions about Ottawa's capacity to demand accountability for spending obligations to which provinces and territories commit. Kershaw explores whether Canadians can/should expect more accountability for federal transfers under any new child care agreement, or resign themselves to the permissiveness demonstrated under the ECDA. The paper considers this theme in the context of (1) national unity, both in terms of generating social policy that unites citizens from coast to coast to coast, and in facilitating asymmetrical policy development that accommodates regional priorities; (2) provincial frustration with the so-called 'fiscal imbalance'; and (3) the assumption in SUFA that citizens can function as third-party watchdogs to improve public accountability for intergovernmental agreements. The paper advances Kershaw's broader interests in the caregiving responsibilities and rights of citizenship and their institutionalization in Canadian policy.

Zoya Khotkina (Moscow Centre for Gender Studies), "Challenges for Feminism in Russia Today" - TBA/À venir

Nakjung Kim (York), "Criticism of Hayek's Concept of Freedom Embedded in Tradition" - This essay has two interrelated purposes: First, to clarify Hayek's concept of freedom and his notion of market as a spontaneous social order. This is particularly important because the contemporary neo-liberal political agenda, which advocates minimal government and the establishment of a single world market, shares common ground with Hayek's criticism of central planning by government and his emphasis on personal freedom and the spontaneity of the market as a constitutive principle of social order; Second, to identify the intellectual heritage of Hayek's political doctrine. In his 1960 lecture at the University of Chicago, *Why I am not a Conservative*, Hayek called himself 'an unrepentant Old Whig of England.' However, inasmuch as Hayek appears to echo John Locke's (as a progenitor of the Old Whig) views on property and the role of government, I doubt whether he suggests an ethical theory equivalent to Locke's justification of the normative relationship between labour and property rights. Hayek regards the market (catallaxy) as an exemplar of the spontaneous social order that is based on 'abstract rules' which leave individuals free to use their own knowledge for their own purposes. However, he does not justify individuals' property rights that are, in his view, the essence of the achievement of personal freedom. I argue that his concept of market as a spontaneous order combines an ontological concept of society with deontological-normative concept of it. Hayek does not analytically separate the former from the latter by insisting only that the principle of the market should guarantee personal freedom. This essay is made up five parts: (i) historical

origin of Hayek's concept of freedom: freedom as absence of coercion; (ii) characterization of Hayek's concept of freedom: recognition of ignorance and the increase of generation of accidents; (iii) achievement of freedom: creative individuals' contribution to building the institutions of freedom; (iv) free society as a tradition-bound one: the realization of freedom in the market (catallaxy) as a spontaneous order; (v) criticism of Hayek's framework of freedom: lack of ethical justification of property rights.

Jeff Kinder (Carleton), "Policy Paradigms and the Administration of US Science Policy: Implications for Canada" – TBA/À venir

Rebecca Kingston (Toronto), "The Political Relevancy of Debates on the Emotions, 1640-1725" - In this paper I will be exploring certain ways in which the characterisation of the emotions changed in debates in political theory in both England and France in the 17th and early eighteenth centuries. It provides a new understanding of the intellectual dynamic and interplay between passions and interests in this period as famously argued by Albert Hirschman in his work *The Passions and the Interests*. I will argue that the more significant feature of this period lies not in the rejection of passion or strong emotion and its replacement by a notion of 'interest', but in the rejection or abandoning of the idea of collectively shared passion which could serve as a form of political mobilisation. The marginalising of the passions as modes of solely individual motivation served as a precursor to later attempts in intellectual history to make claims based on passion irrelevant to matters of collective concern. Authors studied in this paper will include Descartes, Senault, Nicole and the Port-Royal theorists as well as Mandeville.

Samuel Knafo (Sussex), "The Institutional Foundations of Monetary Policy and Economic Governance in the 20th Century" - The issue of what agency states have in a global economy has been a central theme in international political economy (IPE). As many scholars have pointed out, the unprecedented growth of transnational capital flows has challenged states' ability to govern social processes that transcend the national boundaries over which they have jurisdictions. Hence, IPE scholars have frequently raised the prospect of a post-westphalian age characterized by the demise of the nation-state. This paper first discusses the powerful spatial imagery that underpins these conceptions for which the principal feature of state power has been its territorial nature. From this perspective, globalization necessarily appears as a threatening development for states. By contrast, I argue that state agency must be understood from an institutional standpoint, and often takes forms that are not dependent on territoriality. This theoretical contribution is discussed in relation to an analysis of the gold standard of the late 19th century during which states were also confronted by a growing internationalization of capital markets. The interesting fact about this period is that states developed many of the institutions that came to define monetary policy in the 20th century. From there, I argue that the institutions which enabled states to exert influence over capital markets were not directly tied to the construction of territoriality. I conclude by showing that these new institutions enabled a new conception of economic governance that emphasized the role of the state as one of intervening in economic matters for the broader purpose of ensuring economic growth and stability.

Rainer Knopff (Calgary) and **Andrew Banfield**, "Judicial Power as an Election Issue: Comparing Canada and the United States" - Because of its substantial policymaking role, especially under the Bill of Rights, the U.S. Supreme Court has often been an issue in U.S. elections. Observers predicted that the Canadian Supreme Court would similarly emerge as an election issue as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms increased its public profile. Canada has now had several national elections since the advent of the Charter in 1982, and both the Charter and the courts have indeed become election issues, especially since the 1993 election. Given institutional differences between Canada and the United States, however, one would expect to find differences in precisely how the courts arise as election issues in the two countries. This paper addresses this comparative question by documenting the increasing role of the Charter and the courts in Canadian national elections, and comparing this developing Canadian phenomenon to its older and better-established U.S. counterpart.

Audrey Kobayashi (Queen's), "The Backlash Against Affirmative Action: Cross-border Connections" - Many of the debates around affirmative action and equity issues in recent times have been fuelled by discursive positioning of Canadian and American cultures and values with respect to human rights. There are significant parallels between disparate forms of backlash, and they speak to some of the most salient

features of national political culture. In Canada, for example, the Canada Research Chair program was marketed, at least in part, as a means of attracting senior scholars to return to Canada from places such as the United States. This program has come under scrutiny for its failure to include employment equity practice as part of the terms of reference, re-kindling a debate long thought by many equity activists to have been left behind regarding the relationship between "merit" and "equity". Another example is that of same-sex spousal benefits. These are denied in many American states, and policies to amend this denial received wholesale denunciation during the November 2004 national election in referenda across eleven states. This overt backlash has connections with the much less popular, but nonetheless prominent, political opposition to Canada's redefinition of marriage in Bill C-35. In the context of such discursive debate, an analysis of outcomes is instructive.

Simon Kow (King's University College), "The Idea of China in Modern Political Thought" - Recently, Charles Taylor and others have argued that Western political theorists should engage in comparisons between European and non-European cultural traditions. For example, Fred Dallmayr has called for a cross-cultural political theory to counter the universalist claims of the Enlightenment. As part of a larger research project, this paper will question some of the background assumptions of this contemporary perspective. The view that modern political thought, and perhaps modernity itself, denigrates or excludes the traditions of non-European cultures does not apply to all modern thinkers. Indeed, a cross-cultural perspective may be found in the works of such thinkers as Leibniz and Herder. Why, then, did these thinkers regard engagement with non-European ideas as fruitful, while others (such as Montesquieu and Hegel) argue for the superiority of European thought over that of other cultures? I shall address this question in light of the idea of China in the political thought of these European philosophers. A consistent theme emerges from both positive and negative evaluations of Chinese civilization in modern political thought: that Chinese thought and culture are understood and judged according to these thinkers' evaluations of their own societies. These cross-cultural encounters always involve extensive reconstruction and appropriation of Chinese culture for specific purposes in the European context. In turn, it may be worth asking if contemporary attempts at bridging East and West continue to reconstruct non-Western cultural traditions in terms of certain political and philosophical agendas. While openness to non-Western traditions is desirable for many reasons, objective cultural comparison may be an impossible goal.

Chris Kukucha (Lethbridge), "Liberal IR Theory: Refinement or Realist Hegemony?" - This paper will explore the evolution of liberal international relations theory and its relevance to the study of Canada's foreign policy. First, it will attempt to determine if the theoretical evolution of liberalism is a result of better understanding an increasingly complex global system or, instead, a byproduct of realist theoretical encroachment. In addition, it will examine the similarities and differences between the core organizing principles of liberalism and realism, including anarchy, state sovereignty, rationality, and cooperation (absolute and relative gains). The purpose of this review will be to demonstrate both the theoretical richness of liberal international relations theory and its realist influences. Primarily it will argue that in order to understand the current diversity of liberalism it is essential to consider the effect of the Grotian tradition and liberal responses to realist driven discussions, especially in terms of regimes, hegemonic stability, and the neo-liberal, neorealist debates of the 1980s and 1990s. In other words, although fundamental liberal principles can be identified it is also possible to isolate specific liberal models that "suffer" from higher levels of realist encroachment. The second goal of the project is to examine Canada's international trade activity from a liberal perspective. It will argue that Canadian foreign policy can be best understood using this approach due to liberalism's acceptance of both structure and process. It will also suggest that realist influenced liberal assumptions, such as neo-liberal institutionalism, have most often been adopted as a means of explaining Canada's international activity. The relevance of this liberal approach, however, will be challenged using Canada's global trade relations as an example for the need of a more inclusive theoretical model that includes domestic, non-institutional, and social factors.

Chris Kukucha (Lethbridge), "What's the Deal with Side Deals? Evaluating the Provinces and the NAFTA Labour and Environment Agreements" - Although previous international trade agreements include areas of sub-national jurisdiction the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (NAALC) and the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC) represented a new level of intrusion into domestic policy space, especially for Canadian provinces. As a result, provincial

governments had a direct impact on the negotiation and implementation of the NAFTA Side Deals. Issues of compliance related to the NAAEC have also directly involved the governments of Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta, despite the fact that only Alberta is a signatory to the agreement. This study will evaluate these developments from a number of different perspectives. First, it will highlight the lack of existing literature in this issue area, especially in the study of Canadian foreign trade policy. Second, it will examine the intrusiveness of the NAAEC and NAALC and the impact of these agreements on the domestic policy process. Finally, it will evaluate the response of Canadian provinces to these pressures and the implications these actions have for both multilevel governance structures. Ultimately, despite the encroachment of the NAAEC and NAALC into areas of provincial jurisdiction the NAFTA Side Deals have not evolved into a regime that significantly restricts the policy autonomy of Canadian provinces. This suggests that the increasing intrusiveness of international governance structures has some limitations related to sub-national governments. In fact, the decision of a number of Canadian provinces to not ratify the NAAEC and NAALC has contributed to the weakness of both regimes at the international level.

Rauna Kuokkanen (McMaster), "Toward Academic Hospitality" - In my paper, I argue that current academic practices and discourses are characterized by epistemic ignorance that enables the continued exclusion of other than dominant western intellectual traditions. To counter epistemic ignorance, I propose that the academy needs to espouse a new way of relating to other epistemes. This new way of relating is based on a notion of hospitality that stems from indigenous philosophies and worldviews but is also informed by other considerations of hospitality.

Erick Lachapelle (Toronto), "Business -Government Relations in the North American Periphery: Creating a Continental Market Economy" - Within the context of wide-ranging debates over the impacts, responses, and alternatives to "economic globalization," comparatively few studies in the social sciences have analyzed the actual processes that drive regional and global economic trends. Indeed, analyses of multinational corporate activity and business-government relationships have been left primarily to business schools, or have otherwise been marginalized by la bureaucratie du savoir in the social sciences. A failure to examine the role of business and government in creating liberal international economic regimes has led to the somewhat misleading conclusions that "globalization" is irreversible and, that in the process, states have lost sovereignty. Such analytical neglect has also blinded scholars from exploring the question of whether and how business-government relationships in economically integrated countries may be converging (or diverging). In order to shed more light on the actual processes behind regional and global economic trends, and on the evolution of business-government relationships in general, greater analysis of business' role in politics is required. In this paper, I will examine the role played by the private sector in North America's two peripheral states in creating and defending a continental market economy during two historically formative "moments." First, came in the two business communities' role in facilitating the negotiation and implementation of the continental free trade agreements (Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, CUFTA 1989; and North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA 1994). Later, came their intervention when helping shape the Canadian and Mexican government response to the border crisis following 11 September 2001. I will argue that in both cases, government policy was significantly influenced by, and dependent on, the private sector in Canada, and to a lesser extent, in Mexico. The argument will be developed through a comparative analysis of the business-government relationship in the two countries. Empirical evidence will draw on secondary research on the CUFTA and NAFTA negotiations complemented by primary research (interviews) regarding the more recent business role in crafting a policy response to the border security issues following the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001. In both cases, I will both examine the internal business-government relations that can be modelled along a two-level framework (Putnam: 1988) and those more complex, transnational elements that defy the logic of "two-level" games. I will conclude with some reflections on what these observations suggest in terms of converging or diverging business-government relationships in North America.

Jean Laponce (British Columbia), "The Comparative Study of Ethnicity: The Great Confusion" - The paper will retrace the use of the term 'ethnic' since its use was proposed by Vacher de la Pouge at the end of the XIXth century as a substitute to the term race to describe the transmission of cultural characteristics. The contemporary varied meaning of 'ethnic' in relation to race and religion will be shown to be a source of confusion when doing cross national studies. The main focus of the paper however will

be on 1) the lack of distinction between nationality and ethnicity and, more seriously 2) the lack of proper distinction between 'group' and 'community', the first being equivalent to what mathematicians call a 'set', the second being equivalent to what they call a 'system'. The paper will make a plea for better typologies and will make proposals to that effect.

Chalmers Larose (Québec à Montréal), "A New Security Order: Transnationalism, Citizenship and Canadian Security Policy in the Post 9-11 Era" - One of the striking consequences of the 9/11 events is the proliferation of anti-terrorist legislation in several countries. More and more, the security language permeates and structures many aspects of social life. In Canada, authorities adopted a new approach to national security in response to the new threats posed by renewed and enhanced international terrorism. This drastic shift in the national security regime establishes tighter laws and enforcement measures, stringent control mechanisms and intensified surveillance. Exceptional measures were drafted and inserted within such legal instruments as the anti-terrorist Bill C-36, the Comprehensive Smart Border Agreement with the US, the Agreement on Safe Third Country and the new Public Safety Act. This article accounts for the dilemma facing the Canadian security apparatus in light of the global assault against international terrorism. It studies the complex relationships between transnationalism, citizenship and national security in a context of changing security paradigm. I explore the extent to which transnational practices in Canada are being undermined by the heightened security environment that frames public policies in the post 9/11 context? Is citizenship being re-embedded under the umbrella of security imperatives? To what extent the current trend toward the 'securitization of civil society' inform against the liberal contention asserting the preeminence of fundamental freedom and transnationalism over national security objectives in a democratic society? By challenging the security measures adopted in Canada after 9/11, I will attempt to demonstrate that the normative framework for citizenship and transnational practices in Canada has been re-centered. Hence the promises of transnationalism and global citizenship scholarship need to be reappraised. For the shift toward a security State potentially restrains the hyper-mobility of the citizenry and further constrains transnational civic initiatives. The argument will be carried out by using a contextual approach to the transnational which articulates practices and narratives of individuals and organized groups in space and time. It is based on a qualitative inquiry which features on-site interviews with Canadian officials, human and civil rights advocates as well as selected community activists located primarily in Montreal.

James Lawson (Victoria), "Power, Political Economy and Supply Chains: The Contemporary Stakes in Reconceiving Staples" - Recent international developments in raw material export industries have refocused attention on the resource supply chain as a specific terrain of political-economic power and contention. Some of the most intriguing of these developments are the global debate around the power and the subversive potential of "branding", a related debate about fair-trade and environmental certification programmes, and, more specifically, China's recent interest in direct investment in the Canadian resource sector. These particular developments point to a substantially different context for the ongoing exploitation of Canadian "staples". These particular developments all concern the potential consequences that would flow from effective regulation or steering of productive/extractive activity from different points in the supply chain. Whether it is to address the political implications of a major staples-based engagement with a metropolitan power that is explicitly non-Western and non-liberal, or to address the potential of informed consumerism to combat the fetishistic commodity form and to re-link consumption and production questions, political economy must be able to assess the regulation or steering potential of staple institutions. Informed but not confined by earlier Canadian debates, this paper reshapes the concept of the staple as an unstable, complex, segmented, trans-border complex of economic institutions (including markets) that govern a specific kind of supply chain. Uniquely central to the narrow economic sustainability of such supply chains is the regulatory role of ground rent over a flow of matter that derives from a specific environmental context, and that occupies a "holey space" (Lawson 2001; Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

Nomi Claire Lazar (Yale), "Liberal Epistemologies and the Problem of Emergency Powers" - This paper takes up the challenge of emergency powers in liberal democratic regimes from the perspective of liberal democratic thinkers. Normally, theorists turn to 'exceptionalists' like Schmitt or Machiavelli in mustering resources to confront problems with emergency powers. Exceptionalism is the doctrine that the usual norms cease to apply in emergencies, and it is a doctrine which has little to offer in terms of solutions and

much that liberals might fear. In taking up this other thread of thinking about emergencies, this paper explores a means of confronting emergency without jettisoning liberal values. I will argue for a distinction between rational-deductive liberalism and a liberalism under-girded by empiricism and political experience. The former draws on Kant's ethics, while ignoring his political thought, an important contrast which the paper thoroughly explores. Neo-Kantian liberalisms like Rawls' and Nozick's deduce rigid principles and then deduce moral action from these principles. The inflexibility of abstraction means they confront emergencies inconsistently or not at all. But Locke's liberalism, drawing premises from a lived experience of politics, confronts emergencies squarely. Recent scholarship on Locke's prerogative power has focused on the 'discovery' of Locke's emergency doctrine. My paper aims to explain why Locke is able to confront emergency while neo-Kantian liberals consistently cannot. This paper forms part of a nearly complete dissertation project on the ethics of emergency powers in liberal democracies, in which I build a framework grounded in a 'liberalism of experience' which provides an effective alternative to 'exceptionalism' for thinking about emergency ethics.

Matthew Lebo (Stony Brook), Adam McGlynn (Montana) and Gregory Koger (Montana), "Strategic Party Government: Party Activity in Congress, 1789-2000" – TBA/À venir

Steven Lecce (Western Ontario), "Reasonableness and Stupidity in Rawls" - Recent high-profile legal and political controversies over the issues of same-sex marriage and polygamy (*Egale Canada Inc v. Canada*; *Halpern v. Canada*; *Hendricks v. Quebec*; *Dunbar & Edge v. Yukon*; *Ali v. Minister of Immigration and Culture*) reflect a broader and more fundamental problem: that the liberal state can no longer take for granted a traditional conception of what a family is. Do we need a political theory of the family then? On the one hand, families, and the affective or emotional ties that constitute them are shaped by legislation and social policy; they are not simply natural or biological entities. Therefore, we cannot plausibly avoid reflectively assessing and, when necessary, reforming the familial norms implicit in our current legal and political practices. On the other hand, basing law and public policy upon a controversial ideal of just familial relations appears to be *prima facie* inconsistent with the liberal commitment to multiculturalism. This paper examines the extent to which liberal political philosophy is capable of resolving this tension by articulating and defending a theory of the family. Part I briefly outlines the normative dilemmas that the same-sex marriage and polygamy controversies in Canada raise for liberalism. Part II illustrates how these dilemmas are mirrored in the most academically influential contemporary theory of liberal-democracy (Rawls, 1971, 1993, 2001). Part III assesses a recent claim (Cohen, 2000) that the failure of that theory to yield anything informative about familial justice is symptomatic of broader and more fundamental weaknesses of liberalism generally.

André Lecours (Concordia) and Daniel Béland (Calgary), "Quebec: Identity, Social Policy and Asymmetrical Federalism" - Despite the recent proliferation of literature on sub-state nationalism and on social policy, little has been written to explore the possible interaction between the two. This paper explores two essential aspects of the relationship between sub-state nationalism and welfare state development in the case of Québec/Canada. Firstly, the paper shows how the processes of identity formation/consolidation and territorial mobilization in Québec have involved a social policy dimension. Secondly, it analyses the ways in which Québécois nationalism has affected the development of the Canadian welfare state since the Second World War, with a specific emphasis on the last two decades. We argue that Québécois nationalism can impact social policy-making in Canada in at least two specific ways: reshaping the policy agenda at both the state and the sub-state levels, and reinforcing regional policy autonomy, which is depicted as an alternative to centralist schemes. We conclude by discussing the implications of the Québec/Canada case for a larger inquiry on sub-state nationalism and welfare state politics by thinking about how different institutional frameworks, structural conditions, and ideological orientations may give the articulation of these two processes distinctive outlooks.

Martha Lee (Windsor), "POWs Melissa Rathbun-Nealy and Jessica Lynch: Protectors or Protected?" - This paper examines the role of cultural values and images as they affect women's military roles. It does so by applying Judith Hicks Stiehm's framework of the protector and the protected (traditionally male and female, respectively), to the symbolic meaning and practical experiences of the United States' first female Prisoner of War (POW) in the Gulf War, Melissa Rathbun-Nealy, and to those of the most famous POW of the American invasion of Iraq, Jessica Lynch. A female POW presents one of the greatest challenges to

society's perception of women's military competency and usefulness. Earlier assessments of Rathbun-Nealy's capture and imprisonment, the American government's response to it, and the media's coverage of it, suggested that despite the expansion of women's military roles, the image of women as "protected" endured. The media reinforced the traditional imagery of protected femininity. Despite Rathbun-Nealy's repeated assertions that she was not raped during her incarceration, for example, speculation about this continued well after she was released. This paper will consider whether or not this situation had substantially changed by the time of the Iraqi invasion, and Jessica Lynch's capture. Early indications are that it has not. While women's military roles have increasingly expanded, we are inclined to suspect that despite women's exceptional military contributions, they remain limited by cultural perceptions of gender.

Audrey Lemieux (OLIP), "The Treatment of Women in the Ontario Legislative Assembly" - There are many institutional barriers that either impede or deter women from entering politics. One barrier is the traditional culture or patriarchal atmosphere of the legislature which is reluctant to accept women in a position of power within this realm (ie: women as a gender are emotional, irrational, or not suited for this environment). I will examine how women are treated presently in the Ontario Legislature, particularly during Question Period, and whether the treatment of women in the legislature has improved over time; more specifically whether the treatment of women in the legislature is correlated to women's level of representation in provincial politics. There are two methods of analysis that I will use both during the research process and when I write my paper. The first is theoretical. Although women began infiltrating the public sphere decades ago, to this day obstacles still exist that make entering and gaining status within the public sphere difficult. What is frustrating and arduous once a woman enters the political realm are the traditional fraternal customs and patriarchal beliefs, which continue to prevail. Surprisingly, a number of male politicians maintain that politics is a man's game, one that does not welcome women participants. The hurdles that women continue to experience today are encompassed within three theoretical perspectives, which include the public/private divide (Barbara Arneil), structural barriers (Janine Brodie, Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott), and social and psychological interpretations (Ibid.). It is these three theoretical perspectives which will be used and applied to the experiences of Ontario's women politicians of the 38th Parliament. The second method of analysis to be used is through primary data collection. In order to capture the essence of women's experiences in the Ontario Legislature, I will be attending question period daily and recording the insults directed toward women, including their context. The majority of women's treatment within the legislature occurs during the heckling of Question Period, and is unfortunately not captured on camera. This is exemplified through the use of unparliamentary vocabulary toward women. The most recent example of this is illustrated through the Marilyn Churley "Hot Flash" comment that was made by Liberal MPP Dr. Qaadri in late October 2004. Further, I will meet with and interview female politicians on both the government and opposition sides of the House. I would like to gain the perspectives of women within cabinet, backbenchers, and female opposition members, as well as the experiences of women across all three parties. Although there are excellent studies that discuss women's representation in politics, they tend to place too much emphasis on counting the number of women in politics, such as: Jane Arscott, Janine Brodie, Linda Trimble, and Kathy Megyery. There is much more that needs to be taken into account if we are to further our understanding of why women's representation is so low (ie: what is deterring or impeding women from becoming Member's of Provincial Parliament), and currently stagnated. As a legislative intern, I have an excellent opportunity to gain a more intimate perspective (through the observation of candid moments during Question Period and through interviews with female politicians) of what it is like to be a woman in Ontario politics. This micro-level approach to analyzing the daily encounters that women in politics have with their male colleagues is unfortunately something that tends to be overlooked in academic studies and media reports. This research can assist to enhance the overall explanation of how women are treated in legislatures, in addition to the issue of women's representation from a more qualitative approach. What is unique is that this is a case study of women politicians in Ontario's Legislative Assembly. During the latter part of my undergraduate studies and during my graduate studies, the issue of women in politics and public policy has become an area that I am drawn to, and increasingly feel the need to study. I have read a variety of prominent Canadian women politicians' auto/biographies and have been appalled by the maltreatment of women in our legislatures, including the many hurdles that women must overcome to carry out their job once they are elected into politics. Further, I feel that this is an area that is not only greatly understudied, but not taught enough to both genders in academia. It is through this increased research that one can make the larger public aware of the hurdles that women face in our political

system. I hope that through increased research that one day these obstacles and the issue of women's representation will no longer exist.

Patti Lenard (Bristol), "What Makes a Good Democrat? Lessons From Ethnic Minority Political Participation" - Democratic theory is replete with arguments about what makes a good democrat. One view supposes that good democrats are those who willingly comply with democratically determined legislation. Another view suggests that good democrats are those who willingly participate in the creation of this legislation. Yet another view suggests that good democrats are those who participate widely in their community's associational life. This paper is an attempt to evaluate what in fact constitutes a good democrat by asking about how a certain subset of democrats engages in the Canadian political process, namely, ethnic minorities. The paper is motivated by two competing empirical observations. On the one hand, there is good evidence that ethnic minorities are politically excluded from Canadian society in a host of ways. Ethnic minorities continue to make up a disproportionately small number of elected representatives, for example. On the other hand, there is evidence that ethnic minorities have had a tremendous impact on the Canadian polity, in a variety of ways. Witness the reference to Canada's 'multicultural heritage' in its constitution. In this paper, I will attempt to reconcile this seeming paradox by assessing how ethnic minorities participate in the Canadian political process. In the first section of the paper, I assess competing theories of what constitutes a 'good' democrat. One conclusion I draw is that although they come to considered normative judgments, they fail to assess what makes citizens effective in political participation. Second, I assess the reasons sometimes given to support the claim that members of ethnic minorities are bad democrats. One suggestion is that too many ethnic minorities arrive from non-democratic countries and so do not understand the democratic values that underpin the Canadian political system. Another suggestion is that the low voter turnout among some ethnic minority groups indicates their lack of interest in Canadian politics. Third, I assess the non-conventional methods that ethnic minorities choose in order to engage the Canadian political system. I focus mainly on 'ethnic civil society', where ethnically specific organisations often give voice to particular concerns expressed by ethnic minorities. I conclude by assessing whether we can gain insight into what it means to be a good democrat via an investigation into the methods ethnic minorities have developed to influence political decision-making in Canada.

Christian Leuprecht (Queen's/Royal Military College), "Strategies for Regulating Ethnic Conflict in Small-Island Countries: Comparative Evidence from Fiji and Mauritius" - The hypothesis underpinning this paper is that different sociological constraints call for different strategies for regulating ethnic conflict. The paper contrasts evidence from quantitative, qualitative, and field research in Mauritius and Fiji. Both are paradoxical cases. Although Mauritius was widely predicted to deteriorate into ethnic pandemonium after independence, it is today the IMF's poster-child for maintaining a political stability in an ethnically divided developing country. Fiji, by contrast, was predicted to work well. Instead, ethnic relations on Fiji have turned out to be very difficult and, more recently, violent. Mauritius and Fiji are most similar case studies because they have so much in common economically, socially, culturally, politically etc. Moreover, they are as close to a laboratory closed system as one is likely to find in the social sciences. The research controls for demographic, economic, social, political, institutional, cultural, linguistic, and historical factors in order to establish not just a correlation but a path-dependency at to the factors to caused ethnic relations in Mauritius to "work" and Fiji to deteriorate. The lessons learned should turn out to be instructive for many other small-island states, many of whom are confronted with ethnic divisions.

Christian Leuprecht (Queen's/Royal Military College), "Demographic Change and Equalization in Canada: Implications for Multilevel Governance" – This paper investigates the relationship between demographic change and equalization in the Canadian federation. The country's demographic reality has changed considerably since the advent of fiscal equalization: "Equalization, in addition to the tax sharing and tax collection agreements, was established in 1957 to assist provinces with below average fiscal capacities in providing comparable levels of public services at comparable levels of taxation with other 'have' provinces" (Hobson and St-Hilaire, 2000, 163). Over the past three decades, the Canadian population has aged, diversified ethnoculturally, and urbanized. These three trends are germane in so far as they coincide in the same sub-national units: Relative to the Canadian average, provincial populations have either aged less rapidly, diversified ethnoculturally and are more urban than 30 years ago or they have aged more rapidly, remained more homogeneous, and more rural. If the premise of equalization is

to provide limited redress among provinces, then this demographic differentiation raises a question: To what extent does demographic change factor into equalization? That is, what patterns characterize equalization in its various incarnations if its development is plotted relative to demographic change across all 10 provinces over 30 years? Less affluent provinces have been spearheading the drive for special subsidies in light of the mounting healthcare costs relative to their tax base. But is this argument viable if it turns out that equalization has increasingly and disproportionately favoured older, more homogeneous, more rural provinces? Is equalization genuinely fulfilling its original purpose or is there any evidence that it is increasingly turning into a scheme whereby provinces with younger, heterogeneous, rural populations are effectively subsidizing the rest? Were this hypothesis to hold, it would have at least two key policy implications. On the one hand, in light of the current efforts to restructure equalization, what demographic parameters should and should not be taken into account? On the other hand, if metropolitan urban areas are the engines of our economy and these cities happen to be located in the provinces that are subsidizing everyone else, then "a new deal for cities" should perhaps factor cities into equalization in order to ensure that they remain sufficiently competitive to continue to provide the economic growth necessary to sustain equalization.

Renan Levine (Toronto), "Timbits About Voting" – TBA/À venir

J.P. Lewis (Carleton), "Another Representational Factor?: An Analysis of Paul Martin's Contribution to the Evolution of Federal Cabinet Composition" – This paper analyzes the factors that contribute to Prime Ministers' selection of their cabinet ministers, looking at the governments of Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien and the first two cabinets of Paul Martin. While they have governed in a time of institutionalized cabinets, they have also adhered to certain longstanding selection traditions, the most important of which may be regional representation. Other selection factors discussed include gender, ethnicity and occupation, and legislative and educational background, and these in turn contribute not only to the appointment of ministers but the portfolios and rank assigned to them. However, Martin may have added a possibly new representational factor to be considered for the future. With the appointment of a former New Democratic Party premier, a former Progressive Conservative leadership candidate and a former Bloc Québécois member, Martin created a new possible representational factor; the non-partisan factor. Martin not only handed cabinet positions to individuals who had only recently been members of other parties, but he appointed them to historically attractive and influential posts. While Martin breaks with recent tradition, such representation is not unknown to Canadian political history as seen in John A. Macdonald's first federal cabinet which included four Reform/Liberal members. The paper will systematically analyze trends in appointments over the years with regard to regional, gender, ethnic, building on existing work by others such as W.A. Matheson. Qualitative data such as regional outcries for lack of representation will be utilized to further analyze the political importance of these factors. The paper will discuss whether some factors are becoming more or less important and whether partisan background is a new factor or one limited to the particular circumstances of the Martin government. Also included will be some consideration of position in cabinet, more specifically cabinet assignment opposed to cabinet appointment.

Andrew Lister (Queen's), "Liberal Neutrality, Public Reason, and (Same-Sex) Marriage" - Recent debate over same-sex marriage has triggered a broader discussion of the nature and purpose of marriage. Granted that opposite-sex-only marriage is unfair, is the solution same-sex but otherwise traditional marriage (as advocated by Jonathan Rauch, for example) or the abolition of marriage as a public institution (as advocated by Martha Fineman) – or the shift to a menu of different publicly-recognized personal relationship options (as advocated by the Law Commission of Canada)? Defenders of gay rights and women's rights split in interesting ways on this question (as can be seen in Mary Shanley's recent Boston Review collection Just Marriage). In part, these disagreements reflect different judgments about what is politically possible (in terms of socializing the burden of care-work, for example). Yet these disagreements also reflect deeper disagreements about the political relevance of religious doctrines and conceptions of the good life. This paper uses this debate about the appropriate legal régime governing personal relationships to understand the principles of public reason and liberal neutrality, and uses these principles to clarify the original policy debate. The paper argues that the ideas of public reason and liberal neutrality are importantly different, that public reason is the more important of the two, and that having a privileged institution of civil marriage can be defended on appropriately public grounds.

Mary Liston (Toronto), "Delayed Declarations of Invalidity: Deferential Dialogue or Justice Deferred" - Political science often overlooks legal remedies as a site of inquiry—an unfortunate development since remedies constitute a crucial nexus between law and politics. To explore this nexus, I will examine the delayed declaration of invalidity, a remedy which emerged out of the extraordinary situation in the 1985 Manitoba Language Reference and which has since become the 'workhorse' of the public law order. Delayed declarations of invalidity typify institutional dialogue because they rely on institutional practices of good faith consultation and collaboration. This type of remedy shows that the relationship between courts and legislatures can be complementary and functionally dynamic. In contrast to the American experience, Canadian courts are loath to involve themselves in highly intrusive remedies such as structural injunctions or to engage in ongoing supervision of complex remedies. Instead, remedies in the Canadian system are generally attentive to the institutional role and capacity of the courts and respectful of other governing institutions' roles and capacities. Despite these positive aspects, increased use raises troubling questions. This remedy allows the legal order to tolerate a temporal and temporary extension of constitutionally invalid laws and we can wonder how a rule of law society can allow such a condition to become both normal and ordinary. The remedy compromises individual rights because the successful litigant is left with no remedy in the present and uncertainty about justice in the future. The potential for legislative non-compliance introduces doubts about the viability of the trust relationship between courts, parliaments, and executives and therefore implicates the consequent legitimacy of the remedial process. Despite the benefits of remedial flexibility, the coordinate status of courts in relation to legislatures must be emphasized—meaning that courts should rarely give unquestioning deference because of the principle of parliamentary sovereignty or Crown immunity and privilege. Finally, and contrary to critics of judicial activism, I argue that judicial deference has actually increased at the Supreme Court—notably in the use of delayed declarations—and that Canada faces the risk that constitutional norms may, in fact, be under-enforced. (iv) I am currently a fifth-year doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. My areas are Canadian politics and political theory. Prior to my doctoral studies, I completed a law degree at the University of Toronto and a master's degree in Social and Political Thought at York University. My dissertation, "Honest Counsel: Institutional Dialogue and the Canadian Rule of Law," explores the enduring puzzle of whether democracy and the rule of law are necessarily incompatible. Most political scientists examine Supreme Court constitutional decisions which disclose the broad and abstract principles upon which our practices are based. In contrast, I look to administrative law to better understand institutional dialogue because this area of law contextualizes these principles and reveals how judicial review can support good governance and help remedy bad governance. My conclusion asserts that the legal system should be seen as an alternative forum for democratic politics. Though the rule of law is independent of democracy, it can, through legal institutions, participate and assist in furthering democratic principles and behaviours. I argue that a re-articulated notion of institutional dialogue supports the idea of an emerging Canadian form of the rule of law.

Rodney Loeppky (Sussex), "Bioterrorizing US Policies" - This paper will explore the current US policy disposition toward bioterror, and the manner in which it premised on a powerful threat discourse. This discourse is, at once, highly problematic and conducive to a narrow band of US social interests. Not only does the current quest for 'protection' from bioterror form part of a general discursive strategy that demarcates a civilised American way of life from a foreign and deadly intersection of 'envy' and 'pathology', but it also supplies a material foil with which the state furthers its now well developed social role in bolstering innovation-led US economic clout. The paper will begin with an examination of the discursive emergence of bioterror as a national security threat in the United States, delineating both its political gravity and social purposes. It will then relate this discourse to corresponding US practice across the domestic-foreign policy continuum, highlighting both US multilateral action concerning biological weapons and national public 'preparedness' programmes. The aim is to draw a picture of US foreign policy around bioterror that reaches beyond its depiction as a pure issue of 'security'. Instead, the paper will consider foreign policy as an interrelated set of public policies, deeply integrated into the social relations of the United States.

Peter Loewen (Montréal), "How Do Candidates Decide How to Spend Their Campaign Funds? And Does It Matter?" - This paper analyzes local campaign spending decisions and effects in the 2000 Canadian election. In the first stage, the distribution of campaign spending between radio/television advertising and

other spending is modeled as a function of normal strategic considerations and riding demographics (following Eagles, CJPS 2004), but also of the nature of the advertising markets in the ridings. To achieve this, I generate two complementary measures of the cost and efficiency of radio and tv advertising, versus other forms of campaigning. This marks an advance in the study of campaign spending decisions in Canada. The predicted values from this stage – now cleaned of endogeneity – are then used to test the effects of spending on the probability of winning rather than on vote share, as has previously been the practice. The specification of the two stages allows two further advantages: first, it allows the determination of whether spending effects differ for incumbents and challengers; second, it allows the determination of whether spending effects differ between parties. This marks a second significant advance.

Karen Long (Michigan), "Rethinking Instrumental Voting: Building on Lessons from the Puzzles of Canadian Party Politics" – TBA/À venir

Andrew Lui (Aberystwyth), "Human Rights in International Relations: The Realist-Constructivist Debate and the Case of Canada" - Scholars of International Relations remain divided deeply over the role of human rights in international politics. At one end of the theoretical spectrum, realists assume that human rights are merely functions of the national interest. Their 'top-down' or structural models assume that human rights do not matter under conditions of anarchy as the struggle for material power and security is primary. At the other end of the spectrum, constructivists argue that human rights are essential to contemporary international politics because they constitute state identity. State interests and behaviour, according to their 'bottom-up' approach, are functions of the constitutive ideals and international norms that drive the process of identity construction. This debate—the realist-constructivist debate regarding human rights in International Relations—is emerging as the foremost debate of the sub-field. This paper engages this debate within the specific context of Canadian foreign policy since 1945. It asks whether human rights policies are determined by the national interest or whether human rights constitute state identities, interests and policies. Canadian foreign policy analysis points particularly to the inadequacies of the way in which human rights are problematised by existing theories of International Relations. On the one hand, realism cannot account for Canada's increasing international support for human rights, especially since the end of the Cold War. On the other hand, in light of September 11th, leading constructivist models of human rights such as Risse and Sikink's "Spiral Model" tend to overemphasise the constitutive role of international human rights norms and to ignore the pivotal role of states such as Canada in norm compliance. Overall, this line of inquiry hopes to provide new insight into human rights in International Relations, foreign policy decision-making, and the role of public-goods regimes.

Heather MacIvor (Windsor), "Harper v. Canada (A.G.): A Legal and Theoretical Analysis of the Supreme Court Ruling on Third-Party Campaign Advertising" - The paper will analyze the May 2004 ruling from the Supreme Court of Canada on the laws restricting "third-party" advertising during federal election campaigns. The Harper ruling marked a milestone in Canadian jurisprudence, in at least two ways. First, the majority decisively rejected the existing case law from Alberta and British Columbia. It upheld the regulatory regime introduced in 2000, overturning the decisions of the Alberta courts and repudiating the established principle that freedom of speech should outweigh the interests of smaller and poorer participants in the electoral process. Like the 2003 Figueroa ruling – in which the Court struck down a party-registration scheme that tilted the playing field toward larger and richer political parties – Harper demonstrates the primacy of an egalitarian approach to Canadian elections, which runs counter to the libertarian approach prevalent in American case law. Second, the majority ruling in Harper sends a troubling message about the Court's use of extrinsic evidence (i.e., social science) in the appellate process. It suggests that the Court's policy-making capacity remains limited, even while its policy-making powers have been expanded by the Charter of Rights. The paper will explore the implications of Harper for the legitimacy of the Court's rulings and remedies.

Lee MacLean (McGill), "Vain Glory and Amour Propre: Hobbes and Rousseau on Political Pride" - Outline of argument/theoretical significance: Political pride in one's nation, one's religion, one's cause is a key element in political conflict. While such pride may have a defensible form, it can also fuel fanaticism, and make peace settlements fragile or elusive. All of this has the status of something pretty close to common sense. Yet the phenomenon of political pride is poorly understood. Partly for methodological

reasons, it remains beneath the radar of many political scientists. Some of the most important reflections on political pride can be found in the work of Hobbes and Rousseau. Hobbes, working in the crucible of the English civil war, provides a compelling critique of what he calls Vain Glory in politics. He seeks to extirpate the roots of political pride, to minimize its appearance in political life. To do this, he imagines a Leviathan who will intimidate the "children of pride." He also exposes the fraudulence of vainglorious elites. Rousseau, on the other hand, does not simply condemn the prospect of political pride. His thinking on this question can be recaptured by considering his discussions of healthy and unhealthy amour-propre. Rousseau teaches that amour-propre can be sublimated and channeled to good effect in both the education of individuals and in a political community. Instead of a sovereign who staunches pride with fear; Rousseau actually incorporates amour-propre into the psyche of a collective sovereign. Whereas Hobbes constructs a Leviathan to terrify and intimidate the children of pride, Rousseau seeks to form the devoted citizens of a direct democracy whose collective pride will rule their more selfish and mercenary desires. But is Rousseau's cure as bad as the disease? That is, has his approach taken sufficient account of the way that destructive tendencies of amour-propre can resurface and intensify? Method of analysis: Exegesis of key works by Rousseau and Hobbes. I will also obviously take account of the differences between a moral behavior exhibited at the individual level and a psychological phenomenon expressed within societies and communities. Relation to my work: I have recently completed a book manuscript on Rousseau's idea of human nature, specifically looking at his concept of free will. This work inspired my present concern with amour-propre in Rousseau. Next term, I will be teaching a course on Aristotle, Hobbes and Rousseau which will afford an opportunity to explore the themes of this paper. Eventually, I may extend this study of political pride to include some discussion of Nietzsche's concept of resentment.

Jeffrey MacLeod (Mount Saint Vincent), "Examining the Public Private Divide in Healthcare: Demystifying the Debate" – TBA/À venir

Gretchen MacMillan (Calgary), "The Catholic Church, Public Policy and Presidential Politics in the United States" - The role played by Catholic bishops in the 2004 Presidential election has led some observers to speculate that the Church is moving to a new understanding of its role in the formation of public policy on issues of significance for it. This paper examines some of the factors that might well influence these developments. The primary focus is on the changing attitudes of members of the Catholic community to the leadership of the Catholic Church. This will be examined by using archival material such as newspapers along with opinion polls. More specifically my interest is on the degree to which members of the community might operate as autonomous individuals (citizens) or as tribal members who follow the community leadership (subjects). While the conflict over John Kerry's candidacy might indicate a move away from the tribal response that dominated the response to John Kennedy's candidacy in 1960 it might just as well indicate that for many it was John Kerry who had abandoned the tribe. In this paper the emphasis will be on some of the possible shifts in a direction that places less emphasis on citizenship and more on tribal loyalties. The increased emphasis on a more proscriptive agenda than on a prescriptive agenda indicate several possible changes including: how the Catholic Church deals with politicians in the future; the impact of a diminished authority of the Bishops on their role as moral if not political leaders of their community; and a shift in the Church's perception of its relationship with the civic and political order.

Mojtaba Mahdavi (Western Ontario), "Max Weber in Iran: Does Islamic Protestantism Matter?" - Does Weberian 'Protestant ethic' belong exclusively to the Western tradition, or is it far beyond Eurocentrism? Some Iranian scholars have seen the possibility of a Weberian 'Protestant ethic' emerging, making a Muslim country more amenable to democracy. They argue that the application and development of Weber's Protestant ethic in a Muslim country has more to do with de-institutionalization of religious interpretations provided by clerical institutions. Islamic Protestantism, they argue, is capable of resolving a tension between modernity/democracy and Islam by 'disenchanted' religious sacred, pluralizing religious thoughts, and secularizing Muslims. Being a solution from 'within', Islamic Protestantism is seen an essential factor in making democracy in the Muslim world. This paper examines the relevance of this concept by showing its theoretical and empirical significance in relation to three existing scholarly approaches. The paper is in three parts. The first is both descriptive and critical in discussing three approaches in the context of Muslim world's transition to democracy. They are 'culturalism', 'monism', and 'minimum-universalism'. The second examines how and why 'minimum universalism' can better lead

Muslims to democracy, given its equal distance from Islamic culturalism and holistic universalism. The third assesses the application of 'minimum universalism' in the public role of religion in the Muslim world, suggesting that neither 'political Islam' nor 'private Islam' is conducive to democracy. The paper, instead, examines the extent to which an alternative concept of 'public civil Islam' is capable of resolving the tension between democracy and Islam, and also proposing a theoretical base for the concept of 'Islamic Protestantism'. As such, the paper assesses both theoretical significance and empirical relevance of 'public civil Islam' by articulating three main reasons.

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton), "Canadian Evangelical Christian Groups and Their Political Activities" - This paper will analyze organized evangelical Christian groups in Canada and their political activities. These groups take many overlapping forms, including para-denominational organizations, umbrella coalitions, formal lobby groups, court intervenors and others, but are tied together by their identity with the religious values of evangelical Christians. The paper will approach from a social movement perspective, seeking to understand the multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives and activities of these groups and the links between them. While these groups seek social and political change, they also have broader religious and social objectives. The degree to which they interact with formal political institutions such as political parties also varies. Thus I will inquire how these different political and other goals overlap and are balanced and reconciled, and the effect this has on political strategies and tactics. The role of Canadian evangelical groups is understudied, unlike the great deal of American scholarship available. However, most American scholarship has taken a more traditional interest group perspective, focusing heavily on evangelical involvement in formal electoral politics and legislative lobbying. Relatively few studies have tried to analyze the broad range of evangelical groups and objectives as an overall social movement, preferring to focus on key subgroups like anti-abortion groups. This paper is part of a broader study of Christian evangelicals and political institutions in Canada. The study explores to what degree differences in the profile and influence of Canadian versus American evangelicals can be explained by the different institutional terrain of the two countries.

Christopher Manfredi (McGill) and **Antonia Maioni** (McGill), "Litigating Innovation: Health Care Policy and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom" - Is legal mobilization an effective instrument for policy innovation? This paper seeks to examine this question by studying the use of rights-based litigation in the context of publicly-funded health care in Canada. The paper seeks to bring the techniques of comparative public law to understand the relationship among litigation, legal rules and social policy. In an ideal world, legal mobilization would succeed in establishing new legal rules desired by a social movement; those desired legal rules would generate positive policy consequences; and success would strengthen the movement. In the real world, however, these phenomena are often mutually exclusive. In essence, legal mobilization may be a "hollow hope" (Rosenberg 1991), or rights may work as an instrument for shifting policy debate and empowering weaker groups (McCann 1994). The use of rights-based litigation by advocates of health care policy reform in Canada provides a useful focus for evaluating these two possible scenarios for at least three reasons. First, health care is the single most important area of Canadian public policy. Second, rights-based litigation is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon in the development of health care policy. Finally, in June 2004 the Supreme Court of Canada heard oral arguments in two cases with potentially profound consequences for health care policy. These two cases—*Chaouilli v. Attorney-General of Quebec* (prohibition against private provision) and *Attorney-General of British Columbia v. Auton* (extension of funding to autism treatment)—provide the substantive focus for our paper.

Christopher Manfredi (McGill) and **Mark Rush** (Washington and Lee), "Missing the Forest for the Trees? Campaign Spending Law and Incumbent Protection in Canada and the United States" - In the last 12 months, the Supreme Courts of Canada (*Harper v. Canada (Attorney General)*) and the United States (*McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*) decided high-profile, controversial cases dealing with the constitutionality of new restrictions on campaign spending. Both courts suffered stark divisions. Both courts acknowledged that political spending could be equated with political speech and therefore could be restricted only if the legislature had a compelling interest to do so. In both cases, the court deferred to the national legislature's desire to prevent the perversion of the political process that arises as a result of gross inequalities in spending power. Accordingly, in the interest of fairness, preventing the appearance of corruption and preserving political equality, both courts sustained the constitutionality of what critics

regarded as unnecessarily harsh restrictions that imposed severe constraints on free speech. The issue of free speech notwithstanding, we focus on another theme that divided both courts: the extent to which the campaign spending restrictions actually protect incumbent legislators. Dissenters in both courts noted that the laws made it even more difficult for major party challengers and either third party or independent candidates to oust sitting incumbents. In this regard, both campaign laws run afoul of the vision of democracy set forth by John Hart Ely in *Democracy and Distrust* (1980). While Ely's theory is not regarded as an interpretive guidepost by either Supreme Court, it is important to note that aspects of his representation-reinforcing theory of judicial review do frequently manifest themselves in the dicta of both courts (see, e.g., *Vriend v. Alberta*). In this paper we focus on the aspect of Ely's theory that addresses the problem of what Issacharoff and Pildes describe as a "lockup" of the political process by incumbents. While campaign spending laws may be cast in terms of purging the political process of the corruption associated with inequalities of wealth, we note that such laws actually perpetuate an equally pernicious yet more subtle version of corruption: the diminished accountability and responsiveness of incumbent legislators.

Nissim Mannathukkaren (Queen's), "Rupture or Continuity? Marxism and the Post-Colonial World" - By looking at the Marxist negotiation of the transition to modernity in the Indian state of Kerala (the first region to democratically elect a communist government in the world), this paper will question the stark dichotomy postulated between tradition and modernity in much of post-colonial theory (and also earlier theories of development like modernization and dependency). It will be argued that communism and democracy's success in a 'traditional' religious society like Kerala can only be understood by the 'fusion of horizons': a synthesis of critical elements of both tradition and modernity, which is possible precisely because of the continuities between the two. The new forms of substantive equality which were sought, and realized to a great extent by the communist movement in Kerala, are in this sense, no 'alien' impositions extraneous to traditional forms of social consciousness (as argued by many post-colonial and anti-modernist writers), but correspond to their pre-existing (unrealized) aspirations to equality. Kerala's experience with Marxism has led to what has been termed as the most comprehensive redistribution of wealth outside the socialist world (brought about by one of the most effective land reform programs and many legislations securing worker's rights). It has also eliminated to a great extent caste-based oppression and inequalities--scourge of the Indian social system--which still continue in other parts of the country. This paper will demonstrate that these revolutionary changes were achieved through unprecedented levels of participatory democracy, by appropriating the very ideas and institutions of Western modernity that anti-modernists have termed as alienating and oppressive. In conclusion it will be argued that the egalitarian social development model of Kerala not only allows us to go beyond the theoretical dichotomy between tradition and modernity, but also offers many lessons to other 'third-world' societies which are confronted with the binary choices--especially after the 'collapse' of communism--of imitation of Western capitalist modernity or its rejection (along with the entire Enlightenment legacy) in favor of cultural and religious revivalism, which harks back to an unattainable, pre-modern past.

Melissa Marschall (Rice) and **Dietlind Stolle** (McGill), "Seeing or Living Diversity-Contact with Diverse Others and the Development of Generalized Trust" – TBA/À venir

Charles Martin (Queen's), "When Holding Hands is No Longer Enough: The Lust of Energy Re-Regulation in Ontario" - Flirting with thoughts of oligopoly from the outset of its tenure, in 1998 the Tory government finally proposed energy re-regulation for Ontario. Protective of Ontario Hydro, the public pilloried the Tories for permitting unctuous rival firms the opportunity to compete for the affections of electricity customers in 2002. Though torrid, the Tories' ensuing program of energy re-regulation, this paper posits, proved too hasty, haughty, and fraught with ambiguity to sway the public. Too fervid in its efforts to divorce itself from Ontario Hydro and its \$40 billion debt, the Tories' energy re-regulation initiatives lacked the tact of the former NDP government's furtive privatization attempts or the wile of the presiding Liberal government's. The Tories clumsily sought to go further, faster, but Ontarians were ostensibly nervous. In 2003, the Tories were ousted from office. But were they wrong, though? Is their notion of energy re-regulation wrong for Ontario? Energy re-regulation in Ontario has proven very portentous, yet, the political economy of its evolution is frustratingly ignored. New writings on energy re-regulation in Ontario tend to dwell only on the regulatory or ideological factors influencing transformation in the electricity industry while neglecting the profundity of how and why energy has emerged as a "new

staple." Using the history of the province's nuclear energy industry throughout its study, and utilizing interviews with former Ministers of Energy and analysts gathered for my doctoral dissertation, this paper proposes investigating the onslaught of energy re-regulation in Ontario from uranium procurement policies in the early 1960s purporting to eliminate vulnerability and rate volatility to nuclear reactor reconstruction policies in the late 1990s promising to enhance surety of supply and security.

Louis Massicotte (Montréal) and **Angelo Élias** (Montréal), "Scenarios for an MMP System for Quebec: Lessons From Simulations of Previous Elections" - This paper will outline various scenarios for a mixed member proportional system (MMP) tailored for Quebec's provincial elections, and test their probable consequences, by simulating previous elections. Assuming a 60 :40 ratio between constituency seats and list seats, the paper will test five possible regional delimitations, three methods for allocating list seats, and three techniques (D'Hondt, largest remainder and Sainte-Laguë) for each method. Combining these three variables results in 42 scenarios. Two elections (1998, 2003) will be simulated, assuming that votes would have been cast under the system as they actually were. The research breaks new ground by shedding light on the symmetry of the various formulas, i.e. their ability to provide the same number of seats to each party with the same number of votes. The results will be analyzed through various dimensions : which variables provide the smallest vote-seat distortions, facilitate the emergence of new parties. The research will also detail the practical problems generated by the use of some methods and techniques. This paper is an output from a research carried by the authors for a possible reform of the Quebec electoral system.

J. Scott Matthews (British Columbia), "Campaign Dynamics in Economic Voting" - It is well established that the impact of economic retrospections on vote choice varies across space-that is, across national and sub-national units and across institutional contexts. Not so well established, however, is the proposition that the link between the economy and the vote varies over time. Students of campaign effects have speculated as much on several occasions, but systematic empirical investigation of this relationship is rare. The aim of this paper, thus, is to examine dynamics in the impact of economic retrospections on vote choice over the course of election campaigns and, in so doing, cast new light on the nature of economic voting and on the impact of campaigns. A clear and widely shared theoretical expectation motivates the analysis: the impact of economic retrospections on vote choice should increase as a function of time in the campaign. The functional form of this relationship could be linear or curvilinear but, in every case, it is assumed to be strictly positive. If this theoretical expectation holds empirically, it bodes well for the image of election campaigns as generally 'enlightening' affairs. If not, the status of this 'enlightenment thesis' is left in some doubt. The key question is, thus, what is the impact of campaigns on economic voting? The paper approaches this question by taking advantage of a rich resource of survey data largely untapped by students of economic voting-the ten rolling cross-sectional election surveys conducted in Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and the United States since 1988. The basic approach of the paper centres on an examination of over-time changes in the impact of economic retrospections on vote choice over the course of each election, both within the whole electorate and within theoretically important sub-groups of the electorate (such as among the less informed and the ambivalent). Analysis will proceed through both graphical exposition of over-time dynamics and explicit estimation of campaign effects using multi-level modelling. The paper also looks across electoral contexts in order to arrive at some preliminary conclusions regarding the nature of campaign dynamics in economic voting across institutional settings. In this way, the paper adds both a rare dynamic perspective to the study of economic voting and a rare cross-national perspective to the study of campaign effects.

Tim Mau (Guelph), "Political Rhetoric or Genuine Leadership: An Assessment of the New Deal for Cities" - Some 80 percent of the Canadian population lives in urban centres and cities have become the economic engines of the Canadian state. However, as 'creatures of the province,' municipal governments have been complaining that they have neither the constitutional recognition nor fiscal capacity to provide the full range of programs and services now required of them. Part of the problem is that aside from a brief period in the early 1970s when the machinery of government was expanded to include the short-lived Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, urban issues have not figured very prominently on the federal policy agenda. Significant advances have been made, however, with the ascension of Paul Martin to the leadership of the federal Liberal Party and, ultimately, the post of prime minister. Key institutional restructuring has already taken place, and negotiating a 'new deal' for cities is seemingly a critical priority

of the new government. But what is the likelihood that a meaningful new deal will materialize? This paper will critically assess recent developments on the renamed 'cities and communities' file and argues that despite demonstrating genuine political leadership in placing this issue on the public agenda, Prime Minister Martin will ultimately only be able to realize modest success in the area of federal urban policy.

Hanne Mawhinney (Maryland), "Conceptualizing Reterritorialisation Through the Scaling Politics and Politicizing Scales of Education Governance in Washington D.C." - The dilemmas and contradictions of urban governance in the United States are most evident the politics of scale embroiling the political regulatory institutions of educational governance in the District of Columbia that I examine in this paper presentation. As an example of the historical problems of the political economy of education, the politics of scale reflect the changing relationship under global capitalism of state, market, and society in the demand and supply of education. A central feature of the political economy of educational regimes under global capitalism has been a neoliberal restructuring of education provision and governance. Education governance involves four distinct problems of public policy making: the functions of governance, the levels of public authority, the size of government, and the representation of major social groups in education politics, policy and administration (Manzer, 2003). In this presentation I examine how these problems have been rescaled to reflect a changed relationship between the state, market and society. I explore what Brenner (1999) has described as the multi-scalar interface between processes of urban restructuring and state reterritorialisation evident in educational governance, one of the highly contested new spaces of governance in Washington, D.C. This new space has been opened in the complex and conflicted intersection of neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies that have rescaled the governance of public education in the region. As congressional committees now charter schools, mayoral takeover of the school district is an ever-present threat. The resulting politics of scale within the political regulatory institutions of educational governance can be construed as what Brenner (1999) describes as "a sequence of groping trial-and-error strategies to manage these intensely conflictual forces through the construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of relatively stabilised configurations of territorial organization" (p. 447).

Jean F. Mayer (Concordia) and **Patrik Marier** (Concordia), "The 2004 Social Security Reform in Mexico: Finishing Off the Social Pact?" - Pension reforms have been on the political agenda of Latin American countries in the 1990s. Despite the important political costs associated with reforming a popular program where lower classes and unions have a strong vested interest, governments have not shied away from reducing benefits and/or privatizing key elements of their pension systems. In Latin America, it has been far easier to reform the public pension schemes for private sector workers than those set up for civil servants, whose unionization rate tend to be significantly higher. This paper seeks to identify and analyze the political factors that have led to the 2004 reform of the Mexican social security system, which has extended the privatization of Mexico's pension system begun in 1997. The latest reform has affected mostly public sector workers and some industrial workers from the private sector still affiliated to the state-ran Mexican Institute of Social Security. In fact, many specialists interpreted this reform as the end of the social pact between the state and civil society in Mexico, and as a transitional stage in the full privatization of Mexico's social security. We argue that the integration of unions within the management of social security, competitions among unions, and the relationship between unions and political parties as well as the government explain this outcome. Our paper proposes to examine the institutional environment and the sociopolitical behavior of the main actors involved in this transformation. This paper continues Profs. Mayer and Marier's research on labor politics and social security reform.

Stephen McBride (Simon Fraser), "The Theory and Practice of the Neoliberal Labour Policy Regime in Canada" – During the neoliberal era the Canadian labour regime has undergone radical restructuring. Although labour was never as organised or as influential in Canada as in some other developed states the paper argues that disempowering labour, organised and unorganised, through embedding a form of flexibility in the labour market was central to the neoliberal enterprise. A labour regime can be broadly defined as the totality of laws, institutions, policies and practices that condition, organize and constrain relations between labour and its employers (private and public). Neoliberal labour policy has generally been depicted as deregulatory aiming at flexibility in line with the dictates of the market. Notwithstanding the deregulatory rhetoric this has involved an active role for the state at various levels - provincial, federal, and international. State action has shaped the broad context, detailed processes and outcomes of the

interaction between labour and capital and, in the case of the public sector, between labour and the state as employer. Sometimes rationalized in terms of the need for a competition state the neoliberal era has seen the state acting as a collective commodifying agent. In a short paper it will be possible only to sketch the main developments, noting similarities and differences between jurisdictions with possible explanations, and then turn to the theoretical implications of state activity in the labour field.

Stephen McBride (Simon Fraser), **Kathleen McNutt** (Simon Fraser) and **Russell Alan Williams** (Simon Fraser), "Continuing the Debate About the OECD "Jobs Strategy": Labour Market Globalization" - Considerable research has attempted to identify what type of labour market policies are most effective in responding to the pressures of globalization. A dominant "neo-liberal" orthodoxy has emerged, suggesting the only effective policy is for states to abandon macroeconomic attempts to increase employment and focus on increasing "flexibility" through labour market policy retrenchment. States should reduce unemployment insurance, deregulate labour laws, and reduce minimum wages (Auer, 2004). By providing employers with increased "flexibility" in labour costs, adaptation is accelerated and, according to proponents, employment rates will increase. The OECD's decade long "Jobs Strategy" – a cross national policy recommendation and surveillance project illustrates this orthodoxy. Expanding on earlier research (McBride and Williams, 2001) this paper will argue that the liberal Jobs Strategy is theoretically flawed in its analysis of "flexibility", and practically flawed in that it does not lead to good labour market performance. The paper will elaborate the European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs secretariat's identification of an alternative "flexisecurity" labour market regime (See "Employment in Europe", 2001). The "flexisecurity" model advocates large state interventions to increase workers' "security" when confronted by adjustment. Using extensive cross national data, the paper will illustrate that the "flexisecurity" cluster of states has consistently outperformed "neo-liberal" states across a range of labour market indicators. As such, the paper provides powerful critiques of both the theory and practice of neo-liberal orthodoxy in this area.

Adam McDonald (OLIP), "Institutional Change and the Political Process: The Present Reality and the Future of the Legislative Assembly" - Westminster Parliaments are primarily designed to be representative governments. They bring the representatives of the people together in one place to debate issues confronting the entire population and to ensure that a central government is responsive to the needs of the individual. The role of Parliament (from the French parler, meaning "to speak") has changed over the centuries: from nobles advising the Crown to the formation of constituencies to the creation of political parties, Parliament has any number of permutations across the globe. Ontario's Legislative Assembly, like all other Westminster Parliaments, has undergone significant changes over the years. These changes, in turn, have altered the way in which the Assembly functions. Although it still works as the seat of Ontario's government, one wonders if the procedural and institutional changes have truly improved the operation of Canada's second-largest government. Any investigation of the institution requires first a theoretical look into the design of the Legislature: the underpinnings of parliamentary democracy are crucial to an understanding of how the Assembly works. The people who best understand how the Legislature actually functions are the employees of the Assembly (such as the Clerk); the House Leaders (who negotiate the proceedings on behalf of each Party); and the Whips (whose job it is to ensure the presence of their members to conduct business). Each of these groups will likely have ideas about the ways in which Parliament can better function and can be interviewed. A look at the way in which Ontario's Parliament currently functions and the possibilities for the future can show us the ways the Legislative Assembly has changed over the years and the hopes parliamentarians hold for its future.

David McGrane (Carleton), "Social Democracy and Western Alienation in Saskatchewan Politics from 1900 to 2000" - The current popular perception in Canada links western alienation with right-wing politics such as those of the Reform and Conservative parties. However, this perception ignores the role that western alienation played in the emergence of social democracy in Saskatchewan. This paper adopts an intellectual history approach which relates ideas to social experience and demonstrates that forms of consciousness are central to understanding the nature and origins of social change. It argues that western alienation, particularly discontent caused by the National Policy, was a primary stimulus to the creation of Saskatchewan agrarian protest movements in 1900 to 1932. These agrarian movements transferred their ideas of western alienation to the Saskatchewan CCF which eventually formed government in 1944. Consequently, the Douglas and Lloyd governments from 1944 to 1964 promoted an

antagonistic federalism which saw the federal government as an obstacle to the achievement of social democracy on a provincial level. The Blakeney NDP government carried on this tradition of antagonistic federalism by strongly condemning the Liberals in Ottawa for abandoning rural Saskatchewan and struggling with the federal government over control of natural resource rents. However, the Romanow government, as part of its Third Way revision of Saskatchewan social democracy, was less strident with the federal government than previous CCF-NDP governments in Saskatchewan. The Romanow government still attacked Ottawa for lack of funding for agriculture, abandoning the Crow rate and not funding highway construction but it decided to follow a co-operative federalism which sought to work with the federal government for the achievement of common social policy objectives such as the National Child Tax Benefit. The paper ends with an assessment of the current relationship between western alienation and social democracy on the Canadian prairies.

Wendy McKeen (Dalhousie), "The Discourse on Children and the Shrinking Politics of Social Policy in Canada" - This paper seeks to uncover the dynamics of social policy transformation in Canada in the late 1990s and early 2000s through a focus on the shaping of social policy discourse and debate. My particular interest is how the discourse on child poverty and investing in children has developed and how dominant interpretations have affected the political room for manoeuvre of the progressive social policy sector. I argue that while the discourse on the child created new openings for progressives seeking to influence social policy, the particular meanings that came to dominate limited the scope for progressive ideas and reinforced neo-liberal and neo-conservative interpretations of social problems and solutions. The terms of this debate have served ultimately to reinforce dominant neo-liberal approach to policy. The study is based on a detailed analysis of "debates" on social policy as reflected in the past several years of hearings held by various federal parliamentary committees and sub-committees (e.g. Human Resources Development Canada Sub-committee on Children and Youth at Risk, Finance Committee). The paper helps to expand our understanding of the dynamics of politics in the realm of social policy by showing the importance of discourse in structuring political opportunities in the context of policy community debate. I ask how the dominant discourse on social investment in children has altered the composition and terms of discussion of the social policy community, especially, the weighting and influence of the progressive voice in this debate. I also explore how developments here have in turn influenced the current pre-disposition of the federal government towards social policy. This paper is a continuation of my previous work in exploring how the political opposition to neo-liberal discourse and policy articulates and promotes its claims and the ways its discursive strategies make a difference in shaping the broader universe of political discourse and policy trajectories.

Nelson Michaud (École nationale d'administration publique), "The Martin Government Foreign Policy Statement: Adoption or Adaptation" – What does the future have in store? Will Canada's newly elected Prime minister, demonstrate a higher level of sensitivity and get involved more thoroughly in foreign policy related matters than did his predecessor? The first indications are indeed to this effect. First, as minister of Finance, Martin had the opportunity to build his own international network and is in a position to understand what it takes for Canada to play a role of significance in world affairs. Also, his first actions as Prime minister indicate a definite change of the guard, being the opening of the dialogue with the American President; the campaign to create a G20 at the level of the Heads of States /Heads of government, which will encourage a more open and more productive North South dialogue; or his will to increase resources in foreign policy related fields. Will his minority government prevent him to act in the way these first indications lend to think? Revisiting the question asked by Donneur and Beylerian in 1996 (Études internationales 37:2) this paper will consider if the Martin government foreign policy statement (to be published in early 2005) indeed reflects a government that adapted itself to the new realities of the world or if it simply adopted the stances of former Liberal governments.

Nelson Michaud (École nationale d'administration publique), **Natalie Freeley** (Texas at Austin) and **Gregory Brown** (Texas at Austin), "Canada's and Australia's Answers to the War in Iraq: Comparing Media Reactions to Presidential Statements" - Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush warned the nations of the world: "You are with us or you are against us". This Manichean approach was an unambiguous message sent to all. A few months later, when the United States decided to invade Iraq and were looking for building their "coalition of the willing", not all countries answered readily. In fact, countries such as Canada and Australia took opposite stances: John Howard

followed the call of the US President and of the British Prime minister, Tony Blair, and sent troops; Jean Chrétien, after a long hesitation, did not. Why two Commonwealth countries, middle powers with similar background, and usual allies, reacted so differently? The answer that comes immediately to mind in the case of Australia is that many nationals were victims of Al Quaida in Bali while Canadians, having not experienced such trauma first hand, were more inclined to keep with their belief in multilateral actions – the UN having not sanctioned the US actions. Is it that simple? It might very well be, but there is another path to explore before reaching such a conclusion.

Lydia Miljan (Windsor), "Reporting of Public Opinion Polls: Results of Local Polling Published in the Windsor Star" - The 2004 general federal election was filled with public opinion polls printing in daily newspapers and on television. Seats were projected at some points indicating a Liberal minority, then a Conservative minority. With such dramatic swings in support for the political parties, one has to wonder whether the media influences who one votes for in a federal election. Using the CES as a guide, a survey was conducted during the 2004 federal election of Windsor and Essex County residents. A general battery of questions was asked on the issues, candidates and parties. In addition, it also asked questions on specific media that the respondents had viewed about the election on the previous day. This study matches media use with media content. In addition, the results of this survey were published for four weeks during the campaign in the local daily newspaper, The Windsor Star. Typically when researchers want to document how specific programming, or journalistic techniques, effect public opinion, or even political learning, they must use approximate measures or create pseudo-experimentation. While not perfect, it is typically the best that is afforded political communication scholars. This research seeks to redress this methodological limitation by conducting a natural experiment combining content analysis with polling research. The research question tested in this study is to what extent media reports of public opinion polls influence voter choice and voter learning. In this study we compare who the public thought was the front runner in the election with the results of the weekly poll. In addition we track voter preference overlaid with the poll results. This study tests both whether the media influenced the choice by the publishing of polls as well as whether the public learned information about the front-runner from the poll. While the public may or may not switch their vote based on reported polls, they may shift their perception of the front runner based on the same polls.

Kaila Mintz (OLIP), "Interest Advocacy and the Ontario Legislature: Measuring the Effectiveness of Public Versus Private Advocacy" - This study will look at how interest groups seek influence on public policy and legislation in Ontario. More specifically, it will focus on non-profit interest groups rather than commercial interests, such as environmental groups, organizations representing disenfranchised groups, religious interests, and the like. My research question is as follows: For non-profit interest groups seeking to influence public policy and legislation at Queen's Park, which is more effective: public advocacy or private advocacy? I will first need to define key concepts such as public advocacy and private advocacy, and establish indicators for each. I see public advocacy as any lobbying done publicly, often with community mobilization, and generally hoping to attract the attention of the press. Indicators include press conferences, petitions, protests and marches. Private advocacy is defined as more traditional lobbying, when a group, often through its leader or designated spokesperson, seeks to influence individual MPPs by using behind-closed-doors tactics. Often, reciprocal arrangements are created. Indicators include meetings with MPPs, letters to MPPs, receptions not open to the public, and working closely with the ministries. Next, I will need to define "effectiveness" as it relates to advocacy work. This depends partially on a group's goals, for example changing public opinion or passing specific legislation. I will be using a mainly case-study approach in this essay, looking at several groups who employ different methods of advocacy, to analyse the effectiveness of these group or their actions in terms of public or private advocacy. I will gather my evidence by interviewing MPPs about their relationships with interests groups, observing advocacy first-hand both in and outside of Queen's Park, interviewing leaders of interest groups, interviewing civil servants who have contact with interest groups, and analysing the outcomes of advocacy through the media and in specific legislation.

Sangay Mishra (Southern California-LA), "Changing Contours of South Asian Identity in the USA" - This paper seeks to analyze the ways in which the legal and census classification system becomes a site of contestation for immigrants and how the boundaries of whiteness is constantly being negotiated as a result of the efforts by the state to define various racial and immigrant groups. The first legal encounter of

South Asians with Whiteness came when the attempt to become citizens failed with an unfavorable verdict in 1923 in *United States v Bhagat Singh* Third case. The court discarded its earlier equation of Caucasian with white and ruled that Caucasian and whiteness can't be equated. After that, the naturalization of Asian Indians became legally impossible. After the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 a large number of professional Indians migrated to the U.S. The government took an about turn in 1970 census when it categorized South Asians as white. The rationale behind both the *Third* decision and the later about turn was to deny them specific rights -- the right of citizenship in the first and benefits of minority status in the latter. The response of Asian Indians to the 1970 classification was conflicting. The majority of the South Asian organizations argued in favor of the minority status, but a significant section argued against it. The legal and political history of South Asian immigrants, thus, indicates that there is a constant tension between how the official classificatory systems want to place the South Asians and the desires and attempts of the communities to define themselves.

Bessma Momani (Waterloo), "Institutional Learning From Canada's IMF Article IV Consultations" - The International Monetary Fund (IMF) conducts annual surveillance of all its members. The Article IV Consultation reports on Canada are detailed external assessments of exchange rates, fiscal policies, monetary policies, financial sector policies, and structural policies conducted by highly regarded economists. More important, these reports suggest possible areas of reform and policy change. The objective of the paper is to determine whether Canadian representatives and appropriate agencies and departments utilize IMF policy advice. In the language of constructivist literature on international organizations, do Canadian Finance Department officials learn from the IMF through these annual meetings and reports? Finance Department personnel will be surveyed; specifically, personnel in the Economic Analysis section of the Economic and Fiscal Policy branch- who participate in Article IV Consultations- and personnel in the International Institution section of the International Trade and Finance branch- who manage Canadian-IMF relations. Surveys will be used to assess these personnel's perception of key components of the IMF reports, of the bilateral consultation process, and of the utility of IMF economic advice. Interviews with Finance Department officials and personnel will be conducted to determine whether Finance personnel use IMF advice in proposing policies to higher department officials. In addition Finance Department documents and communiques with the Fund, acquired through the Access to Information Act, will be reviewed. This research will be an important addition to constructivist literature that view international organizations as teachers and states as learners and to the globalization literature that look for connectors between international organizations and domestic policy-makers.

Éric Montpetit (Montréal), "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: The Influence of Canadian Scholarship in the World" – For this paper, I am conducting a research on the extent to which Canadian scholarship on the themes of policy networks, interest groups and public policy have influenced thinking abroad on these matters. I notably use the Social Science Citation Index to find out who, outside Canada, quote Canadians, where and how. Using this method I hope I can specify the contribution of Canadians to international scholarship on these matters.

Stephanie Mullen (Carleton), "Women in the Canadian Senate" - Traditionally, the main institutional focus of academic research on Canada's Parliamentary institutions has been the House of Commons. Unfortunately, this research has not been replicated for the Senate. This scholarly deficit can be partly explained by the fact that the institution is often dismissed as impotent in effecting legislative change, a line of reasoning which generally presupposes that policy outcomes are the only measure of success for Senators, and in the case of this research, women Senators. Although changes to policy may be the ultimate goal of the politically active feminist, feminist representation and advocacy at different levels of the policy debate are also crucial. In the past decade, Prime Minister Jean Chretien has appointed a record number of women to the Senate. The primary research question is whether the 'slow but steady' increase over the years in the number of female appointments to the Senate has impacted the issues discussed and debated, committee work, and policy outputs of the institution. In an attempt to answer this question, four distinct areas of research will be examined - namely, 1) the identity of women in the Senate; 2) feminist representation; 3) feminist policy outputs, and 4) committee work. Qualitative methods were utilized in the form of interviews with over half the female Senators. Content analysis of the Senate debates and select committee reports were also conducted.

Rosemary Nagy (Carleton), "Whose Justice: Gacaca, National Trials and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda" - Justice for Rwanda's genocide operates on three levels: the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), national trials and local gacaca courts. The shortcomings of the ICTR show that the "globalization" of human rights can be quite remote from the very locales where reconstruction is most needed. Yet, "local" responses to the past have been subject to criticism on the basis of international human rights norms. This paper interrogates the consequences of framing the various contradictions between the three levels as, typically, a tension between western and indigenous or traditional justice. It seeks to untangle this framing from distinctions between retributive and restorative justice, pointing out that gacaca in fact embodies both. Drawing on theories of legal pluralism and drawing on the fact that crimes against humanity take place in specific contexts, this paper asks whether some coherence can be drawn from the mixed messages emerging from the three levels of justice.

Tom Pierre Najem (Windsor) and **Tanja Collet** (Windsor), "Lexical Choices in Post 9-11 Speeches and the Identity Construction of the Other" - The authors will present the initial results of a comparative study of lexical choices in the post 9-11 speeches given by U.S. President George W. Bush, and British Prime Minister Tony Blair. After the attacks on the World Trade Centre, political discourse in the English speaking part of the Western world underwent changes. In his recently published work, *Analysing Political Discourse* (2003), Paul Chilton, for instance, points out that political discourse today is increasingly characterized by the use of religious imagery, as well as other forms of legitimizing language. In light of these findings, the authors of this paper will examine the lexical or word choices made by the aforementioned leaders when they refer to the "enemy". It goes without saying, that these word choices determine, to a certain extent, public opinion. More specifically, they play a role in the construction of the identity of the enemy or other by the general public. We will conclude by commenting on whether or not our initial results confirm Chilton's findings.

Jan Nelles (Toronto), "Path Dependency in the Waterloo ICT Cluster" - The Waterloo ICT cluster is a relatively significant centre of high tech industry in Southwestern Ontario. It is remarkable that such a large group of highly innovative, competitive, globally oriented and successful high tech firms emerged and thrived in such a small urban area. This paper endeavours to situate this cluster of firms relative to others in Canada and major US competitor states and explores the reasons for the emergence of high tech industry and the apparent "stickiness" of the area. Drawing on the concept of path dependency this paper traces the historical evolution of major industries and institutions in the Waterloo region. A relatively high proportion of manufacturing and engineering-intensive and exporting firms characterized Waterloo's early industry at the turn of the century. This industrial mix is partly attributable to the skill set of the population – the majority of which was composed of German immigrants trained in mechanics and manufacturing. The German population also influenced the evolution of local industry by founding highly entrepreneurial, innovative, lean and efficient, family-run firms some of which survive today. As the composition of the population changed many of the practices and networks of early manufacturing firms were adopted and have contributed to the success of local high tech industry today. While local industrial culture has played a key role in the evolution of the cluster local institutions have had a more central and visible effect. The University of Waterloo is the institutional heart of high tech industry in the area though few firms directly leverage its knowledge creation capacity. Though its role has undoubtedly changed over time early decisions about the curriculum and configuration of engineering and math programs at the university profoundly affected the regional potential for high tech industry by carving out a niche in science and math intensive education. Though the Waterloo ICT cluster appears weaker in comparison with similar clusters in major Canadian cities and US states it is remarkable considering its size and the magnitude of its success. That its success is almost entirely locally generated – by unique circumstances and visionaries in its past – makes it a significant and rich case for further study.

Olena Nikolayenko (Toronto), "Social Capital in Advanced Industrial and Post-Communist States: Running Deficits?" - The concept of social capital has long been debated among political scientists. The general assumption is that social capital tends to enhance the quality of democracy. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which were manifestations of what Huntington (1991) called "the third wave of democratization," opened up opportunities for exploring the link between social capital and democratic development in a new socioeconomic context. Using data from the World Values Survey, this paper compares the level of social capital in advanced industrial states and post-communist

societies. Four indicators of social capital are subject to analysis: (1) interpersonal trust, (2) membership in voluntary organizations, (3) social networks, and (4) norms of reciprocity. Results suggest that the impact of socioeconomic variables varies across countries.

Csaba Nikolényi (Concordia), "Incorporating Non-policy Characteristics and Voting Power in the Theory of Veto Players" - Veto player theory (VPT) predicts policy stability by the spatial distance between the status quo and the ideal points of veto players, i.e. players whose consent is required in order to alter the status quo (Tsebelis 1999, 1995, 2002). The theory has received wide-scale attention in the comparative politics and public policy literature. Nonetheless, in its current formulation it ignores two important results from the social choice literature which may significantly influence some of its consequences and propositions. First, the location of the status quo as well as the ideal points of players may be affected by non-policy considerations which, however, affect the stability of the status quo. For instance, players may give the benefit of doubt (Feld and Grofman 1991) to the status quo, which may thus become invulnerable against alternatives that are otherwise located in its winset. Similarly to the benefit of doubt, other valence factors (Groseclose 2001) may have similar consequences on players' perception of the location of points in the policy space. Second, the theory does not distinguish among players according to their power to shape the outcome of the policy making game. Although Tsebelis admits that centrally positioned veto players with agenda-setting power can significantly affect the direction in which the status quo changes, the theory remains silent on the power of other players. By drawing on a theorem first put forward by Feld and Grofman (1990), the paper will link the Shapley-Owen power scores of veto players to the distance of their ideal points from the centre of the yolk, the circle with the smallest radius that intersects all median lines. These theoretical insights have considerable empirical implications by helping to make sense of puzzling situations where i) a centrally located agenda setter cannot easily change the status quo because of the presence of other veto players that are close to the centre of the yolk (contrary to the prediction of VPT) or where ii) policy change proves to be more difficult than one would expect on the basis of the configuration of voter ideal points because of non-policy, i.e. valence, characteristics.

Csaba Nikolényi (Concordia), "The Number of Parties in Mixed-Member Systems: The Puzzling Contrast Between Hungary and Lithuania" - Mixed-member electoral systems have received increasing scholarly attention (Massicotte and Blais 1999; Shugart and Wattenberg 2001) as a growing number of states have adopted such hybrid electoral laws. Mixed-member systems have been particularly popular in the new post-communist and post-Soviet democracies, where they were, at least initially, seen as an excellent institutional device to combine the representative and the efficient elements of proportional and majoritarian electoral systems respectively (Moser 1999). This paper will examine the effects of the mixed-member electoral systems in Hungary and Lithuania, where, despite the similarity of institutional choice, party system development has followed quite different trajectories: whereas the number of parties has been steadily decreasing in Hungary, the Lithuanian party system has become increasingly more fragmented over time. This different outcome is even more surprising given that both post-communist democracies have adopted what Shugart and Wattenberg (2001) call the mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) subtype of mixed systems. The paper will examine and seek to explain this puzzling difference in the number of parties between the two post-communist states. The working hypothesis is that there is a key institutional difference that drives the number of parties to equilibrate at different levels in Lithuania and Hungary: whereas the proportional and the majoritarian elements are superimposed (Massicotte and Blais 1999) on one another in the former, they are linked by a corrective tier of seats in Hungary.

Mohammed Nuruzzaman (Alberta), "The Political Economy of Health Reforms in the Global South" - Healthcare reforms is a major issue in many developing countries in the South. The policy approach to health reforms is determined largely by the suggestions contained in the structural adjustments programs that strongly supports the market model over the state model of development. The basic postulates of the market model, among others, dictate that developing countries must reduce public spendings on health, privatize some selected health services, cut down the size of the public health sector, introduce user fees, private insurance and foreign investment, and allow medical education under private sector management. This paper aims at exploring the internal and external factors that play significant role in the privatization of healthcare systems, the impacts the healthcare reforms make on the social order in general and the position of the poor in the new system. The argument it builds is that healthcare reforms cost the poor dearly in terms of access to healthcare facilities and violate their rights to stay disease-free. This

argument would be validated by supplying evidence from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

Mohammed Nuruzzaman (Alberta), "Neorealist Theories and the American Invasion of Iraq" - The American invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq calls into question the basic postulates of the neorealist theories. Prior to the invasion, the American president defined threats in a way that marked a radical departure from the post-World War II concept of security that defined security as the immunity of a state to threats emanating from outside its boundaries. Nation-states, hostile to each other, were the principal sources of threats. The new definition and the actions based on it, in contrast, single out three sources of threats: terrorist organizations with global reach, weak states that harbor terrorism, and the rouge states that are determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction. That said, the basic purpose of this paper is to re-examine the explanatory powers of the neorealist theories to account for the American invasion of Iraq and to revisit their basic premises in order to ascertain whether or not the neorealist theories are still capable of predicting the possibility of war and peace in the new millennium.

Peter Nyers (McMaster), "The Politics of Protection in Military Interventions: Lessons from the ICISS" - This paper examines recent developments in the governance of 'protection' in contemporary world politics and their implications for political autonomy. The relationship between security, autonomy, and protection is a deeply contested one. Disputes over who has the authority to protect, and under what terms and conditions, can reveal new ways of thinking, acting, and organizing politically. Who is to be protected? Who will do the protecting? Can the endangered speak for themselves? This article asks these questions with reference to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). As a key initiative of the Canadian human security foreign policy agenda, the ICISS has attempted to broker a global consensus on the legitimacy of international military interventions. The ICISS argues that the legal debate over the 'right to intervene' be replaced with the idea that sovereignty involves an international 'responsibility to protect' any population facing a situation of profound human insecurity. By introducing this shift from rights to responsibilities, the ICISS forces both a questioning of basic political categories and an interrogation of what it means to speak of political authority and ethical responsibility in the twenty-first century. Will the 'responsibility to protect' serve as the basis of a novel framework for ethical and political practice in the twenty-first century, or will it reproduce rather conventional sovereign categories and practices like 'new wine in old bottles'?

Brenda O'Neill (Manitoba) and **Jared Wesley** (Calgary), "Winnipeg" – TBA/À venir

Sebnem Oguz (York), "Reconsidering Globalization as the Internationalization of Capital: Implications for Understanding State Restructuring" - In this paper, my main question will be how to conceptualize the current restructuring of states in relation to the internationalization of capital so as to allow an understanding of the contradictions of the process. I will argue that both neo-liberal and neo-institutionalist approaches are problematic on this issue as they treat the restructuring of states as external to the internationalization of capital, so they cannot explain the contradictions within capital and the states in this process. An alternative approach can be found in the Marxist literature, where state restructuring is treated as a process consequential on the internationalization of capital. In order to reconceptualize this relationship in the context of globalization, I will review the Marxist literature on the internationalization of capital and the state in four parts: Marx's own writings on the issue; classical imperialism theories of the 19th and early 20th centuries; 1970s literature on the internationalization of capital and state; and the current literature on globalization and the state. I will have two criteria for discussion: i) to what extent each approach incorporates temporal and spatial dimensions as well as the role of states, ii) to what extent the spatial dimension involves a differentiation between the space of capital accumulation and the space of state action. I will argue that the contradictions of the recent internationalization process can be best understood as a contradiction between the internationality of capital accumulation and the nationality of states.

Nilgun Onder (Regina), "Global Financial Governance: Material Forces, Ideas and Institutions" - The paper studies the recent construction of international institutions to govern global finance. While in the 1980s and early 90s, the area of global finance was marked by the neoliberal policies of deregulation and liberalization and the idea of a self-regulating market, since the mid-1990s, there has been a significant shift towards the establishment of international institutions to regulate the global financial market. The

purpose of this paper is to explain this shift and to examine both the form and substance of these new international financial institutions. Existing IR/IPE literature on global finance in general and global financial governance in particular has been dominated by "rationalist" and/or positivist approaches, namely realism, liberal institutionalism and rational choice theory. In recent years, a number of scholars have offered a constructivist analysis of this issue area as an alternative. I will argue that both the rationalist and constructivist studies are either explicitly or tacitly based on a dichotomy between the realm of material forces and that of ideas and discourses. Even when they avowedly reject such a dichotomy, they slip back to it in explaining the creation and functioning of international financial institutions. As a result, they largely fail to grasp the intrinsic, reciprocal determinations between the two realms. This paper aims to provide an integrated study of how material forces and ideas have mutually influenced one another in the construction of a new set of international institutions for the governance of global financial markets over the past decade.

Phil Orchard (British Columbia), "Refugees and the International Sovereign State Systems: The Need of a Relief Valve" - One aspect of state sovereignty that has been under-studied has been the role that refugees play. Hedley Bull accepted that there was a fundamental contradiction between the principles of sovereignty and human rights, but argued that "this conspiracy is mitigated by the practice of granting rights of asylum to foreign political refugees...(1977: 83)" Refugees actually buttressed a territoriality-based conception of sovereignty for three reasons: 1) States could allow unwanted populations to flee without taking more extreme actions; 2) The international community could assist refugees without direct intervention and consequent violations of sovereignty; 3). States could avoid the problem of stateless peoples, who might otherwise become rogue elements within the international system. Refugees were, in essence, a necessary relief valve for the system of sovereign states. This paper argues that ideational shifts have undermined this valve. On one hand, a broader acceptance of a normative institution of human rights has weakened the ability of states to hide behind sovereignty. On the other hand, previously supportive states have undermined the refugee regime, leading to populations that are unable to flee their own countries. These trends have lessened the power of sovereignty, but have also dismantled the power of the relief valve, causing an even greater gulf between an international community that attaches importance to human rights, and states that actively seek to violate these rights.

Michael Orsini (Ottawa), "'From Community Run to Community Based': Examining Civil Society Transformation in Quebec Through the Lens of Urban Poverty" - Profound changes are under way in a number of Canadian cities in the field of health and social services. Decentralization, public-private partnerships are some of the buzzwords that characterize the changing role of the welfare state in the age of neoliberalism. What is less understood, however, is the impact some of these sweeping structural changes are having on the ground in local communities. This paper uses the case study of Pointe Saint Charles, a vibrant Montreal neighbourhood recognized for its rich and varied history of community activism, to examine the features of this new relationship between the state and civil society actors. Drawing from a series of interviews with leaders of community organizations and a thorough review of the grey literature developed by these organizations, I explore how the role and character of community organizations is being redefined in this neighbourhood, and ask whether these changes are particular to Quebec, with its distinct social economy tradition, or whether this case yields wider implications for how we understand the impact of welfare state changes on civil society.

Andrew Owen (Princeton), "Messages, Messengers, and Mechanisms of Influence: Elite Communication Effects and the 1992 Canadian Constitutional Referendum" - In the days following Pierre Trudeau's public denunciation of the Charlottetown Accord, public support for this package of proposed constitutional reforms dropped dramatically. Theories about why Trudeau had the impact he did abound but little empirical evidence has been brought to bear on this question. In this paper I evaluate competing explanations for Trudeau's immediate impact on the referendum campaign. Specifically, I test the validity of two alternative models of elite influence: 'priming' and 'cue-taking'. Using data from the 1992 Canadian Election Study, I test both the extent to which the content of Trudeau's speech raised the salience of certain anti-accord considerations in the minds of voters and the degree to which voters simply combined their feelings toward Trudeau and their knowledge of his position in revising their prior opinions regarding the accord. I find significantly greater support for the latter conception of elite influence. In addition to providing a real-world test of competing psychological theories of political communication, my analysis

contributes to the existing literature on elite influence by demonstrating that despite near unanimous elite consensus, a lone elite can still significantly influence public opinion.

Jeremy Paltiel (Carleton), "Popularism with Agoraphobia: The Structural Constraints on Democratic Political Reform Under Hu Jintao" - Since the emergence of Hu Jintao as China's top leader at the 16th Party Congress in the fall of 2002, and especially since his consolidation of power with his assumption of the Chair of the Central Military Commission at the Fourth Plenum, there has been much speculation on the future of political reform under his leadership. Hu has given some hints of his program with the formulation of a "scientific development plan" his promotion of the development of "political culture", and his most recent promotion of "strengthening the Party's governing capacity" at the Fourth Plenum. The author analyzes these trends with an eye to uncovering the direction of reform and searching out the structural constraints that inhibit democratic reform in the direction of liberal pluralism. Rather than focusing on values embedded in ideology, the author seeks explanations rooted in the structure of the Communist Party of China and the recruitment and promotion system that led to the assumption of power by Hu Jintao. The paper argues that the value preferences demonstrated by Hu are directly conditioned by the process that enabled him to rise to power, and therefore should not be seen solely as a function of his own personality, but rather, the way in which the oligarchic system of Communist Party rule selects leaders under institutionalized conditions.

Martin Papillon (Toronto), "Canadian Contributions to the Study of Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethno-cultural Diversity" – TBA/À venir

Augustine Park (Sociology, York), "Children at Risk or Children as Risk? International Law and Child Soldiers as World Citizens: The Case of Sierra Leone" – TBA/À venir

Jonathan Paquin (McGill), "Bringing International Factors Back In: The US Response to Croatia and Macedonia's Independence" - Domestic politics has been increasingly seen as a central determinant of U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. For instance, one of the conventional wisdoms in the 1990s was to argue that U.S.-based diasporas strongly affect American foreign policy toward their homelands (Nau, 2002; Shain, 1999). Yossi Shain has asserted, among other things, that U.S. ethnic groups often influence which side the United States will support in a secessionist conflict abroad. According to him, the Croatian-American lobby had a major impact on the U.S. decision to recognize the independence of Croatia in 1992. John Shea (1997) makes a very similar argument when he asserts that Greek-Americans prevented the Clinton administration from recognizing Macedonia's independence in 1993. I am very skeptical about this ethnic politics argument and I maintain that the international environment must be more seriously considered before drawing such inferences. Here, I develop a rival argument based on systemic considerations to explain the U.S. decision to support or not emerging secessionist states. By relying on the "method of structured, focused comparison" (George, 1979; George and Smoke, 1974), I re-examine the two empirical cases mentioned above and argue that regional stability was the key factor leading the Americans to support Croatia and to delay Macedonia's recognition. I assert that, although stability was very precarious in Croatia in the early 1990s, the United States moved forward with recognition because it expected that such an action would provide a net gain of regional stability. In the case of Macedonia, I argue that the U.S. withheld recognition because of existing political tensions between Greece and Macedonia over the name "Macedonia". Thus, the U.S. delayed recognition to avoid more tensions and instability in Southern Balkans.

Isabelle Paré (Montréal) et **Éric Montpetit** (Montréal), "Les politiques génomiques et la gouvernance européenne" - Plusieurs pays européens étaient actifs dans la recherche en génomique humaine dans les années 80. L'Union européenne ne disposait pas à cette époque de compétence exclusive dans le domaine de la génétique, voire plus généralement dans le domaine de la bio-médecine. Une proposition de programme commun émergea néanmoins en 1988 et s'est vue adoptée après moult modifications en 1990 sous le titre Analyse du génome humain (Journal officiel des Communautés européennes 1988; 1990). Comment dès lors expliquer l'émergence de cette problématique à l'agenda européen? Face à l'incertitude créée par ce nouvel enjeu et compte tenu que l'UE ne disposait d'aucun programme existant, nous posons l'hypothèse qu'une communauté épistémique (Haas 1992) a porté l'idée d'un programme commun au niveau européen et qu'il converge avec l'expertise des pays les plus influents. Constatant

que les théories de l'intégration telles que le néofonctionnalisme et l'intergouvernementalisme contribuent à expliquer la dynamique historique de l'intégration européenne mais qu'elles n'expliquent pas le processus de formulation de politiques (Héritier 1999; Mazey and Richardson 1996; Radaelli 2000), nous nous inspirons de l'approche du transfert de politiques (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Evans and Davies 1999; Hall 1996; Radaelli 2000; Stone 1999; Stone 2004) afin d'analyser la formulation de la politique européenne du génome humain. Le transfert de politique est un processus par lequel le savoir, les arrangements administratifs, les institutions et les idées ayant trait à une politique particulière dans un environnement donné sont utilisés dans un autre environnement (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000: 5). Une fois le processus de transfert circonscrit, nous analysons son impact pour la France et la Belgique.

Viviana Patroni (York), "Precarious Lives: Labour Market Reforms and Work Programmes in Argentina" - Political and economic changes in Argentina over the last two decades have created dramatic new conditions for most workers there. Rising unemployment, the increasing incidence of precarious forms of employment and the political marginalization of the labour movement have all been significant features of this process. Moreover, special employment programmes characterized by very low wages and low productivity have come to contribute to the general tendency toward growing precariousness and instability in labour conditions, and toward accepting relief from complete exclusion from labour markets on a similar basis. In this paper I will consider the impact that these changes have had on workers in Argentina and some of the organizational responses which have emerged as a way of confronting the direction of reforms.

Bartholomew Paudyn (Carleton), "Governing Monetary Relations Through Risk: Transforming the European Monetary Union's Future By Reengineering Its Present" - Recent developments in Europe's monetary space have demanded the reevaluation of political power and the governance-function. Answering this call has been a research agenda that reaches beyond the state-centrism of traditional theory that is embedded in the problematics of sovereignty. The dilemma of deciphering the trajectory of monetary relations that are inexorably linked to the political authority of the state is that it privileges ontologically prior explanations and totalizing theories. The EMU, however, is not the cumulative reproduction of state monetary competencies at a higher level. Arguably, it is a domain where power is exercised to direct conduct in the formation of a new European monetary identity. Deconstructing the Euro provides it with positivities as opposed to being defined in negation to national currencies. Drawing on Foucauldian studies of "governmentality", it is my argument that studies of monetary governance rooted in the state's political authority are ill equipped to recognize the rationalities of government that underlie this function of political power. Two characteristics of political power are introduced in this genealogical analysis to illustrate how the EMU is governed in terms of risk. First, its discursive dimension presupposes a style of thinking about the future of the Euro and/or common market by reengineering the present and making it calculable in terms of susceptibility. Cohesion of a highly decentralized system of fiscal and political policies is maintained if price stability is achieved limiting inflation to a maximum of 2 percent. Secondly, the practical aspect of political power finds governmental programs dependent on technologies of risk in forming the real. This article posits that this conception of power is better in understanding the governance of monetary relations and its derived identity as an object of government, which complement the author's interest in contested monetary spaces.

Ian Peach (Regina) and **Ken Rasmussen** (Regina), "Networks for Policy Development and Service Delivery: Developments and Challenges in Five Canadian Provinces" - There is an increasing awareness among academics and practitioners of the use of networks for policy development and service delivery. Networks are related both to the rise of public consultation and third party intervention in policy making to the growing use of inter-organizational linkages in delivering services. The simple reason for the rise of networks is that it became obvious to many close observers that no single organization has the resources, authority, expertise or information to successfully deal with complex social problems under conditions of uncertainty. The most common understanding of networks is one that involves a series of interdependent and multiple organizations tied together based on either bonds of authority, exchange relations, or common-interests. Within these sorts of networks civil servants do not exercise authority on the basis of their formal position. Rather they must work collaboratively with community and other stakeholder groups to affect outcomes. Within this broad understanding, networks can include everything from interagency co-operation, intergovernmental program management, contractual arrangements,

public/private partnerships and the use of non-profit delivery agents. There are of course even stronger articulations of networks which are seen by some as being nearly autonomous. As described by Kickert networks: are not controlled by any single superordinated actor, not even the government. They largely control themselves. Autonomy not only implies freedom, it also implies self-responsibility....Deregulation, government withdrawal and steering at a distance.... are all notions of less direct government regulation and control, which lead to more autonomy and self-governance for social institutions. (Kickert, 1993, 275). While a great deal of the literature on networks has been aimed at developing a strong theoretical and normative basis for describing these structures an newer series of questions is aimed at discovering if networks have made the creation and implementation of policy and programs more effective. Some empirical research points to the conclusion that networks make a positive contribution to organizational and policy outcomes. (Meier and O'Toole, 2003, 697). And generally, there tend to be positive assumptions concerning the utility of networks as tools that can better solve complex public policy problems. Indeed, one prominent definition of networks is that they are "multi-organizational arrangement for solving problems that cannot be achieved easily, or achieved easily, by single organizations" (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003). As such, politicians and public servants are increasingly turning to concepts of network management to improve, simultaneously, the effectiveness, efficiency, equity, responsiveness, and accountability of government. (Kettl, 2002) This paper will examine the experiences of five Canadian provinces with networks in order to test the assumption that networks are a positive contributor to policy development and service delivery. Do they make policy development more effective and are they useful in delivering services to citizens more efficiently. A secondary question will look at how networks are forcing policy makers to confront directly a bureaucratic culture and an understanding of accountability that is part of the continuing legacy of the professionalization of public administration in the 1930s. Within the traditional understanding of public administration there is little room for inter-agency collaboration in defining social problems, let alone for the involvement of citizens and external stakeholders in policy serious deliberation and problem definition. Some have suggested that concerns about public accountability can be overcome by reframing of traditional assessments of overhead control which may require public servants to work towards a different sort of democratic ideal and not just the hierarchical and legal ones. This of course is a very old theme in the literature on public administration, but it has been given new life with the presence of so many networks of policy development and service delivery in contemporary society. Indeed, these networks exist because there is a feeling that policies can be more efficiently delivered and effectively tailored within a network context as compared to traditional bureaucratic delivery mechanisms. This paper then will examine networks in five Canadian provinces, the impact that these networks have had on policy development and service delivery and the ultimate challenge this development might present for the issues of public accountability. It is based on a examination of policy processes and delivery mechanisms that have emerged from these processes and assesses the efficacy of network structures on policy process and outcome assessment. It will also create a typology of networks that differentiates networks from other horizontal process within government.

Hilary Pearce (British Columbia), "Making the Most of a Two Vote Ballot: Voter Adaptation to a More Complex Electoral System" - Electoral system reform is currently the subject of considerable debate in Canada. A defence of the existing Single Member Plurality system usually includes reference to its simplicity for voters and the suggestion that Canadians accustomed to the current system may have difficulty adapting to more complex electoral alternatives. For example, the variant of the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system championed by both the Law Commission of Canada and the Carruthers Report in Prince Edward Island requires a ballot paper with two votes: one for the party and one for the candidate of the voter's choice. Scholars remain divided as to whether voters in MMP systems really understand the different roles of the two votes, especially when voters choose to split their votes by voting for a candidate from a party other than that which they have supported with their party vote. Split voters have been alternately cast as sophisticated strategists abandoning uncompetitive constituency candidates; confused coalition-supporters mistakenly splitting their votes to express an equal preference for two parties; or as personal devotees of popular candidates, selecting the most appealing local representative regardless of their party preference. This paper analyses data from the 2002 New Zealand Election Survey, revealing evidence to support all three scenarios and demonstrating that the majority of split voters divide their votes between ideologically compatible, electorally viable candidates and parties. I use multinomial logistic regression to identify which voters are most likely to cast a straight-ticket vote, and which voters are most likely to split their votes instrumentally and expressively.

Susan Phillips (Carleton), "Governance, Regulation and the Third Sector: Responsive Regulation and Regulatory Responses Compared" – TBA/À venir

Mark Pickup (British Columbia), "The Impact of Political Context on Electoral Accountability and Federal Economic Popularity in Canada, 1956-2000" - In his opening to The Responsible Electorate, V.O. Key argues that voters are not fools. Key depicts the electorate as a great god -- "a rational god of vengeance and reward" -- assessing the past performance of the incumbent government and accordingly punishing or rewarding it by voting for or against its return. This paper contributes to the study of this mechanism of accountability by demonstrating the complex dynamics underlying the relationship between economic conditions and federal party popularity in Canada, between 1956 and 2000 and the impact of political context on this relationship. I have developed and employed a modified Box-Tiao method to build and a Bayesian method to analyse state-space models. This is a powerful approach to studying and understanding dynamic public opinion processes. Sampling error produces noise in public opinion time-series. By utilising a state-space model of public opinion, I can optimise the separation of signal (changes in actual public opinion) from noise, reduce the amount of measurement error and ultimately, greatly increase the precision with which public opinion is gauged. The state-space form can also simultaneously model a wide variety of dynamics within popularity -- changes in baseline support, economic or media produced shocks with short or long-term memory, inter-election cycling, permanent shifts in political context, etc. In order to apply this technique to the study of economic popularity in Canada, I have compiled a data set containing 50 years of monthly, aggregate level public opinion, national economic and political contextual data. I demonstrate that different economic variables matter to different degrees at different times but economic conditions clearly do play an important role in the economic popularity function -- a finding that has hitherto been unclear in Canada. These economic effects are not only robust to the inclusion of political context variables, they are often strengthened by it. In particular, accounting for the impact of election campaigns and inter-election cycles are found to be very important additions. In all, I am able to assess how effectively the voice of the electorate, expressed as public opinion and ultimately, electoral outcomes, acts as a mechanism of accountability on government and I am able to determine what contextual factors have helped or hindered this mechanism.

Pietro Pirani (Western Ontario), "Political Elites and Strategies of Action: A Re-Examination of Cultural Influence in Strategic Studies" - Cultural choice analyses of strategic studies have overlooked the effects of elite preference formation and the influence of domestic institutional forces in the process. Strategic culture studies have been inadequate in two respects. First, cultural values and beliefs are not insulated from systemic and institutional influences in the same degree that culturalists would like to portray. Second, cultural explanations cannot account for domestic political changes in the same degree that culturalists would argue. This paper addresses these gaps by developing a new analysis of culture. Using Ann Swidler's ignition of cultural influence, that is, culture influences strategic policies by having a "tool kit" of habits, skills and styles from which people construct "strategies of action", two models of culture are developed, for strong executives and weak executive. In strong executives, culture dependently influences action by providing resources from which the ruling elite can construct diverse lines of action. For weak executives, instead, structural and institutional opportunities for action will determine which competing lines of action will survive in the long run. This will be achieved by examining French, German and Italian foreign policy during the crisis of the former Yugoslavia (1990-1995).

Avery Plaw (Concordia), "Citizenship and the Crisis of Liberal Education: Two Concepts of Political Imagination" - The question of how to use education to prepare citizens for participation in public life goes all the way back to the roots of Western political thought in Plato and Aristotle. For modern liberals, who favor a highly inclusive and democratic public sphere, the question has been especially important, and has given rise to an enormous literature on liberal education. In recent years, however, the widely discussed crisis in liberal education, especially in North America, has put pressure on liberals to clarify their models of good citizenship and to re-evaluate their educational strategies for promoting the development of such citizens. This paper distinguishes two leading contemporary forms of liberalism, neutralist and expressivist, and examines their competing models of liberal citizenship with particular emphasis on the theme of cultivating political imagination. It shows that neutralist liberals, like John Rawls and Bruce Ackerman, emphasize the importance of an imaginative capacity to bracket out personal moral

and ethical commitments, and to participate in political life solely in the light of a subset of commonly held public values. On the other hand, expressivist liberals like Isaiah Berlin and Martha Nussbaum emphasize the importance not only of bringing one's wider range of background moral convictions into play in political life, but of developing a capacity to imaginatively understand, and empathize with, one another's backgrounds. The paper ends with an examination and assessment of the different responses these models suggest to the contemporary crisis in liberal education.

Binoy Shanker Prasad (Ryerson), "Caste, Regionalism and Political Violence: Maoist Violence in Bihar and Nepal" - The types of organized violence in the South Asian region range from ethnic, secessionist to political- ideological. Violence and terrorism in Pakistan, Kashmir or Srilanka have received a great deal of attention both from international relation and comparative politics perspectives. However, a protracted political violence, under the cloak of Maoist ideology, in the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal and a north eastern state of India (Bihar) have scarcely been given adequate comparative treatment. Separately, scholars are aware of an insurgency-type situation in Nepal since 1996 and violence in Bihar, often identified as rural or caste violence influenced by Maoist philosophy. An attempt is made in this paper to understand ideological, organizational and operational links between the Maoist parties of Nepal and Bihar. Separated by two sovereignties, Nepal and Bihar share common socio-cultural and economic conditions and have different political systems. How and to what extent Maoist ideologies are actually put into practice when Maoism has been discarded in the land of its birth. Does it have any tangible or intangible results? Do Maoist organizations and violence they pursue have a particular socio-economic base and how do their ideologies fit into several theoretical explanations of political violence? The paper will be based on archival research and interviews.

Nanda Purandaré (Toronto), "Women, The Welfare State and Civic Engagement: Towards a Reconceptualization of Social Capital" - I argue that a reformulation of the prevailing social capital approach is required to account for both the role of the state in fostering or constraining civic activity, and the impact of diversity on civic engagement. This reconceptualization of social capital will yield new methodological and empirical results. Social capital theory privileges the citizen over the state. However, I contend that state policies have consequences for civic engagement because they affect the citizenship of those reliant on social programs. We must go beyond merely analyzing the quality of participation of the civil society, to pay attention to what resources are necessary to participate, and determine whether citizens have access to these resources. Based on Epsing-Andersen's typology, a comparative analysis of the Canadian (liberal), French (corporate-conservative) and Swedish (social democratic) welfare regimes will highlight how states shape the citizenship and associational lives of its people. Moreover, social capital theory presumes a homogenous civil society. However, I challenge this by exploring the links between diversity and social capital, centering on women's networking. I propose that the manner in which different welfare regimes shape the citizenship of women will shed light on women's social capital. Women are a pivotal case to study when considering the impact of welfare regimes because, as a vulnerable group, they have a significant stake in how welfare regimes shape citizenship rights and entitlements. Furthermore, standard social capital methods have failed to accurately measure women's participation, or establish whether unpaid care work qualifies as civic engagement. Thus, I assert that new methods for measuring social capital are imperative to accurately understanding how all citizens network. *[I am presently drawing on survey data, such as three waves (1980, 1990, 2000) of the World Value survey, to undertake a standard social capital analysis. However, since my goal is to go beyond this approach, I will be conducting interviews with women on their associational lives in Canada and France as part of my field work in the coming months. These interviews will aim to reveal how household factors (marital status, dependents, care work) as well as individual factors (socio-economic status, ethnicity) might be linked to gender-specific networking.]

Joanne Quinn (Western Ontario), "The Role of Informal Mechanisms in Transitional Justice" - The field of transitional justice is primarily concerned with countries' transition from conflict to democratization and/or peace. Many different types of formal institutions exist to bring about such change, including trials, tribunals and truth commissions. Yet it is becoming increasingly apparent that these formal mechanisms are often unable, in whole or in part, to bring about the kind of societal acknowledgement that must be present to allow states to move from a period of mass atrocity toward specified desired outcomes such as democracy. However, the existence of informal processes that do appear to foster some level of

acknowledgement has recently been reported. This paper explores these mechanisms, including mapu oput in Uganda, gacaca in Rwanda, Inkundla in South Africa, and the peacebuilding process that took place in Mozambique. And it considers the role that these kinds of informal mechanisms, quite apart from any of the formal mechanisms that may or may not be at work, can play in fostering societal acknowledgement.

Barry Rabe (Michigan), "Moral Super-Power or Policy Laggard?: Translating Kyoto Protocol Ratification into Federal and Provincial Climate Policy in Canada" - The voluminous literature on global climate change assumes that policy to reduce greenhouse gases is the exclusive province of international regimes and bargaining agents of participating national governments. In North America, conventional analysis suggests that Canada has assumed the high moral ground through its ratification of the Kyoto Protocol while the United States receives international scorn for its rejection of Kyoto. However, Canadian emissions are significant, ranking eighth among the nations of the world; they continue to grow at a rate substantially greater than that of the European Union and significantly greater than that of the United States. This paper examines the slow translation of Canadian commitments on the international stage of climate diplomacy into federal and provincial policies designed to slow or reverse the growth of greenhouse gas emissions. It will review recent experience in all provinces and territories and place particular emphasis on the nature of intergovernmental bargaining, modest development of subnational policy capacity on climate, and the overall impact of provincial leadership on climate policy development emanating from governments hostile to Kyoto. The paper will also consider the very diverse nature of provincial responses, emphasizing the strong link between greenhouse gas reduction options and anticipated economic impacts. It will conclude with a brief comparison with the American case, where a surprising body of state policy innovation is resulting in a very different intergovernmental policy development process. This work will draw on comparative case study review of provincial, territorial, and federal involvement, reflecting two years of field work and approximately one hundred and fifty elite interviews conducted between 2002 and 2004.

Andrea Radasanu (Toronto), "Montesquieu on Liberalism and Legitimacy: Between Nature and History" - Although Montesquieu is one of the founders of liberalism, following closely in the footsteps of John Locke, he is often noted to be less doctrinaire than either Hobbes or Locke. While Hobbes and Locke write about man's universal human nature and the fact that legitimate government must accord with the rational wishes of human kind, Montesquieu takes the emphasis away from the universality of human nature and places it instead on human difference, focusing our attention on history and culture which intervene to shape our experiences and mores. For Montesquieu, political solutions, although they must accord with some semblance of liberty, must also take into consideration particular circumstances of place, history and other factors. This topic is important to investigate in light of what liberalism has come to mean to us. It seems contemporary liberal theory is concerned above all with articulating a theory of liberalism that accommodates as much difference as possible. Our contemporary notion of liberalism requires us not to impose liberalism on those who disagree with the metaphysical foundations of liberalism, to maintain only a "political liberalism", to use John Rawls's term. But how liberal can liberalism be? Perhaps a study of Montesquieu's seemingly inclusive liberalism can help shed some light on this question. This paper is part of the author's dissertation work on Montesquieu. Although the dissertation focuses on Montesquieu's notion of legitimate government, his role in the history of liberal thought and the light he can shed on our contemporary liberal concerns are the larger questions that animate the project.

Wendy Rahn (Minnesota), "Geographies of Trust" - TBA/À venir

Kris Ramsey (Princeton), "Creating Statistical Estimators of International Relations Bargaining Models" – TBA/À venir

Tracey Raney (Calgary), "Canada's 'Civic' Nation: The Determinants of Canadian National Identifications" – Data from the World Values Survey 2000 demonstrate that Canadians are more likely to identify with their country than are citizens of most other Western democracies. Despite the robustness of Canadian nationalism today, there is a lack of sufficient theory-making about the mechanisms of national identity formation in Canada. This paper examines the factors that shape Canadian nationalist

identifications. It presents quantitative data taken from several surveys including the World Values Survey 2000, CRIC's "New Canada" 2002 Survey, and the Elections Canada "Voters and Non-Voters" 2002 Survey in order to assess the determinants of Canadian identity. The paper argues that Canadians' national identifications are largely shaped by their utilitarian and rational assessments of whether membership in the national community benefits them. For example, Canadians are more inclined to identify with Canada when they think political institutions represent their interests, or whether their province benefits from equalization payments. Although emotions like pride in certain national symbols like the Charter of Rights and Freedoms do play a role, in comparison with other Western democracies, Canadians are less emotionally attached to their country than are citizens of other nations. The paper draws from the literature on Canadian identity and the extensive literature on political identities in the EU, developing a more theoretically nuanced understanding of political identities in Canada than currently exists. The paper contributes to the literature on Canadian nationalism, supporting the argument that Canadian nationalism can best be described as a rationally-based 'civic nationalism'.

Eva Rathgeber (Ottawa/Carleton), "Gender Mainstreaming from a Global Perspective" – TBA/À venir

Philip Resnick (British Columbia), "History, Memory and Multinational States" – In this paper, I want to examine the relationship between history and memory, in the particular context of multinational states. I will be focusing on the Belgian, British, Canadian, and Spanish cases, four countries that I have chosen for a larger study on Ambiguous Identities that I am presently working on. Problems with conflicting historiography and memory are particularly salient when we turn to the experience of multinational states. There tend to be very different views of the same historical events when seen from opposite sides of the national divide between majority-type and minority-type nationalities. Language is often a key feature of national identity for members of minority or peripheral nationalities, one of the political geometries that shapes the larger state. Religion has also engendered deep historical cleavages within such states, as have memories of empire and its aftermath. Warfare engenders still other collective memories and conflicts. Through careful documentation, I will try to show that there can be no single reading of national history in such states, no single version of what historical memory is all about.

Patricia Richards (Georgia), "The Politics of Gender, Human Rights, and Being Indigenous" – TBA/À venir

Andrew Richter (Windsor), "From Trusted Ally to Suspicious Neighbour: Canada-US Relations in a Changing Global Environment" - Canadian foreign policy – and in particular Canada's relationship with the United States – stands at a crossroads. Throughout both the Cold War and the early post-Cold War periods, successive Canadian governments charted a cautious approach toward the US, one in which Canada maintained considerable foreign policy autonomy while ensuring that on major issues, the two countries shared common interests and goals. Despite some well-publicized disputes, the strategy was largely successful, as Canada enjoyed a reputation as a respected international actor while it retained a close bilateral relationship. This paper will argue, however, that the Canadian strategy has grown increasingly ineffective. Even prior to September 11 and the resulting US-led war on terrorism, US governments had begun pushing Ottawa on several contentious issues, particularly Canada's low defence spending and open immigration policy. While Canada's response to this perceived interference was increased enthusiasm for multilateral initiatives – including land mines and small arms – the Canadian approach generated resentment and hostility in Washington, especially insofar as these initiatives pitted the US against the "international community". At present, the combination of a unilateralist US administration and an uncertain Canadian one has left the relationship badly strained, and has raised larger questions about Canada's foreign policy. If Canada is to reclaim its standing as a trusted US friend and ally, it must not only become more responsive to American concerns, but it will also have to make a strategic change in its foreign policy orientation, by pursuing a more continentalist approach and downplaying Ottawa's fascination with multilateralism.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon (Western Ontario), "Canada at the United Nations 1945-2005: Pervasive Themes and Evolving Trends" - The paper will assess the extent to which Canada is exercising effective leadership to assist in the development and implementation of the United Nations human rights regime. Three types of leadership will be explored: intellectual, entrepreneurial and implemental leadership.

Intellectual leadership involves offering fresh ideas, new perspectives and creative ways of conceptualizing problems. Entrepreneurial leadership entails forming like-minded coalitions, engineering agreements, and facilitating the negotiation of compromise solutions. Implemental leadership involves providing the resources to translate policy positions into practice and leading by example at the implementation stage. Where warranted, recommendations for improving efficacy will be proposed. The study will focus on the current period, beginning in 2001 - a year that saw major challenges to the human rights regime: the highly contentious Durham Conference Against Racism and the terrorist attacks against the United States. The topic is salient for several reasons. Human rights are intrinsically important and the international human rights regime is the principal vehicle for advancing them. Canada has a broad range of objectives but its ability to act is limited by its modest resources; hence it is important to ensure that resources are used to maximum effect. For reasons of credibility and effectiveness, it is essential that norm creation be supported by concrete programs to translate them into practice.

Norrie Ripsman (Concordia) and **Martin P. Bergeron** (Concordia), "Security in the Post 9-11 Era: The Martin Government's White Paper on Defence" - This paper will explore the security and defence component of Martin's foreign policy review within the context of previous liberal defence White Papers. Since the last White paper, the world has changed. No longer are we in a post-Cold War world where threats were few and the prospects of international stability were high. Instead, we are now in a new international context of a war on terrorism, with our principal ally and trading partner committed to preventive actions against potential threats. How will the Martin government react to this new era? Will they produce a White Paper steeped in the liberal tradition of the 1994 White Paper and the Macdonald White Paper of 1971? Or will they produce a more neorealist-style White Paper, like the Conservative White Paper of 1987?

Ian Roberge (York), "Beating the 'Trap': Canadian Regulation in the Securities Industry" - The joint-decision trap suggests that sub-optimal policy outcomes will be achieved when in a multi-level polity regional actors can exercise a policy veto and block cross-jurisdictional policy initiatives. One way by which to beat the trap is to move politically sensitive issues to the administrative realm. Canada still has a fragmented market and regulatory structure in the securities industry, a policy field under provincial jurisdiction. Despite the recommendations of the recent Wise Persons Committee to move forward with the controversial creation of a national securities commission, such an approach has still not been adopted for diverse political reasons. In fact, provinces have chosen to move forward with the so-called passport system, a model borrowed from Europe in which regulators across jurisdictions recognize each others authority. Europe, for its part, has moved beyond simply using the passport model and has succeeded in overcoming political obstacles to the integration of its securities markets through mostly a technical approach at the Committee of European Securities Regulators. What can Canada learn from the European experience in the integration of its securities markets and regulatory structure? Using the joint-decision trap as its theoretical foundation, this paper compares how Europe has succeeded where Canada lags behind in the integration of its securities markets and concludes that Canada can only escape the trap by removing such discussions about regulation away from the political sphere to that of the administrative realm facilitating the negotiation of a national compromise.

Andrew Robinson (Wilfrid Laurier), "Canada's Contribution to Theorizing on Rights and Ethnocultural Diversity" – TBA/À venir

Fiona Robinson (Carleton), "Ethical Globalization: Towards a Moral Framework" - This paper will analyze and critique a major contribution to the ongoing debate on the inequality in a globalizing world: Thomas Pogge's *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002). I will argue that Pogge presents a highly compelling and carefully reasoned account of contemporary inequality; the cosmopolitan claims put forward by his unique 'institutional' view of human rights are justified by our collective participation in coercive and unfair global institutional schemes and structures. I will also argue, however, that Pogge's argument is limited by the individualist ontology of its institutional rights framework, which focuses on negative duties and lacks any account of human needs, social connection and relational power in the formulation of either its moral framework or its policy proposals. This leads to an incomplete and obscure normative basis from which to begin to consider concrete policy reform to mitigate inequality achieve human flourishing, as well as a

complete lack of attention to particular groups – including and especially women – who are most gravely affected by the current global economic order. In contrast, I will develop a moral framework to address the inequalities of globalization based on a feminist political ethic of care, which is committed to situated, contextualized moral analysis, and is informed by a relational ontology and which can lead to specific reforms in global social policy.

Raymond Rosenfeld (Eastern Michigan) and **Laura Reese** (Wayne State), "Ottawa" – TBA/À venir

Andrew Ross (Johns Hopkins), "Crimes of Passion: Agency, Responsibility, and Forgiveness in International Conflict" - This paper forms part of a larger project on the emotional dimensions of identity in global politics. The paper focuses on developments in international criminal justice and the politics of reconciliation. I argue that understanding the impassioned nature of political agency in cultural conflict places into question key elements of justice and reconciliation. The international criminal justice regime continues to rely on legalistic standards of 'intent' that seldom apply to conflicts involving widespread popular mobilization. At the same time, critics of legalism who endorse psycho-social practices of reconciliation underestimate the need for pluralizing popular affects. Some institutions focus naively on removing collective passions as a precondition for reconciliation. Others, such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, are too focused on official discourses and practices of forgiveness; these initiatives neglect the diversity of popular passions associated with experiences of injustice and conflict. The paper applies theoretical perspectives on the nature of passion and its role in cultural conflict to moral and juridical debates over the appropriate way of responding to those conflicts. It assesses these theoretical debates in relation to jurisprudence from the ad-hoc UN tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as primary documents associated with the ICC and the South African TRC. The paper offers scholars in international security and international law a new framework for thinking about responsibility in the context of impassioned cultural struggles and conflicts. In addition, it makes an original contribution to debates in international ethics and political theory over the impact of affect on moral and legal responsibility.

Ben Rossiter (OLIP), "Coping with the Fall from Government to Third Party Status: The Ontario NDP after 1995" - Following their departure from government in the spring of 1995, the New Democratic Party of Ontario has experienced a number of dramatic changes and struggles. The paper would provide research into this volatile period in the life of the party and attempt to delineate how the contemporary New Democratic Party differs from the party that formed government in 1990. Specific research questions would address the impact of the Progressive Conservative's 'Common Sense Revolution' on the New Democrats, discuss how the party has grappled with inter-caucus divisions and changes in its leadership, and examine the consequences of the party's dwindling electoral success in the 1999 and 2003 elections. Research would be conducted through interviews with past and current Members of Provincial Parliament, in conjunction with primary texts such as archived press clippings and Hansard documents, and secondary texts relating to the New Democratic Party's period as government. The paper would aim to address a research gap that exists in studies relating to the New Democratic Party of Ontario, as very little scholarship seems to exist in relation to the party's post-government period. The paper is of particular interest to the author in three major ways. First, it can be used as a platform through which to understand the effects of broad policy trends - here expressed in neoconservatism's shaping of the Common Sense Revolution - on local legislative politics. Second, it gives the writer an opportunity to take stock of the peculiar vulnerabilities generated by party oriented in social movements. Finally, the paper may help the author to gain insight into the direction that this unique branch of legislative politics is headed towards in the early years of the twenty-first century.

Christian Rouillard (Ottawa) and **Nathalie Burlone** (Ottawa), "Beyond Traditional Views on Horizontal Management and Policy Development: Lessons from Canada and Quebec Renewal of Public Governance" - Although the influence of new public management as a general body of thoughts and ideas still remains as strong as ever, some twenty odd years after its initial sweep in public administration, administrative reforms have always followed national, regional, an indeed, sectoral trajectories. Nevertheless, specific projects of modernisation, reinvention, redeployment or reengineering of the state often put a strong emphasis on the internal and external dimensions of horizontality, sometimes called cross-cutting issues. This dual emphasis leads to questions regarding, on the one hand, doctrine and

practices in public management and, on the other hand, the dynamics at play between state and civil society. This paper intends to discuss, from a critical viewpoint, the theoretical relevance of traditional views on horizontal management and policy development in the context of renewal of public governance. It also aims to develop an alternative theoretical sensibility that builds on a syncretism of key features of critical theory and policy network perspective. Though the emphasis of the paper is theoretical and conceptual, the discussion and arguments will also build on original empirical research (discourse analysis of primary sources, semi-structured interviews and case studies) on horizontal management experiences in the Canadian and Quebec public administrations. The topic of this communication is an integral part of the collective research activities of both authors, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). This communication addresses key themes in public administration, namely: public management reform; development and critique of the “new public management” paradigm; policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. It should be of interest not only to academics specialised in the modernisation of public management, but also to anyone preoccupied by current trends and efforts to redefine public governance, and the role of the state in contemporary post-modern and globalized democratic societies.

Andrea Rounce (Carleton), "Working Horizontally in a Vertical System: Challenges for Government" - In a vertically organized governmental system, horizontal initiatives – those that cut across both departmental lines and levels of government – pose a wide variety of challenges for the individuals involved in the initiatives. However, with the acknowledgement that some issues can be better addressed by a series of departments, governments, and other stakeholder groups working together, horizontal initiatives involving the federal government have become increasingly more common. Much of the recent research around horizontal partnerships focuses on the leadership that needs to be in place in order for these kinds of initiatives to succeed (for example, Bakvis and Juillet, 2004). However, it is not always clearly understood why some initiatives succeed while others struggle. What are the institutional and the individual factors that help shape an initiative's success? What are the ramifications of successful horizontal initiatives for the way government is organized? These questions will be explored using data from case studies of several initiatives involving the federal government. Interviews conducted with senior civil servants in these initiatives will cast light on the how's and why's of working horizontally in a vertical world. This work builds on previous work done with the former Canadian Centre for Management Development's Roundtable Research Project on Horizontality.

Paul Rowe (Western Ontario), "Religion and Peacebuilding: Experiences Among Christian Organizations in the Middle East" - Religion has arisen with a vengeance as a factor in international politics after the events of Sept. 11, 2001. As many scholars have pointed out, most religions have tenets that justify or commend violent or defensive behaviour as well as enjoining peaceful approaches to resolving conflict. Many argue that religion is especially emotive and therefore prone to increasing the intensity of feeling and thereby the level of conflict between people groups. Nevertheless, there is a growing literature that suggests equally that interreligious dialogue and religiously-motivated organizations can have a positive impact in alleviating and mitigating conflict. In the early 1990s, one title argued that far from being irrelevant to the affairs of global politics, religion was “the missing dimension” of statecraft and conflict resolution. Others hold that religious groups may have an important part in providing the tools, organization, and impetus for various sorts of peacemaking and peacebuilding. Interreligious peacebuilding presents a new and important challenge to efforts at constructing peaceful global society. So far, these results have been encouraging. One significant direction is the application of religious third-party NGOs as peacemaking and peacebuilding agencies. Three such organizations coming from a broadly Christian perspective operate in Middle Eastern theatres. One is the Jerusalem-based ecumenical liberation theology centre known as Sabeel. Another is the Middle East Council of Churches. A third is the Cairo-based Forum for Intercultural Dialogue at the Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (or CEOSS). These three cases provide an excellent opportunity for observing the relative success of peacebuilding efforts launched by religious organizations.

Daniel Rubenson (Montréal), "Racial Diversity, Out-Group Presence and Political Participation in American Cities" – This paper analyzes the effects of racial diversity on political participation in American cities. In contrast to some recent research on the subject, the paper argues that incentives for participation are greatly reduced by homogeneity but that the effect of diversity will not be constant across

racial groups. It is argued that heterogeneous places are characterized by more conflict over resources and more mobilized groups, leading to higher levels of political participation. In order to test this argument I use data from the 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey - a survey of more than 29,000 individuals across the United States. Respondents to the survey were matched with census data on their place of residence, creating a unique dataset which is analyzed using multilevel modeling techniques. The results of this analysis indicate that racial diversity affects the propensity to vote differently for different racial groups and that these differences vary across communities. While white people are less likely to vote the more racially diverse their city of residence is, the relationship is the reverse for minority populations.

Arne Rückert (Carleton), "(Re)producing Global Hegemony? The Poverty Reduction Strategy in Nicaragua" - In September 1999, the IMF and the World Bank endorsed a new development approach, called the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) approach, to overcome the current development impasse and the persistent levels of poverty worldwide. One of its key principles is the participation of civil society in the formulation of a national PRSP. In theory, civil society organizations are supposed to play an important role in creating a 'home-grown' development strategy that focuses on pro-poor policies. However, in the case of Nicaragua the potential of civil society organizations to influence the content of the PRSP has thus far been extremely limited. The PRSP approach does not seem to signify the country-driven policy innovation that is necessary to address the shortcomings of previous structural adjustment policies. This paper builds on a neo-Gramscian understanding of international institutions, as first presented by Robert Cox and Stephen Gill. It suggests that the introduction of the PRSP approach can be understood as an attempt by the international financial institutions (IFIs) to deflect criticism away from their (unsuccessful) neoliberal policy reforms and to maintain the dominance of such neoliberal policy prescriptions, by absorbing counter-hegemonic ideas - such as civil society participation - into the mainstream discourse. The findings of this paper are based on expert interviews with representatives of civil society organizations and international financial institutions conducted in Managua in 2003. Since the PRSP process has only recently begun, there has not been a large amount of research on the PRSP process. This paper attempts to address this 'research gap' and to drive forward neo-Gramscian theorizing of development issues by providing empirical grounding for a neo-Gramscian understanding of international financial institutions.

Kim Rygiel (York), "Governing Through Citizenship in the Post 9/11 Era" - The paper argues that the war on terror is largely being fought using citizenship policies and practices and that the official 'war stories' told to justify these policies, like identifying terrorists or making it safe to fly, camouflage the very gendered, racialized and class based nature of these policies. Using an intersectional feminist approach, I first show how the war on terror depends on traditional gendered notions of citizenship like men as citizen warriors and women as, to quote President Bush, 'soldiers in the army of compassion.' I argue, however, that it also depends on newer masculinized identities like that of the 'professional terrorist', an identity which, since 9/11, has expanded beyond Orientalist representations of the terrorist as uneducated, poor and desperate, to one of a well-educated, professional, employed in such areas as computers and engineering, whose actions are regarded as deliberative and calculated. The second half of the paper looks at how citizenship policies and practices, like border controls, biometric travel regulations and detention practices, are being used to govern populations and control the mobility of certain gendered, racialized and classed groups. The paper contributes to the small but growing number of feminist analyses on the war on terror as well as to the growing scholarship in critical citizenship studies through its Foucauldian approach to citizenship as government. The paper builds on doctoral research that examines citizenship as government and the various policies and practices that have emerged around the 9/11 moment.

Louis Sabourin (École nationale d'administration publique), "Canada in the World: Context and Consequences" - Ten years after the publication of the Chrétien government foreign policy White paper, one may legitimately ask if this text is still adequate in the contemporary context. Obviously, the world has changed over the last decade, and the September 2001 tragedy and its aftermaths have contributed in a large measure to redefine the international context. In fact, the question cannot focus only on security issues since economic, financial, social, and cultural components have all been modified. To many, Canada in the World needs to be reviewed and revamped. This paper will analyze the climate

surrounding the White paper decision making and implementation processes, the impact and consequences of the statement, as well as the bearing and the lessons that we can learn from these.

Daniel Salée (Concordia) and **Carole Lévesque** (Institut national de la recherche scientifique), "The Promise and Reality of Multinational/Multicultural Citizenship: Quebec's 'Approche commune' and the Politics of Institutional Re-arrangement" - In recent years, political theorists have gone to great lengths to prove that liberalism and liberal democracies can easily entertain the possibility of multinational and multicultural citizenship. The evolution over the past decade of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state is often presented as a case in point. The signing of new treaties or territorial agreements such as the Nisga'a Treaty in B.C. or Quebec's Paix des Braves with the Cree and Approche commune with the Innu, is seen as a positive development toward the establishment of a formal, nation-to-nation interaction between First Peoples and the state, and as an added proof of the great flexibility of liberal-democratic institutional arrangements. This paper will explore the extent of this flexibility and posit that most of the literature on multinational or multicultural citizenship may well be based on theoretical wishful thinking that does not correspond on the ground with the hard reality of actual political situations. The paper will proceed with a detailed examination of the contradictory interests at play in the recently proposed territorial and administrative agreement dubbed Approche commune and involving four Innu communities, the Quebec and the federal governments. Since its public release in the summer of 2002, the agreement has sparked significant opposition from Quebec's political elite and more particularly from within the non-Aboriginal populations neighboring the Aboriginal communities. The nature of the opposition, which ranges from resentment at not having been properly consulted to outright racist diatribes, raises serious doubt on the political readiness of a liberal-democratic constituency to adapt to the exigencies of multinational or multicultural citizenship. By looking at the politics behind and the various narratives for and against Approche commune the paper will attempt to shed light on the limitations of liberal-democratic societies to accommodate the requisites of multinational/multicultural citizenship.

Paul Saurette (Ottawa), "Humiliation, Respect and Global Ethics" - One of the most explicitly ethical accompaniments to post-WWII globalization has been the discourse of human rights. From founding international documents and NGO mission statements to trade policies tying funding to human rights, globalization and the improved protection and respect for human rights are seen to go hand in hand. Many thus believe that demanding respect for human rights is an unproblematic good and would thus argue that increasing respect for human rights around the world is one of the most promising ethical elements of post-WWII globalization. But what is the philosophical basis for this view? Is it warranted? Or is there a danger that a model premised on demanding respect (of human rights or anything else) might also have a dark side which can create mindsets and practices which encourage states, institutions and groups to ignore the call of human rights? This paper will argue that we need to take seriously this last possibility. It will begin by tracing back the philosophical roots of the post-WWII discourse about human rights to Immanuel Kant's belief that our primary duty is to respect human dignity. The paper will use an analysis of Kant's own theory of respect to show that a philosophy of respect runs the risk of intensifying anxiety about, and perceptions of, disrespectful slights and humiliations – which in turn can create vicious circles of counter-humiliation and conflict. The paper will argue that many contemporary human rights theorists insufficiently acknowledge and address the danger that increasing demands for respect can create. Moreover, through an examination of the statements and policies of the Bush administration, it will show that the ethical discourse of 'respect' faces a particular challenge in contesting human rights violations by the U.S. in the global context of the post 9/11 world. The paper will therefore conclude by arguing that we need to better understand the limits of contemporary human rights discourse and conceive of ethical models that can supplement, or possibly even replace, the philosophy of respect.

Anthony Sayers (Calgary) and **Royce Koop** (British Columbia), "Patterns of Federal-Provincial Party Identification in Canada Since 1993" - This paper represents a preliminary attempt to make sense of federal party membership, or the characteristics of party membership at the national and provincial levels in Canada, in the confused period following the 1993 electoral dealignment of the national party system. In doing so, we focus upon two levels of analysis: individual party members and party organizations, of which party members are integral component. How did Canadians react to the 1993 dealignment in their choices of party membership across federal levels? What were the consequences of this for Canadian

political parties, particularly for how parties organize themselves across federal lines? In addressing these questions, we follow in the tradition of deriving theoretical insights from other disciplines and other areas of political science and applying them to new phenomena. Thus, we first outline different models derived from research conducted on party identification and party organizations in federal states, particularly in Canada, to assist in understanding the nature of party membership in federal states. Second, we use descriptive statistics to examine the extent to which national and provincial party membership is related and how this varies across parties. In these discussions we are primarily interested in addressing the specifics of how it is that individuals and party organizations adapted to the new realities of the post-1993 party system. We conclude this preliminary paper by speculating on the questions our observations raise and further avenues of research.

Francesca Scala (Concordia), "The Public Policy Influence of Public Inquiries: A Case of the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies" - The royal commission of inquiry has been a distinguishing feature of the Canadian political process since this country's inception. Since 1868, over 200 royal commissions have been appointed by governments to examine a broad range of issues, from allegations of misconduct by a government official to the complex issue of assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs). Despite their historical legacy, royal commissions are the targets of much criticism. The most common critique by both academics and lay groups alike is their perceived exorbitant cost. Moreover, the usefulness of royal commissions has been questioned because governments are not legally or politically obliged to implement their recommendations. Frequently, they have been quickly dismissed as mechanisms aimed at achieving consensus on government policy. This paper adopts a more dynamic account of royal commissions, highlighting their role in generating knowledge and ideas on policy issues facing governments of the day. Using the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies (RCNRTs) as its case study, the paper traces the influence of the Commission's research and recommendations on Canada's recent legislation on assisted human reproduction technologies. While conventional thinking depicts the work of royal commissions as quickly 'shelved' after the release of their final reports, this paper reveals that policy-makers were significantly influenced by the RCNRTs' final report released eleven years before the passing of Bill C-6, the Assisted Human Reproduction Act, in March 2004. The case study ultimately calls for a reinterpretation of the role of royal commissions in the policy process which highlights their contributions to the framing of social problems and policy issues.

Mark A. Schaan (Oxford), "From Universal to Conditional Risk Take-up: Welfare-to-work and its Impact on Citizenship, Trust and Agency" – TBA/À venir

Mark A. Schaan (Oxford), "Policy as Planned: The Implementation of Welfare to Work in Manitoba and Ontario" - New fiscal pressures, rising neo-conservatism, and a general desire to reinterpret social rights and responsibilities have led to the emergence of welfare-to-work policies in Canada and internationally. This paper seeks to understand welfare-to-work but, most importantly, its implementation. The paper begins with a look at the rich literature on the emergence of welfare-to-work, making an important distinction between 'labour market activation' models and 'workfare' models. In either format, welfare-to-work indicates a marked shift away from social rights towards an emphasis on personal obligation and responsibility. While the 'new welfare' has received considerable attention, the implementation of such policies is a neglected area. This paper argues that studying implementation is crucial to the outcomes of policy reform: policy is, effectively, remade on the ground level. Understanding the importance of street-level bureaucracy, the paper questions whether the shift in welfare is replicated in implementation and how it varies across systems and models. Utilizing qualitative data from two months of non-participant observation and over forty interviews with welfare-to-work participants and workers in Manitoba and Ontario, the paper argues that the interactions between workers and clients can greatly alter the focus and nature of significant pieces of welfare-to-work policies. The paper argues that discretion at the implementation level, mitigated by time, information and attitude, is crucial in understanding the impact of policy. It concludes by discussing the implications of the findings on the importance of discretion. The implications include positing a role for street-level bureaucrats in devising policy to ensure effective implementation and also questioning to what degree we can understand welfare reform in the past two decades without significant implementation data.

Gerald Schmitz (Library of Parliament), "Of Foreign Policy Dialogues, Democratic Deficits and Detours:

The Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy Reviews" - Canada's Parliament is a paradoxical, and sometimes overlooked, actor in the foreign policy development process. Over the last decades, concerns about the alleged weaknesses of parliamentary oversight of the executive have become a commonplace complaint. They seem also to be a staple assumption in the academic discourse on Canadian foreign policy, when the legislative role merits any mention at all. Yet if one believes the renewed rhetoric emanating from high places about redressing "democratic deficits" in the Canadian body politic, this is all supposed to change. The question posed by one insider following the 1994-95 reviews and white papers remains as pertinent as ever: "Will democratization lead to more effective diplomacy, or is it a pressure-release valve designed primarily to placate a citizenry disillusioned with unaccountable bureaucrats and unresponsive politicians?" Solutions are not obvious to parliament's paradoxical dilemma of supremacy in principle but marginal powers in practice. Moreover, at the end of 2003, a new prime minister ushering in a new management regime, or at least a different style of governing, said that he and his government were committed to changing the way things work in Ottawa. The minority parliament elected by Canadians in June 2004 may provide a more vigorous test of that promise than he had in mind including in regard to the Government's international policy review. Where do we start from and where do we go? Have we erased the democratic deficit? Will more parliamentary and public dialogue result in effective renewal of Canadian foreign policy, or prove to be an exercise in process over substance and an unproductive political detour? What destination can Canadians realistically expect from this reviewing activity?

Tim Schouls (Capilano College), "Between Colonialism and Independence: British Columbia Treaty Politics in an Age of Pluralism" - Argument to be Developed: This paper traces the political evolution of treaty talks between First Nations and the Liberal Party from their election as government of British Columbia in the spring of 2001 through to the election of May, 2005. The underlying thesis of the paper is twofold: 1) Initially, the Liberals demanded that treaty settlements not result in a diminished sovereignty for either the governments of Canada or British Columbia. 2) However, this approach has gradually given way to one more accepting of the idea that what matters more from the point of view of justice and workable public policy are treaties that command the assent of all parties. This paper examines a number of key episodes in the treaty process of the past four years that have contributed to this change. Method of Analysis to be Used: The method of analysis to be used will be largely theoretical. I apply the political theory of relational pluralism to documents released by the B.C. Treaty Commission, federal and provincial treaty negotiation teams, and the First Nations Summit between 2001 and 2005 to arrive at my conclusions. Theoretical Significance to the Existing Scholarship: To this point there is little scholarship that analyses the approach and emerging principles of justice that inform the British Columbia treaty process. Moreover, what little scholarship that does exist tends to focus on issues that need to be resolved at the level of principle and policy if treaties are to be concluded successfully. My paper focuses on questions of process, and more particularly upon those relational forces that have made the Liberal government of B.C. more accommodating toward First Nation leaders' perspectives on political sovereignty. This question concerning what characterizes the nature of political relations between the principals within the treaty process itself has yet to be addressed. Proposal Within the wider Research Interests of the Author: Last fall saw the publication of my book *Shifting Boundaries: Aboriginal Identity, Pluralist Theory, and the Politics of Self-Government* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003). In that book I develop a theory of relational pluralism and then apply it to the politics of Aboriginal self-government at the Canadian federal level. This paper constitutes my attempt to apply that same theory of relational pluralism to the treaty process underway in British Columbia.

Meredith Celene Schwartz (Philosophy, Dalhousie), "Genetic Risk and Trust" – TBA/À venir

Rebecca Sciarra (OLIP), "The Role of the Officers of the Ontario Legislative Assembly" - This paper will explore the role of Officers of the Legislative Assembly in Ontario. Specifically, I hope to focus my analysis upon the Ombudsman Office and the Office of the Provincial Auditor. Traditionally, Ontario's legislature has been conceptualized as a structure, which is comprised of three over-lapping spheres: members of parliament, political parties, and committees. Together, these three dimensions function to "represent the people, hold government accountable, debate important issues, recruit and train political leaders, legitimize and build support for government policies." (White, 1997) Effectively, Ontario's legislature, the bedrock of its democratic values, is understood in terms of partisan relationships and

procedures. By examining these two Officers of the Legislative Assembly, I attempt to ask how independent, non-partisan structures influence the functioning of the legislature. The current academic literature focusing on Ontario politics has failed to closely examine the mandates of these offices and as such might be obscuring facets of Ontario's democratic institutions, both implicitly and explicitly. I would like to outline the legislation which created these offices and then choose some case studies or examples where their work has directly pressured governments of the day to more rightly serve their democratic functions. I might also want to look at recent legislative changes, which have either curtailed or expanded their mandates. Additionally, I would also like to explore these two offices, as they are international actors. Based upon meetings with the current Ombudsman and Acting Provincial Auditor, their mandate or influence appears to extend beyond Ontario's borders. Clare Lewis has served as the director of the International Ombudsman Institute for the last two years and has been a significant voice in international dialogue and policy development. Similarly, the Provincial Auditor's office has increasingly been solicited and visited by foreign delegations (particularly from the developing world) for best-practice consultations. Both of these offices appear to be receiving external attention as institutions which might serve as models for countries seeking to reform their own practices or develop these offices for the first time. Ideally, I would like to conduct interviews with the Ombudsman, Provincial Auditor, and senior staff to flesh out their 'international roles.' Examination of these offices raises several broader questions. Focusing upon non-partisan, independent bodies as actors which impact the functioning of the legislature raises some critical questions about the representative and accountability functions of political parties. This analysis also questions the assumption that sub-national government is largely divorced from the international stage. Additionally, this exploration also asks some questions about federal-provincial relations. Are sub-national actors assuming a larger role outside Canada's border than their federal counterparts? Lastly, an examination of the international roles played by these offices might also question the nature, direction, and rationales for legislative reform regarding their mandates. Do these offices inform Ontario's democracy? If so, do these offices inform democracy abroad?

Dayna Nadine Scott (Law, York), "Risk as a Technique of Governance (and the Systematic Exclusion of Citizens' Voices" – TBA/À venir

Rebecca Scott (OLIP), "The Legislative Press Gallery: How Different Political Parties Use the Media" - Each of the three political parties represented in the Ontario Legislature make use of the print media to disseminate ideas to the general public. Each party has its own style and method of communication and preferred media outlets. Through interviews and observations of question period and media scrums, I will examine the approaches taken by each of the three parties in dealing with the media and discuss why they may use these approaches. The way in which each party deals with the media is obviously affected by their view of the role of the media. I will be using the theories espoused in Robert A. Hackett's article *The News Media and Civic Equality: Watch Dogs, Mad Dogs, or Lap Dogs?* For example, the historical antagonism between the Toronto Star and the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario may lead PC members to consider the reporters from the Star as practicing a "mad dog" approach. I will also discuss the fact that the media has become more aggressive in the past 10 years or so (as stated by several members and former members) and this, perhaps, has prohibited members from taking necessary political actions that may be construed negatively in the media or encouraged members to take unnecessary political action that would be regarded favourably in the media (e.g. Pit bull legislation).

Mitu Sengupta (Toronto), "Idea and Interests: The Role of 'Lateral Entrants' in Indian Policymaking" – A major question in the international relations literature relates to how ideas generated in international arenas come to bear upon internal policy contexts. The question is particularly relevant for developing countries, many of which have embraced programs of market reform in the past few decades that were, arguably, shaped almost in entirety in Washington. This generalization does not appear to apply to India, however, as there is considerable consensus among scholars that external actors did not enjoy the influence in Indian policymaking that they did in other, smaller, highly indebted developing countries which were more overtly reliant on advice from outside experts (see Mason and Asher 1973; Kapur, Lewis and Webb 1997). It is difficult to deny, nonetheless, that externally generated ideas on development theory and practice have left a strong imprint on India's economic policies. It is also widely acknowledged, furthermore, that the conveyors of these ideas to internal policy contexts are technocratic 'lateral entrants' to the Indian civil service, who are typically schooled in prestigious foreign universities or

trained in the multilaterals lending institutions (see Kohli 1989; Khatkhate 2003; Kapur 2004). Some notable early examples are Sukhomoy Chakravarty and I.G. Patel. One may say that the importance of lateral entrants has grown exponentially since about the mid-1980s. Indeed, market-oriented lateral entrants are credited with – and often credit themselves with (see Acharya 2003) – the principal architects of India's post-1991 policy regime. These 'market-radical' technocrats have remained in positions of enormous decision-making power throughout the post-reform period, despite several changes in government. The aim of my paper is to investigate why lateral entrants have played an influential role in Indian policy making, particularly in the post-1991 period. What are the institutional structures within which the transborder flow of ideas – embodied in returning technocrats – take place? Furthermore, why are some returning technocrats more influential than others, and what, ultimately, is the range and depth of their influence? My investigation of the role of lateral entrants in conveying externally generated ideas to internal policy contexts points to both the centrality as well as the limitations of the role of the international financial institutions' in effecting policy change in India. In contrast to most other LDCs, the weight of the IFIs' policy influence in India did not derive from the obviously intrusive method of formal conditional lending. Rather, the strategy employed at the operational level by the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s was to create a firm and reliable constituency for market reform within the political-bureaucratic elite, and to ensure its triumph in intra-state contestations over policy. I argue that it is possible to see most lateral entrants, especially during the post-reform period, as key instruments in the overall strategy employed by the IFIs. The IFIs' strategy of 'targeted dialogue,' as I call it, is neither unique to India, nor to its post-reform period. An important volume by former USAID mission director John P. Lewis suggests that it was first apparent in the mid-1960s, when donors pressed devaluation upon India. However, the strategy was pursued with greater commitment and consequence only a decade and a half later, as an outcome of the World Bank's internally generated critiques of policy-based lending and its new emphasis on 'borrower commitment.' The IFIs' intervention bears some measure of responsibility, I argue, for the "thinness" of liberal market reform in India. One source of concern is that 'targeted dialogue' has privileged one, more 'collaborative' layer of domestic actors over all others, and has thus encouraged the political elite's inclinations towards exclusionary processes and practices. While the Bank has helped root the new paradigm where it perhaps counts most – the economic ministries in New Delhi – its actions have been counterproductive to a large extent, in that they have precluded the idea of radical market reform from finding sufficiently wide-ranging institutional moorings. It is no surprise, therefore, that large gaps remain between discourse and practice. The current government's effort to try to install critics of market reform within elite decision-making structures (through initiatives such as the National Advisory Council) might be a step in the right direction.

Campbell Sharman (British Columbia), "Elections and Electoral Rules in a Unicameral Universe" - TBA/À venir

Alan Siaroff (Lethbridge), "Assembly Size, Plurality Voting, and the Extent of Lopsided Federal and Provincial Elections Since 1900" - The notion of total assembly size as a feature of an electoral system has been noted by Arend Lijphart. (See in particular his *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*, 1994, p. 12.) Very small legislatures, in particular, tend to be less proportional. In the Canadian context, John Courtney (*Commissioned Ridings: Designing Canada's Electoral Districts*, 2001, p. 19), has noted that the smaller the legislature using SMP, the greater the probable distortion. Courtney (*ibid.*) goes on to note that it is "no coincidence" that the Canadian legislatures in which one party has had all or almost all of the seats have been found in Atlantic Canada, which has the smallest legislatures. In fact, some of these provinces historically used multi-member plurality, but that is likely to be just as biased. Although intuitive, such points about assembly size and distortion have never been thoroughly tested in a broad pan-Canadian way. To this end, in this paper I shall look at the size of the largest party and measures of bias in favour of said largest party in all federal and provincial elections since 1900 (including pre-1949 Newfoundland). The proportion of seats using some form of plurality voting and the total size of the legislature will be the two central independent variables used, controlled for of course by measures of competition and fragmentation.

Louis Simard (École nationale d'administration publique) et **Luc Bernier** (École nationale d'administration publique), "Gouvernance et entreprises publiques : le cas d'Hydro-Québec" - Le contexte de la mondialisation et la remise en question du rôle de l'État mettent en valeur des modèles de

gouvernance fondés sur la multiplicité, l'hétérogénéité et l'autonomie des acteurs en présence dans toute question d'intérêt public. La nouvelle gouvernance met en valeur des mécanismes d'ajustements mutuels basés sur la concertation, la négociation et l'adaptation réciproque des acteurs concernés. Cette nouvelle donne commande une réflexion en profondeur sur la place des entreprises publiques au sein de différents secteurs. Présentées à l'origine comme étant des garantes de l'intérêt général, les entreprises publiques sont elles aussi remises en question et confrontées à des logiques d'action parfois contradictoires (intégration internationale, intégration territoriale, planification stratégique et stratégies émergentes). Les auteurs brossent un tableau du nouveau contexte de gouvernance dans le secteur de l'énergie et illustre par le cas d'Hydro-Québec et de l'un de ses derniers projets, la centrale thermique du Suroît cette recherche exploratoire propose le premier test d'une méthodologie de nature qualitative qui permet de décrire et d'analyser les données afin de rendre compte de l'évolution des dispositifs de gouvernance à l'oeuvre. La démarche méthodologique générale repose sur une analyse de la documentation disponible. Des entretiens auprès des acteurs du secteur seront également réalisés. Si cet essai est concluant, la méthode sera utilisée pour d'autres cas. Il existe peu de travaux sur les entreprises publiques au Canada. De plus, le secteur de l'énergie a connu ces dernières années des transformations très importantes. La pertinence théorique du projet consiste dans l'analyse de la mise en oeuvre de la gouvernance dans ce secteur et à l'échelle des entreprises publiques afin de développer un propos critique à l'endroit des différents modèles de la gouvernance et des dispositifs qui en découlent.

Grace Skogstad (Toronto), "Policy Networks Across the Atlantic: Convergence or Divergence?" – TBA/À venir

Gabrielle Slowey (York), "Decolonizing Development? Culture, Capitalism and Indigenous Self-Determination in an Era of Globalization" – Development theories proposed in the 1960's and 1970's were a product of a particular time and place, tied to a historical moment. At the time, theories of development, under-development and dependency reflected the reality of an era dominated by state interventionism and Aboriginal dispossession. The last three decades, however, have seen major changes occur in the relationship between the state and indigenous peoples in both Canada and New Zealand. Government policy on the administration of indigenous people, the settlement of land claims and the negotiation of self-government has ushered in a new era in indigenous development. To that end, this paper argues that the time has come to reconsider theoretical explanations of Aboriginal development and perhaps even construct new ones. That is, it is necessary to reconsider the significance of Aboriginal self-determination as it emerges in an era of globalization. Drawing on recently conducted field research among indigenous groups in Canada and New Zealand, this paper compares and contrasts different development experiences. The aim of this paper is to review and regenerate debates about development and offer a new way to conceptualize Canada's place in the fourth world.

Tamara Small (Queen's), "Canadian Political Parties and the Internet" – TBA/À venir

Heather Smith (Northern British Columbia), "Is There a Canadian IR?" – This paper, perhaps naively undertakes to ask: is there a Canadian IR? Similar to questions about an "American School" or a "English School" one can ask if there is a "Canadian school". This question demands that we consider the definition of a "school" and whether it is location or commonality of theory. Yet regardless of one's starting point, intuitively it seems that there is no Canadian school than can be seen as a cohesive collection of ideas or specific group of scholars. Rather, Canadian scholars are as diverse as the theoretical perspectives available in the field broadly. Moreover, what we also see is that Canadian scholars are capable of taking ideas from the field and adapting them to the Canadian case, thus creating a hybridization of theory and things Canadian. This then causes for a disruption of labels and challenges us to think or rethink the notions of schools – after all – does it really matter if there is a Canadian school?

Jennifer Smith (Dalhousie), "The Atlantic Region in the Institutions of Canadian Federalism" – The purposes of the research are to examine critically the political position of the Atlantic region in the institutions of Canadian federalism and to figure out how that position can be strengthened. My basic hypothesis is that a strengthened position requires that the Atlantic provinces be represented as a region in federal institutions. The research will form the basis of a book. The research involves a number of steps, beginning with a review of the relevant literature on the Atlantic region and the literature on

comparative federal institutions. On the Atlantic region, some of the literature on political and economic union dates to the pre-Confederation era. However, the bulk of it starts with the Report (1970) of the Deutsch Commission on Maritime union and concludes with the recent pitch for "virtual regionalism" made by the Atlantic Institute of Market Studies (2002). Much has changed since the publication of the Deutsch Report, and the second step of the research is to identify the key economic changes that have taken place both in the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland and Labrador, in other words, the Atlantic region. The Deutsch Commission was focused on the economies of the Maritime provinces, and whether the union of the provinces would serve to enhance economic growth within them. The commission said yes. Of course the commission was operating under assumptions about the role of the state in the economy that do not form the basis of the economic policies of governments today. Moreover, I am not interested in the political union of the Atlantic provinces or the Maritime provinces. Nevertheless, the Deutsch Report is a benchmark against which to evaluate subsequent economic developments in the region, especially in the wake of the Free Trade Agreement that Canada negotiated with the United States in 1988. If it proves to be the case that the region is economically much more integrated than before 1988, then there is reason to think that at the federal level it could speak as a bloc on some issues. To do so is impossible under the existing institutional architecture of the federation. There would need to be changes. But what changes? The literature on comparative federalism and the literature on constitutional reform in Canada are good places to look to find answers to the question. In the end, I hope to develop some workable proposals of regional representation.

Miriam Smith (Trent), "Explaining Human Rights Protections: Institutionalist Analysis in the Lesbian and Gay Rights Case" – TBA/À venir

Peter (Jay) Smith (Athabasca), "The Changing Horizons of Politics in a Network Society--The Indian Case" - Until recently globalization has been seen in opposition to the local with "supra-territorial" institutional networks of political and economic power increasingly marginalizing the local (place, territory) (Dirlik). Increasingly, however, scholars, such as James Rosenau, reject this characterization viewing instead the global and the local as dynamically interlinked, as "an endless series of distant proximities in which the forces pressing for greater globalization and those inducing greater localization interactively play themselves out." (4) Here, the analytical separation between foreign and domestic politics, international and comparative politics disappears. This paper explores this dynamic between the global and the local using India as an example. In the past decade as India has opened itself up to the forces of globalization, in particular economic globalization, there has been a counter trend, the formation of complex counter networks of new social movements, non-governmental organizations, and disadvantaged minorities, for example, the Dalits (Untouchables) and Adivasis (tribal peoples) (Joyal). These counter networks are using a wide array of opportunity structures at the community (panchayati raj), state, national, and international levels to contest and shape the forces of globalization. This paper analyzes the networking process of a number of Indian grassroots organizations focussing on their ability to form networks on a local, national, and transnational basis thus combining place based activism with horizontal networking intended to challenge the nexus of power between the Indian state and corporate globalization. A number of research methods will be used in this paper including: 1) Online research on many of these organizations; 2) The gathering in India of primary and secondary literature unavailable in Canada; 3) Use of secondary literature in Canada; 4) Indepth interviews in November 2005 of activists in key grassroots organizations. This paper is one a series of papers the author has written (some with Elizabeth Smythe, Concordia University College) on globalization, new information technology, networking, new social movements and non-governmental organizations.

Elizabeth Smythe (Concordia University College), "Using Ideas Strategically: Canada and Investment Rules at the WTO" - Canada has been one of the chief proponents of negotiating a set of multilateral rules on foreign investment at the World Trade Organization since 1996. This idea, however, was overwhelmingly rejected by developing countries at the Cancun ministerial meeting of the WTO in 2003. This paper examines what was behind the Canadian government's interest in the negotiation of such rules and how Canadian officials sought to use ideas in their effort to persuade developing countries of the need to agree to initiate negotiations on investment rules. The paper examines the origins of Canadian ideas, their relationship to various interests, their evolution over time as a result of learning and finally the influence of other non-state actors on ideas. The paper traces the evolution of ideas through

the work of the Working Group on Trade and Investment at the WTO from 1996-2003. The paper will draw on the literature on ideas and trade policy and the methodology will involve the analysis of Canadian government documents and statements on investment rules, various expert and academic studies on foreign investment, the submissions and minutes of the Working Group on Trade and Investment at the WTO, as well as interviews with trade officials responsible for investment issues. This builds on earlier work the author has done on the negotiation of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment at the OECD and the role of non-governmental organizations in challenging these negotiations at the OECD and the WTO. Dagmar Soennecken (Toronto), "Docket Control and the Process of Judicial Capacity Building in Canada" - Drawing on my dissertation research on refugees and the courts, my paper will assess the consequences of judicial empowerment for the policy process in Canada and in a comparative perspective. Courts are key public policy makers. Surprisingly though, courts have received relatively little attention in the literature on public policy making. If considered at all, public policy scholars focus mainly on the exercise of judicial power through judicial decision-making. Yet the ever-growing presence of judicial institutions in a national and comparative context makes it all the more pressing for scholars of public policy to pay attention to the courts. The paper uses the rules and procedures governing the control of the judicial docket (i.e. the procedures governing the case load of the courts) to assess the growth of judicial power in Canada's and Germany's highest courts. The paper maintains that we need to know more about the process by which judicial power grows (a process, which I have termed "judicial capacity building") because that process is crucial to understanding the changing nature of the relationship between all players participating in the policy making process. Perceiving the growth of judicial power as a structured process, in which "institutions emerge from particular historical conflicts and constellations," as Sven Steinmo and Kathleen Thelen have argued, means that in my analysis, I consider goals, preferences and strategies of political actors as deeply embedded in the historical context of particular institutional structures. Ultimately, I argue that a growth of judicial power is not a linear process entirely driven by self-interested elites, as some recent theories of judicial empowerment suggest, but a process influenced and limited by particular institutional arrangements, norms and relationships, as historic-institutionalist scholars propose.

Dagmar Soennecken (Toronto), "Docket Control and the Process of Judicial Capacity Building in Canada" - Drawing on my dissertation research on refugees and the courts, my paper will assess the consequences of judicial empowerment for the policy process in Canada and in a comparative perspective. Courts are key public policy makers. Surprisingly though, courts have received relatively little attention in the literature on public policy making. If considered at all, public policy scholars focus mainly on the exercise of judicial power through judicial decision-making. Yet the ever-growing presence of judicial institutions in a national and comparative context makes it all the more pressing for scholars of public policy to pay attention to the courts. The paper uses the rules and procedures governing the control of the judicial docket (i.e. the procedures governing the case load of the courts) to assess the growth of judicial power in Canada's and Germany's highest courts. The paper maintains that we need to know more about the process by which judicial power grows (a process, which I have termed "judicial capacity building") because that process is crucial to understanding the changing nature of the relationship between all players participating in the policy making process. Perceiving the growth of judicial power as a structured process, in which "institutions emerge from particular historical conflicts and constellations," as Sven Steinmo and Kathleen Thelen have argued, means that in my analysis, I consider goals, preferences and strategies of political actors as deeply embedded in the historical context of particular institutional structures. Ultimately, I argue that a growth of judicial power is not a linear process entirely driven by self-interested elites, as some recent theories of judicial empowerment suggest, but a process influenced and limited by particular institutional arrangements, norms and relationships, as historic-institutionalist scholars propose.

Marlene Sokolon (West Texas A&M), "The Threat of 'Feelings': Emotions in Mill's On Liberty" - This paper explores Mill's On Liberty as one philosophical source of the commonplace assumption that emotions are a threat to individual autonomy and community well being. Unlike the ancients, such as Aristotle, who understand a role for emotions in the habituation of virtue, Mill understands feelings as one of the greatest threats to liberty. For Mill, emotions and feelings are a part of the free inward domain of conscience, but have no place in censuring the thought or action of others. Political and ethical questions are determined by the "self-regarding" principle, in which the subject is free to feel, think, and act as he

sees fit as long as he does not harm another. Thus, there is no political or ethical significance of emotions such as anger, pity, or indignation, in Mill's political theory. Specifically, in this paper I explore Mill's understanding of emotions in *On Liberty* and evaluate his view that emotions are a threat to liberty. Second, I assess whether a theory that denigrates the role of emotions in resolving ethical dilemmas impoverishes the social debate; as way of example, I apply Mill's theory to the current policy issue of biomedical technology (such as found in Leon Kass, John Robertson, and Daniel Callahan). I conclude that Mill's treatment of emotion deprives the political community of a way to resolve such socially relevant ethical questions and that a theory that includes the emotions in ethics, such as found in Aristotle, is more appropriate.

Stuart N. Soroka (McGill), **Erin Dyck** (McGill) and **Kelly Blidook** (McGill), "The Nature of Legislative Representation in Canada" - In any democracy, there is great interest about the population's views. Decision-makers, stake-holders and observers monitor the distribution and evolution of public preferences regarding various topics." But do these actors actually react to this information; that is, do public preferences drive legislative activity? This question is a central issue in philosophical work on democracy and representation. It also motivates a growing body of empirical research on public opinion and policymaking. One literature focuses on representation at the level of the political system; another explores the link between individual representatives and the preferences of their constituents. This latter work on 'dyadic' representation has been examined almost exclusively within the US, however, both because of the availability of roll call voting data, and because there is little in voting patterns left to explain in Westminster systems with strong party discipline. Dyadic representation may be more evident in other legislative activities, however. For instance, oral questioning in Parliament may exhibit a greater degree of flexibility than voting. We accordingly use a content analytic database of oral questions in the Canadian House of Commons - combined with opinion and demographic data drawn from the CES, commercial polls, and the Census - to explore whose preferences are reflected in this prominent part of the Canadian legislative process. Do individual MPs' questions reflect the preferences of their constituents? Are they driven primarily by party? The resulting study is critical to our understanding of the characteristics, dynamics and limits of legislative representation; "indeed, of the nature and quality of [Canadian] democracy."

Robert Sparling (Toronto), "Faith, Language and Natural Rights: The Hamann-Mendelssohn Controversy" - Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), teacher of Herder, critic of Kant, and general gadfly in the republic of letters, was among the first self-consciously counter-Enlightenment writers of the Eighteenth-century. This paper looks at his polemical reply to his friend Moses Mendelssohn's famous treatise on the separation of church and state, 'Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum' (1783). Drawing on Pufendorf, Wolff, and, most importantly, Hobbes, Mendelssohn had sought to provide a natural rights theory of the modern state that avoided the Erastian conclusions of Leviathan. While Hamann shared many of Mendelssohn's objections to intolerance and state-sponsored faith, his 'Golgotha und Scheblimini' offered a trenchant attack on Mendelssohn, pushing the latter's theory back into its Hobbesian frame. Hamann's critique of Mendelssohn contains a powerful indictment of the language of rights, and, indeed, of the philosophy of language behind natural rights discourse. The Hamann-Mendelssohn controversy, then, is not that between fanaticism and tolerance (as it has been framed by Enlightened readers), but between two competing views of language, and two alternative accounts of the relationship between faith and politics. This paper is a chapter in my doctoral dissertation on 'Johann Georg Hamann and the Enlightenment Project'.

Hanna Stanwick Holmes (Toronto), "The Megacity in the New Millennium: An Evaluation of Metro Toronto Amalgamation Using the Tiebout Framework for Pareto Optimality" - After much controversy, on 1 January 1998, the five municipalities and one borough that comprised the Metropolitan Toronto region were amalgamated into a singular Toronto megacity. The Ontario government, headed by then Premier Mike Harris, had argued for downloading and streamlining and rationalizing local governments across the province, and the consolidation of Metro Toronto governments and services was their most ambitious and highest profile undertaking to date. One of the main aims of the province was to increase efficiency and eliminate duplication in the provision of local services towards an end of cost savings. At the time, there was little evidence, either academic or physical, to support the belief that these cost savings and efficiencies would accrue as a result of consolidation. Today, six years later, we can ask "Was the

Megacity a success?" More precisely, did amalgamation meet the goals set out for the project by the Harris government? Was duplication eliminated, was the delivery of local services improved, were cost savings realized? Ultimately, and most importantly, were the residents of Metro Toronto made better-off as a result of amalgamation? To answer these questions, a framework for analysis is essential. In 1956, Charles Tiebout developed what has become a seminal work in the literature addressing such municipal issues as optimal city size, optimal efficiency in service delivery and the optimal satisfaction of the consumers of these services - local residents. The Tiebout model suggests that voters will sort themselves into a large number of homogeneous communities based on a coincidence of demands for a preferred set of public goods and level of taxation. This "shopping" by voters for jurisdictions results in a fragmented system of local government where public goods are allocated efficiently and residents are the best off they can be. According to Tiebout (1956: 423), municipal consolidation is justified only if it is Pareto optimal: more of any one public good or service will be offered at the same total cost (of the former smaller jurisdictions) without a reduction of any other services. The objective in this study is to determine if Metro amalgamation has been Pareto-optimal, and if not, who gained and who suffered. Quantitative analysis plays an important part in this analysis. The Tiebout model has been used extensively by economists to examine migration trends at the local level in the US, but this is a new application and one of few Canadian uses of Tiebout in any way. Tentatively, it appears that residents in some of the former Metro municipalities gained in some areas while others lost. This and more will be discussed in detail in the paper.

Elaine Stavro (Trent), "Identities Without Moralism" - The evils of identity politics are frequently reiterated amongst political theorists on the left (Nancy Fraser, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler) but the salience of identification in the process of generating social and political struggles and inspiring transformative politics cannot be ignored. I will look to Simone de Beauvoir as a way of avoiding some of the problems associated with identity politics and non-identity poststructuralist politics. Women neither have fixed identities or essences, but nor is identity to be refused as a deficiency, an effect of power endorsing multiple and fragmented subjectivities. De Beauvoir's focus on concrete existence, sees identity always in relation to difference, and self in relation to others, thereby avoiding the essentialist premises and single issue focus of identity politics. Equally she avoids the conflation of the personal and the institutional that all too often plague poststructuralists' discursive analysis and their wholehearted celebration of dispersion and fragmentation. For Beauvoir coherence and identity on a personal level are prerequisites for women's agency. Since women have been constituted as other and have been socialized to regard and care for others, 'autonomy', albeit relational, is a good thing. However on a societal, cultural and institutional level, the dissolution of women's demeaned identities is appropriate. Beauvoir avoids the shortcomings of psychoanalytically inclined feminists (Brown) who see women's struggles for social justice (wounded identities) as trapped within a logic of resentment, but equally avoids those of historical materialists who fail to appreciate the significance of recognition in progressive politics.

Elaine Stavro (Trent), "Fiction and Political Theory" - In the 20th century philosophic challenges to rationalism and foundational theory flourished. This initiated a cultural turn in political thinking and the growing significance of psychoanalysis, phenomenology, linguistics, narratives, cultural analysis in exploring political phenomenon. In domain of political theory (especially feminist political theory) fiction has become an important resource to understand singularity and the 'feminine'. Simone de Beauvoir, Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva all recognize the significance of the imaginary or social symbolic in politics as well as the role of fiction and/or poetics in theorizing. De Beauvoir's fictional work was more involved in disclosing her world and her political engagement with feminist struggles and broader revolutionary struggles (The Resistance, democratic socialism, the Algerian Civil War). Disclosing or bringing to visibility a radical and engaged life served political purposes. The task of having "others bear witness" is quite a different project from the fictional/ poetic writing of Kristeva and Irigaray, who feel transgressing traditional genres of narrative and inventing new fictional forms would challenge phallogocentrism and facilitate constructing new relations that respect sexual difference. While emphasizing theoretical differences between these thinkers, (specifically: the nature of fiction; the relation of language to experience; strategies for political change; their use of psychoanalysis,) efforts at rapprochement will be suggested. Beauvoir's phenomenological position, more suited to radical politics stresses the capacity of women's to creatively engage in and challenge phallogocentric culture, while Irigaray and Kristeva explore the depths and complexities of the masculine within female subjectivity.

Their cultural analysis could be supplemented by Beauvoir's attention to lived experience. Nevertheless, their diverse approaches to fiction exemplify abiding concerns in debates around politics and literature.

Laura Stephenson (Western Ontario), "Challenging the Status Quo: Lessons on Parties, Elections and Voting From the Great White North" - TBA/À venir

Laura Stephenson (Western Ontario), "The Conservative Party and the 2004 Election" - In the 2004 federal election, the right-wing interests of Canadians were represented by a new party, the Conservative Party of Canada, the result of a recent merger between the Progressive Conservatives and the Canadian Alliance. This party, despite having only chosen a leader in March and not having an official constitution, did very well in the election (29.6% of the popular vote, 99 seats), at times appearing to be in sight of winning a majority government. The Conservative Party's popularity and success suggest that voters were able to identify with the party despite their lack of experience with it. Even though the party did not have clear statements of its overall ideology, many voters aligned themselves with the party and voted accordingly. What factors contributed to this outcome? In this paper, I address this question by looking at how voters perceived the new party. Did they see it as a reincarnation of the Canadian Alliance or the Progressive Conservatives? Did the familiarity of the party label add a level of recognition? Or, alternatively, was the party simply seen as a viable alternative to the governing Liberals? These issues are discussed through an analysis of survey data, from studies conducted before, during, and after the 2004 election. This project fits with my interest in the dynamics that exist between parties and voters in Canada.

Laura Stephenson (Western Ontario), **Jennifer Merolla** (Claremont) and **Elizabeth Zechmeister** (California-Davis), "Do Party Cues Help or Hinder? Political Parties as Heuristic Aids in Three Countries" - It is widely agreed that party labels act as information shortcuts, or heuristics, for voters. A large body of scholarship shows that party labels help voters to predict the issue positions of political candidates, determine and organize their own issue positions, and "correctly" select political leaders without possessing "encyclopedic" levels of information. In this paper we explore the traveling capacity of party labels to a) a related domain of political decision-making – the formation of solid political opinions – and, b) across parties and national contexts. We ask three under-studied questions. First, do party labels reduce individual uncertainty in the expression of policy preferences? Second, what factors influence the likelihood that a party cue will reduce uncertainty? We argue that the value of party labels as heuristic devices depends on individual perceptions of party reputation, which encompass both cognitive and affective components. Third, do these effects vary across issues, parties, and/or countries? We present and analyze the results of a cross-national, cross-party study in which we examine the usefulness of party labels in reducing uncertainty in policy preferences. The data were collected, using university students as subjects, in three countries with very different party systems: the U.S., Canada, and, Mexico. Our results demonstrate that, independent of political sophistication and partisan identification, both affect toward and cognitive awareness of a party influences a party's usefulness as a heuristic. However, these effects clearly vary by issue, party, and country. This proposal fits within the workshop theme of "Understanding Opinion Formation." It directly addresses the first question presented in the call for papers: - "Given their lack of political information, how do people deal with the complexity of politics to figure out what they favour and oppose?" - as it looks at whether party labels simplify the political world and help voters to develop strong political opinions in three countries.

Peter Stoett (Concordia), "Environmental Security in the Balkans: Toward Post-Conflict Co-operation" - This paper will address the impact of violent conflict and post-conflict efforts to mitigate environmental damage. The theoretical context will involve a discussion of the eco-functionalist hypothesis, which suggests that post-conflict environmental co-operation can enhance the prospects of success for broader peace and institution building exercises. It will argue that though the eco-functionalist hypothesis is tempting there is little concrete evidence of progress in the Balkans at this point. This will be exemplified with a brief case study of the debate over nuclear waste disposal involving three former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. Plans to locate waste depositories near the Una River, which cuts across Croatia and Bosnia, awakened a civil society protest movement. The paper argues that it is at this substate level that the more satisfying eco-functionalist progress is in evidence, though several transgovernmental initiatives are also promising.

John Sutcliffe (Windsor), "The Impact of Public Consultation Exercises on the Formation of Windsor City's Border Crossing Strategy" - The border crossing between Windsor and Detroit is one of the busiest and most economically significant border crossings in North America. This border is of vital importance to the municipality of Windsor. It generates commerce, and for many local residents, it serves as an important route to American services and employment. At the same time, however, border traffic threatens to overwhelm the city of Windsor. Over 10, 000 trucks per day drive through Windsor's city streets on their way to the US. This creates problems for municipal infrastructure and threatens residents' health and safety. For these reasons, local municipalities are intensely interested in the on-going discussions about measures to upgrade the border crossing. In the short-term, the Canadian and Ontario governments have agreed to make available \$300 million to improve the flow of traffic across the existing border crossings. In the long-term, a Canada-US-Ontario-Michigan Border Transportation Partnership is investigating the construction of a new border crossing and/or the expansion of an existing crossing with a decision expected within three years. Windsor City government is actively engaged in the debate about the future of the border crossing. The city has conducted public consultation exercises, has debated the issue on a number of occasions, and is in the process of developing a border-crossing strategy. This paper examines this strategy and seeks to determine the extent to which it has been influenced by the public consultation exercises. The paper thus enters the debate on internal municipal decision-making processes and the question of which actors, if any, dominate these processes. A number of scholars of Canadian municipalities and elsewhere have questioned the impact of public involvement in municipal decision-making, and instead highlighted the role of elites, particularly business elites. Hamel (2002), for example, argues that consultation exercises are limited by the fact that they may be dominated by local elites who do not necessarily represent the interests of the local population as a whole. On the other hand, there are studies that see municipal governments as uniquely placed to mediate among competing voices at the local level, and others that perceive a larger role in decision-making for local citizens (see Hambleton, 2002). This paper's conclusions are based on a content analysis of Windsor City's border strategy, the council debates on the border crossing, and the content of the consultation exercises. In addition, council officials and elected councillors are interviewed in order to assess the factors that influenced their decisions on this issue.

John Sutcliffe (Windsor) and **Mirco Kovacev** (Windsor), "English Local Governments in the European Union: A Deepening Relationship Within a Multi-level Governance Setting" – The study of local government interest and engagement in the European Union has declined in recent years. It has been argued that the European Union has not transformed the system of local government within member states (it has not created a 'Europe of the Regions'), and that local governments have only been interested in the European Union because of the possibility of securing money from the structural funds – that is, for reasons of 'grantsmanship'. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that English local governments are likely to become less interested in the European Union. Following the May 2004 enlargement of the European Union, there is less money likely to be available to English local governments in the post-2006 financial period. This paper examines the extent of current English local authority engagement in the European Union and their expectations about the future of this activity. It does so based on a survey of English local government officials and an examination of local authority structures and budgets. The survey seeks to establish the current extent of local government resources expended on European activity and official expectations about whether these resources are likely to increase or decrease in coming years. In addition, the survey seeks to establish whether local governments are particularly interested in the European Union because of potential funding opportunities, or whether the basis for engagement is the overlap of jurisdiction between the European Union and local authorities. This paper's central argument is that because of shared jurisdiction between these levels of government, the relationship between the European Union and English local authorities is important and will continue to be important. This finding is in accord with the authors' previous research on Scottish local government. Thus, although English local governments are active in seeking funding opportunities from the European Union, they are not only interested in the European Union for this reason. Instead, the European Union has become embedded in the work of English local authorities because their policy-making responsibilities are influenced by decisions taken at the European level.

Jill Symonds (Victoria), "Engaging Citizens - How do B.C. Municipalities Engage Citizens in Their

Communities" – TBA/À venir

David Tabachnick (Nipissing), "To Enframe or Not to Enframe: Essentialism and Constructivism Reconsidered" - In large part, this paper is an effort to understand and categorize the work of philosophers of technology. Part one considers essentialist thinkers who accept Martin Heidegger's enframing argument. I subdivide these thinkers into three categories that reflect Heidegger's three responses to technology: 1) "aggressive", i.e., the elimination of technology; 2) "moderate," i.e., the reform of political, social and cultural institutions to better reflect the changes that technology brings; and 3) "passive," i.e., the acceptance that we cannot act against or direct technology. Part two considers constructivists who do not accept the enframing argument. They are subdivided into two categories: "revolutionary" or those that want to overthrow reigning social structures toward an egalitarian technological society; and the "evolutionary" or those that want to reform institutions toward the same end. Part three reconsiders both sides of this debate in the context of Andrew Feenberg's recent work on essentialism and constructivism. While I come to a provisional agreement with essentialism, I wish to highlight the insufficiencies of the particular arguments of constructivists and essentialists as well as each theory as a whole. This paper is part of a larger project on the interrelation of politics and technology.

Brian Tanguay (Wilfrid Laurier), "Canada's Contribution to the Comparative Study of Parties and Elections:" – TBA/À venir

Ghislain Thibault (Communication, Montréal), "Gestion des risques imputés aux technologies : quels modèles ?" – TBA/À venir

David Thomas (Queen's), "The South African Communist Party (SACP), 1994-2004: Hostages of History" - This paper will argue that the SACP's historic alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) is an important factor in rendering it incapable of acting as an agent of revolutionary change toward socialism in post-apartheid South Africa. Based on decades of struggle against apartheid, the SACP is currently held hostage by its 'faith' in the Tripartite Alliance – the SACP, ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) – as the vehicle for progress in South Africa. I argue that a genuinely socialist political project (as outlined in parts of the program of the SACP) is incommensurable with the orientation of the ANC, which is reformist and multi-class in character. I use a neo-Gramscian theoretical understanding of hegemony to analyse this concrete situation of hegemonic struggle in South Africa. This paper is based on interviews with members of the SACP conducted over a five month period in 2004, as well as a thorough reading of the literature on South Africa's transition to democracy and the politics of the Tripartite Alliance. While the literature explains well the failure of the ANC led Tripartite Alliance to adequately transform the economy of South Africa, my work will be the first study that focuses specifically on the SACP and its role in this failure. This paper will be part of my PhD. dissertation entitled "Hegemonic Struggle in Post-Apartheid South Africa: the role of the South African Communist Party (SACP)."

Alana Tiemessen (British Columbia), "From Genocide to Jihad: Islam and Ethnicity in Rwanda" - Post-genocide Rwanda is currently in a phase of reconciliation and building national unity. Ethnicity is often cited as the primary stimulus to a protracted conflict between Hutus and Tutsis that eventually culminated in the 1994 genocide. The role of ethnicity in post-genocide Rwanda has an associated official and non-official rhetoric. While the government employs and imposes a rigid agenda of "Rwandanness" whereby old ethnic distinctions no longer exist, in local communities there is a widespread perception that this is facile and superficial. Amidst this complex dilemma of "identity" there is a role for religion as both a stimulus to conflict and a potential source of healing. Rwanda is Africa's most Catholic country, however, the growth of Islam in both rural and urban areas has been exponential since the genocide. What explains the increasing number of Hutus and Tutsis converting from their unifying Christian identities to a marginalizing Muslim identity? This Muslim community is growing in a country with widespread poverty and a history of mass violence for which there has been no justice and no reconciliation. As such, does the rise of Islam in post-genocide Rwanda represent fertile ground for Islamic fundamentalism or religious based reconciliation? This case challenges many mainstream theories of religious and ethnic identity with respect to its role in intrastate conflict. Additionally, Rwanda shows that the introduction of a Muslim identity does not translate into a breeding ground for violence. This paper will argue that Islam represents

a source of healing and unification for Hutus and Tutsis in post-genocide Rwanda by changing social boundaries and deconstructing ethnicity. This will be shown by juxtaposing the growth of ethnic and religious identities primarily within a constructivist theory of identity; this will be followed by a review of the growth of Islam in Rwanda and its potential for healing the relationship between victims and oppressors.

Rebecca Tiessen (Dalhousie), "Women and Leadership in Malawi" – TBA/À venir

Annis May Timpson (Edinburgh), "The Politics of Language, Idigeneity and Identity in the Eastern Canadian Arctic" – TBA/À venir

Marcela Ríos Tobar (Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, FLACSO-Chile), "The Dilemmas of Citizenship for Latin American Women Today: A feminist Analysis from the 'South'" – TBA/À venir

Alexander Torchev (Toronto), "Distrusted Courts: The Impact of State (In)capacity on Judicial Power in Post-Communist Countries" - Following more than a decade of post-communist transition, one encounters the following puzzles: Why has judicial empowerment in many post-communist societies generated stronger public distrust of courts? Why, for example, more and more Russians sue their state in courts and win, yet the public confidence in the judicial system appears to be waning year after year? This paper argues that the answers to these puzzles may lie within the machinery of governance, namely the state capacity to carry out court-ordered policies. Lacking both the power of the purse and the power of the sword, most courts, be it high constitutional tribunals or local Justices of the Peace, depend on the cooperation of other government bodies. Patterns of this cooperation or the lack thereof are, in turn, depend less on the formal institutional arrangements, which are fragile in nascent post-authoritarian regimes. Rather, the structure of informal sanctions and incentives influences the extent to which bureaucrats are willing and capable to carry out judicial decisions. The chronic non-implementation (defiance or the lack of capacity to enforce) of court decisions may make voters more cynical about the judicial branch of government. By drawing on the successes and failures of high and local Russian courts to have their anti-government and pro-government judgments respected by the state agencies, this paper assesses the real impact of post-communist courts on public policies and provides insights to the study of government accountability in comparative contexts. This paper adds a comparative dimension to the Law and Public Policy Workshop by showing how courts, governments and the public interact in the post-communist polities.

Phil Triadafilopoulos (Toronto), "Global Norms, Domestic Institutions and the Transformation of Immigration Policy in Canada and the United States" - TBA/À venir

Linda Trimble (Alberta), "Who Framed Belinda Stronach? National Newspaper Coverage of the Conservative Party of Canada's 2004 Leadership Race" - This paper reports the results of a content analysis of national newspaper coverage of the Conservative Party of Canada's inaugural leadership race, coverage spanning January 13 to March 22, 2004. All news stories, opinion pieces, editorials and columns published from the day after the first candidate's launch to the aftermath of the vote were examined, for a total of 258 stories. This leadership search was of interest to the national media because the "new" party was expected to pose a strong challenge and perhaps even topple the incumbent Liberal government in a rumoured May or June 2004 national election. The news value of the leadership race intensified with the entry of a political unknown, Belinda Stronach. A 37 year-old CEO of a successful corporation, Stronach was portrayed as a glamorous, jet-setting multi-millionaire with friends in high places but little political experience. Her blonde good looks captivated the press corps. By contrast, the two male candidates were, apart from their relative youth (mid-40s), typical political leadership aspirants whose participation in the contest was predicted and predictable. While Stronach lost the Conservative leadership to Stephen Harper on the first ballot, she ran a well-financed, staffed and organized campaign, enjoyed considerable backing from party insiders, and placed a respectable second. Literature on media treatment of female politicians suggests that they receive less, and less prominent, coverage, are subjected to scrutiny of their appearance and private lives, treated to gendered framing devices, and evaluated as lacking the qualities and characteristics needed to win elections. If masculine norms do define political leadership roles and shape media coverage of leadership contests they are likely to be revealed by press coverage of serious challenges by women for the leadership of competitive political

parties. In the case of the Conservative Party of Canada, a woman with two of the three features of "high quality" candidates, namely money and visibility, not only stayed in the race but was responsible for a flurry of media attention even before she made her announcement. Stronach lacked one key qualification, political experience, therefore any differences in the amount and tone of news coverage between male and female candidates in the Conservative leadership race can be only partially explained by political resource arguments. This leadership race thus presents a rare opportunity to compare media coverage of male and female candidates for a powerful leadership position and determine the extent to which news media reflect masculine leadership norms.

Trygve Ugland (Bishop's), "Policy Integration and the Organization of Cross-Cutting Issues: Food Inspection System Reforms in Canada and the European Union (EU)" - Food safety has become a major concern for consumers, producers and governments all over the world due to a series of crises concerning human food and animal feed. In order to promote co-ordination and improved efficiency in services, many countries have launched comprehensive reforms of their food inspection systems. The present paper examines the reforms undertaken in Canada, the European Union (EU) and its member states. On a theoretical level, these reforms will be discussed in relation to the possible tension between decentralization and centralization associated with the New Public Management movement. In addressing this theme, this paper separates between two dimensions; a horizontal and a vertical. Horizontally, food safety is a crosscutting issue that involves different policy sectors such as health, agriculture, fisheries, industry and trade. Food inspection systems may therefore be organized under different governmental departments or ministries. Along the vertical dimension, both Canada and the EU can be depicted as multi-level entities. The federal state of Canada consists of ten provinces and three territories. The EU has 25 member states after the enlargement in 2004. The Canadian and EU food inspection systems will be examined in relation to the complex relationship between sub-national, national, regional and international levels of governance. The objective of this paper is to identify and compare the main trends concerning the horizontal and vertical organization of food inspection systems in Canada and the EU. The study relies on documentary information and qualitative interviews with Canadian and EU officials working with food safety issues.

Tom Urbaniak (College of Cape Breton), "Who Preserves? The Protection of Historic Places in Growing and Struggling Communities" - The study of local historic preservation (or heritage conservation, as it is often called in Canada and Europe) is of growing interest. It has been elevated recently by acclaimed publications, such as Anthony Tung's *Preserving the World's Great Cities*, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation's significant efforts in the United States to make the preservation and restoration of buildings and cultural landscapes the centrepiece of grassroots efforts to heal communities that suffered under "urban renewal" and formless sprawl. My paper will compare and contrast the politics of local historic preservation in two very different Canadian municipalities: the economically struggling, formerly industrial Cape Breton Regional Municipality and the generally affluent, rapidly growing suburban city of Mississauga. Overall, both have poor preservation records, but there have been promising results in some neighbourhoods and during some periods in the recent past. Current and historical comparisons of these municipalities' constituent neighbourhoods and pre-amalgamation communities will therefore also be undertaken. The observations from these municipalities, which make decisions within the framework of similar provincial heritage-planning laws, will lead to informed speculation about the variables that contribute to a strong or weak local preservation ethos and to a local government that is receptive or indifferent to preservation. Research methods will be relatively basic and primarily qualitative, including interviews with municipal leaders, local historians, and community activists, observations of municipal-council deliberations, archival research on lost and saved historic places, and reviews of municipal heritage inventories and heritage-committee minutes. Local economic and demographic indicators will be examined for potential correlations with the status accorded to historic preservation.

Eric Uslaner (Maryland), "Diversity and Trust" - TBA/À venir

Nadia Verrelli (Carleton), "Federalism: A Theory" - Underpinning constitutional politics, in both theory and practice, are structures of federalism. That is, one's conceptualization of federalism almost always informs his/her constitutional position. Similarly, one's constitutional position is a strong indication of his/her conception of federalism. However, federalism, what it is and how it ought to operate vis-à-vis politics,

more specifically, constitutional politics, is highly contested. For years theorists have tried, in vain, to come to grips with an all-encompassing meaning of federalism. Though this endeavour has proven fruitless, there is a consensus amongst academics that federalism is a political system in which there are at least two levels of government where responsibilities, powers and jurisdiction are outlined and entrenched in a constitution. Furthermore, there is a 'set of ideas' underpinning the federal institutions. It is this notion of a 'set of ideas' and accentuation of principles, that varies from academic to academic. Scholars differ on how power ought to be shared, the degree of autonomy to be allocated to the regional/constituent units, the degree of centralization and decentralization and finally, why a country chooses a federal form of governance over other forms. The different conceptions of federalism can be better understood if we think of them in terms of mononational versus multinational; that is, different ideas of what federalism is in theory and how it ought to operate in practice can be reduced to the idea that there are two broad approaches to the understanding of federalism: mononational and multinational. The former category includes the notion of symmetry, the efficiency and stability of federalism, the debate between decentralism and centralism, the assumption of an obligation to the Constitution and the other level of government, and the idea of hierarchy between the levels of government. The latter includes the concepts of subsidiary, autonomy, respective diversity, deep diversity, asymmetrical federalism, a sense of obligation to the spirit of federalism, and equality between the orders of government. By viewing the different conception of federalism within these two categories, we are able to view not only the purposes of federalism and federation, but also, the obligations which underpin these purposes. In addition, we are able to analyze the underlying assumption of concepts including, diversity, justice, stability and order and how they are prioritized, which inform the different understandings of federalism. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to provide a literature review of the various conceptions of federalism, within these two broad categories, in order to better understand the concept and principles and their underlying assumptions.

Robert Virdis (McMaster), "Modernity and the Loss of Human Togetherness: Arendt and Voegelin on Democratic Citizenship" - My paper discusses the major challenges confronting democratic citizenship as outlined in the writings of Hannah Arendt and Eric Voegelin. Because they considered readiness to rational discussion and civic action as necessary bulwarks against the various forms of tyranny, both authors were alarmed by what they perceived as a decline of citizen participation in the public realm. Unlike scholars such as Dana R. Villa, Ronald Beiner and Margaret Canovan, who emphasize the differences between Arendt and Voegelin (differences that are indeed evident in the authors' own public statements regarding each other's work), I argue that it is more illuminating to consider what they have in common. In particular, their discussions of the problems facing democratic citizenship in modernity are complementary. Voegelin uncovers the religious and cultural sources of abandonment of politics by the best and brightest in contemporary liberal democracies. Arendt describes how the predominance of industrial and technological production in the modern world erodes the specific character of action - the disclosure of the agent in the act. I suggest that, taken together, these insights offer a more comprehensive discussion of the challenges to democratic citizenship than would either of them alone. I proceed by comparing Arendt's *The Human Condition* (1958) with the *Published Essays, 1953-1965* in the 11th volume of Voegelin's *Collected Works*.

Ron Vogel (Louisville), "Toronto" - TBA/À venir

Jennifer Wallner (Toronto), "Distilling Decentralization" - TBA/À venir

Scott Watson (British Columbia), "Societal Security: Applying the Concept to Stateless People" - Societal security has become a prominent concept in the field of security studies and has been used to challenge the supremacy of state security as the dominant paradigm in security studies. It has achieved this success because it addresses intrastate conflicts and accounts for the role of the state as a primary source of insecurity in many parts of the world. However, the concept remains problematic for scholars because it is vastly understudied and because it has yet to identify who defines and provides security for non-state societies. Those that use this concept rely on the problematic assumption that society is capable of enunciating security threats against it. This paper argues that security cannot be understood outside of the state concept for two reasons: 1) societies are incapable of implementing the extraordinary means necessary to counter potential threats and 2) ultimately the international community determines

who speaks security on behalf of non-state societies. Examining two cases: the Palestinians and the Turkish Kurds, this paper argues that these societies have at various times had numerous claimants to the role of securitising actor. In the Palestinian case, the PLO eventually secured the role of securitising actor, while both the PKK and the KDP have been unsuccessful to fill this role for the Kurds. I argue that the differences in the outcomes of these cases have not been due to any discernable decision on the part of their respective societies, but rather that of the international community. As such, societal security fails as a concept distinct from state security and can best be understood as one sector of state security.

Georgina Waylen (Sheffield), "Gender and Transitions: Comparative Lessons from South Africa and Chile" - TBA/À venir

Jared Wesley (Calgary), "Spanning the Spectrum: Political Attitudes in Manitoba" - This paper explores the contours of the Manitoba political party system. By surveying Progressive Conservative, New Democratic and Liberal candidates in the 2003 Provincial Election, the study uncovers a distinct left-right pattern in their attitudes, with each party maintaining its own unique 'alloy' of attitudinal elements. New Democratic candidates hold social democratic, reform liberal, 'New Left', and neo-liberal attitudes, for instance. Meanwhile the Tories are divided between their 'progressive' and 'conservative' wings, and the Liberals between their reform- and neo-liberal factions. These internal cleavages help bridge the gaps along the party spectrum, as certain left-wing and right-wing values permeate the attitudes of each party. Specifically, the survey reveals widespread leftist support for social welfare, civil liberties and the environment, as well as cross-party adherence to neo-liberal concepts like affordable government. Nonetheless, despite intra-party divisions and inter-party convergence, the study concludes that there is considerable attitudinal distance between the various parties in Manitoba. This establishes the existence of a conventional political spectrum in the province – with the NDP on the left, the PC's on the right and the Liberals in the centre – and confirms that the Manitoba party system provides its voters with the coherent choices and clear options they require to meaningfully participate in provincial elections.

Jared Wesley (Calgary) and **Michael Colborne** (Calgary), "Framing an Election: The Media and Alberta Provincial Politics" - Analyzing the relationship between the media and deliberative democracy in the context of the 2004 Alberta General Election, the following article offers an alternative perspective on media politics in Canada. By first comparing the role of television to print news and, second, media effects in the provincial context, the research design is unique in both approach and subject matter. Nonetheless, the findings are disappointingly familiar to proponents of deliberative democracy. Employing a three-dimensional measure of media effects, the case study reveals weaknesses in the quantity, quality and content of mass media coverage, each of which detracts from substantive political dialogue within the electorate. With the majority of Canadians reporting television as their major source of election news (Blais et al., 2002: 35), the negative implications of this analysis are further amplified; compared to newspapers, the study depicts TV coverage as particularly lacking in terms of volume, balance and substance. While adding to a growing literature on the negative effects of media on Canadian democracy, the article concludes by challenging critics to move beyond diagnosis and alarm; comprehensive solutions, taking into account the pervasiveness of the problem and the wide range of actors involved, are required to address the democratic deficit in newspapers and on television.

Frances Widdowson (York), "The Political Economy of Nunavut: Internal Colony or Rentier Territory?" - In the political economy literature, it is common to refer to the northern areas of Canada as "internal colonies". These references are based on a comparison between the domination of aboriginal peoples within Canada and the circumstances of the Third World. Because northern aboriginal groups have been oppressed by a foreign power, it is argued, they constitute "internal colonies" of the Canadian state. Such a comparison, however, is flawed in that it fails to recognize the unique character of aboriginal colonization in Canada. In the case of a number of Third World colonies, European powers exploited local labour to extract raw materials from these areas. This differed from the colonization of aboriginal peoples in Canada, which, with the exception of the fur trade, generally did not rely on native production. Aboriginal peoples were subjected to what Erik Olin Wright has called "nonexploitative oppression"; they became warehoused in unviable areas so as to make way for development, and were not incorporated into Canada's industrializing economy. Aboriginal marginalization from industrialization has meant that "economic development" in native communities is often similar to the "rentier states" of the Middle East,

where surplus is accrued from royalties or foreign aid, not from increasing the productivity of indigenous labour. This circumstance will be illuminated by using a historical and material analysis to examine the specific case of Nunavut. Since the fur trade, very little aboriginal (Inuit) labour has been used to extract resources from the territory. Instead, the economy of Nunavut largely consists of distributing transfers that have been generated externally. This kind of "economic development" has resulted in continued dependency and social dysfunction in the territory, inhibiting the political emancipation of the Inuit population.

Russell Alan Williams (Simon Fraser), "Financial Services Regulation in Canada" - Initially, analysis of globalization argued economic pressures would constrain the range of policies available to public officials, opening a "democratic deficit". Subsequently studies have identified persistent differences in national policy responses – suggesting its impact is more complex. Thus, interest has grown in using "mid level" theories like policy networks analysis to explain specific policy responses to globalization in different domestic political settings. In the case of financial services most analysis suggested globalization in this sector, already notable for its "closed" policy network in which only leading financial services companies and Finance officials had significant influence over policy, would further isolate policy from normal policymaking processes. In Canada, initially the response to globalization was Government support for the emergence of "universal banks" through domestic de-pillarization and conglomeration which would prepare Canada's backs for increased global competition a consensus grounded in an increasingly closed policy network, dominated by Canada's "big banks". However, despite this analysis, this paper argues that the policy network has radically "opened" since 1998 undermining Government support for further deregulation and conglomeration. The struggle over mergers between Canada's "big banks" expanded the role of Parliament (and Parliamentary committees) in overseeing the sector, offering new network participants influence over policy - in this case a contending "anti-bank" advocacy coalition opposed to further conglomeration. This "re-politization" requires that we change our traditional "closed" analysis of the financial services policy network in Canada. It also challenges dominant assumptions about globalization constrains politics in the sector.

Gary N. Wilson (Northern British Columbia), "The Nunavik Commission and the Path to Self-Government in Arctic Quebec" - Since the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975, the inhabitants of Nunavik have pursued the goal of public self-government within the province of Quebec. The latest step towards the realization of this goal was the creation of the Nunavik Commission, an appointed body with representation from the federal, provincial and regional governments, whose goal was to "identify the required means to establish a form of public self-government that can meet the needs of a northern community while operating within federal and provincial jurisdictions." (Dufour and Tremblay, 1) Although Nunavik already has a well-developed set of regional government institutions, a fact viewed by some as helpful to development of a more autonomous self-government structure in the region, recent events in the region suggest that the entrenched nature of the existing regional government institutions presents a significant challenge to the process of creating an amalgamated government structure for Nunavik. By using a qualitative, case study research approach this paper will examine the various institutional tensions that have arisen as a result of the Nunavik Commission's final report and the manner in which these tensions have threatened the development of an integrated, public self-government structure in Nunavik. In particular, the paper will focus on the legal dispute between the Kativik School Board and the Makivik Corporation over the work of the Commission and its proposals for institutional amalgamation. This paper will attempt to broaden our understanding of the self-government process in Nunavik, a topic that has received relatively little attention in the English language literature on Aboriginal self-government and federalism. It will also explore the lessons that the Nunavik case may hold for other Aboriginal communities as they move toward their own systems of self-government.

Karen Winzowski (British Columbia), "Science & Industry and Their Relationship to US Arms Control Policy" - In December of 2001, the United States terminated negotiations over strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), arguing that the proposed verification protocol "would actually allow Libyan and Iraqi inspectors to start poking around American pharmaceutical companies. It's ill conceived, and that's the problem." The fact that negotiations over the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) concluded in 1997 with the acceptance by the US of an intrusive verification protocol presents us with an interesting intellectual puzzle. Theories focusing on power relationships between states are

unable to offer an adequate explanation for this apparent anomaly since the US wielded similar levels of power in 1997 and 2001. Having studied arms control and US and Canadian responses to the threat of WMD extensively, the author believes that the best explanation lies in the realm of domestic politics, and specifically with the relationship between domestic industry and affiliated scientific communities. Information on the behaviour of these communities during negotiations over the BWC and CWC will be obtained through new primary research into scientific and industrial publications, while information on the actions of the US government will be obtained from government publications. The conclusions offered by this study demonstrate the need for a reformulation of our understanding of what Haas has labeled epistemic communities. Specifically, this study will reveal that by choosing its cases based on the dependent variable, the epistemic communities literature fails to acknowledge the cases in which respected scientific communities, influenced by their close relationship with industry, choose not to pursue the goal of international policy coordination.

David Wolfe (Toronto), "Community Participation and Emerging Forms of Governance in Economic Development Strategy" - This paper surveys our current state of knowledge about alternative mechanisms for governance at the local and community level to formulate business attraction and economic development strategies, within the context of the recent literature on innovation and the role of industrial clusters. It examines the historical experience with alternative policy approaches to economic development strategy at the state (in the US) and provincial levels (in Canada), as well as the insights afforded by recent research on the nature of industrial clusters and their implications for policy formation at the local level. It draws upon relevant illustrations from the case study literature in the US and Europe to identify the emerging frontier of best policy practice and describes some specific policy initiatives in these jurisdictions and the experience with them. The paper advances the argument that what has been characterized as institutional weaknesses and failures of governance in the past may prove to be sources of strength in the emerging paradigm of the knowledge-based economy. A key role for provincial and local governments lies in strengthening the governance capacity at the local and community level in order to deploy its enabling powers more effectively to promote a process of social learning among firms and local institutions.

Robert Wolfe (Queen's), "Do Officials Learn From the Public? Trade Policy Consultations in Canada" - Is the institutional basis of the WTO politically sustainable? Following Kratochwil and Ruggie, I expect the WTO to provide transparency about actor intentions, a forum for the legitimation of the regime, and help in developing new consensual knowledge about how the system works. In this context, I ask whether domestic public consultation exercises are elite attempts to manipulate mass opinion or occasions for social learning by governments and citizens. The empirical examples are drawn from the extensive trade policy consultations conducted in Canada.

Mark Wolfgram (Carleton), "Propaganda Effects: Watching Socialist Television in East Germany" - Although opinion polling was practiced infrequently in East Germany, the Communist government did conduct irregular polls. In contrast, the East German television service since 1968 conducted surveys on a weekly basis. These television surveys offer new insight into the thinking and views of the East German population, with separate demographic data for workers, party members, functionaries the intelligentsia and so forth. In this paper, I will discuss my most recent research into the television survey material. First, I establish the reliability and validity of the data, which may well be stronger than the explicitly political opinion polling conducted by the government. Then I give a sense of viewer habits. Although some scholars, such as Lutz Niethammer, have suggested that East Germans lived vicariously in the West through television, there is ample evidence that large segments of the population regularly preferred to watch East German television. Finally, I offer evidence to show how some state propaganda was effective. This paper will appeal to those with a general interest in media effects and the work by Robert Entman, William Bennett, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, and the late Murray Edelman. In terms of methodology, I use content analysis for the programs and a systematic comparison of the statistical data in the surveys. Theoretically, the paper demonstrates that popular culture can be effective in distributing state propaganda, even when the audience is consciously aware of the state's intentions. This paper fits into my wider interest in politics, media studies and collective memory.

Steven B. Wolinetz (Memorial), "Rethinking Party Organization" - The literature on party organization

has lagged behind literature on party systems. There are several reasons for its relative under-development: the structure and shape that parties take is less readily quantifiable than party strengths. In addition, the standard models which political scientists use as benchmarks – party as a mass membership organization – direct our attention toward formal organization and what parties look like on paper. Although gathering data on “the official story,” as Katz and Mair (1994) have done is important, we need to know more about “the effective party,” or the structures or agencies which carry out the tasks or functions of nominating and electing candidates to public office. Although in many instances, the party on paper and the effective party correspond, in some they do not: for example, in the United States, political action committees (PACs, more recently designated as 527 organizations), campaign consultants, and candidate-centred organizations carry out some of the tasks which parties fulfill elsewhere. In addition, American parties might well be described as parties in parts rather than parties as a single coherent organization. Using a functionalist approach to explore variations in the effective party provides a means to compare Canadian, American, and European parties (from which many of the categories in the literature are derived), as well as parties in other parts of the world. The paper will review the existing literature on party organization in order to suggest ways in which standard categories might be broadened in order to facilitate comparison and address key issues, such as the extent to which parties and party systems are institutionalized. The paper is part of ongoing research on parties and party systems for a forthcoming book, *Rethinking Parties*.

Feng Xu (Victoria), "Building Community in Post-Socialist China: Toward Local Democratic Governance?" - During its “transition to market economy”, the Chinese state faces the question of governance as an important and urgent task, one in which some have argued the survival of one-party rule is at stake. Urban Chinese face worsening unemployment as the state-owned enterprises are undergoing privatization. As a result, the old system of welfare provision and social control based on the work unit is losing its grip. What is the new social control mechanism in the emerging market economy? This paper looks specifically at the state’s effort to promote community building in urban China in order to map new urban space of social control. Community building is to move away from the model of direct government actions in all aspects of people’s lives, down to the neighborhood and individual families; and to move instead toward a model of community self-governance. In the thinking and practice of governance in China, a notable aspect is the adoption of global neo-liberal governance, in particular as influenced by the international trends in “new public management”. Because community building is seen to be part of an effort to build civil society, it is often hailed as a sign of democratization in post-socialist China by Chinese and international scholars, as well as by international donor agencies. This paper joins other scholars (N. Rose; Z. Bauman) in taking a critical stand on the global discovery of “community”, and argues that community building in China serves to 1) off-load social responsibility to individuals in community by calling on individuals to be “responsible” citizens; 2) enabling the state to demonstrate that it is building local democracy by empowering citizens to govern themselves in community, without having to forego the one-party rule. I will use personal interviews, and analyze government documents and writings on community by Chinese scholars to develop my argument.

Lisa Young (Calgary) and **Harold Jansen** (Lethbridge), "An Ecological Explanation of One Party Dominance in Alberta" - Alberta’s unusual party system and voting behaviour have often puzzled Canadian political scientists. For over thirty years, one party – the Progressive Conservatives – has governed continually. It has put together an election winning streak that has seen the party win large shares of the popular vote that the single member plurality electoral system has translated into even larger shares of the seats in the provincial legislature. In recent years, there has been little or no work done on the voting behaviour of Albertans. The lack of survey data has contributed to this absence. This paper will analyze Alberta’s voting behaviour in the 2004 provincial election not through survey data but through an untapped resource: an ecological analysis of constituency level variation in party support and voter turnout. By marrying the constituency level election results in the 2004 provincial election with census data, we hope to understand better the voting behaviour that lies at the heart of Alberta’s unique party system.

Shaun Young (York), "The (Un)Reasonableness of Rawlsian Rationality" - In Political Liberalism John Rawls argues that “the reasonable” and “the rational” are “two distinct and independent” ideas. This differentiation is essential to the viability of Rawls’ conception of political liberalism insofar as it facilitates

the recognition and subsequent voluntary acceptance of the need for a public conception of justice that requires all individuals to forsake the unfettered pursuit of their personal ambitions. In this essay I argue that the soundness of Rawls' argument is premised upon a number of questionable claims that, in effect, render his proposed distinction between the reasonable and the rational more chimerical than real. In particular, contra Rawls, his conception of reasonableness does not merely "frame" and "subordinate" rationality; rather, it orders and animates its very being. In essence, one must act reasonably to act rationally. If such is the case, it becomes extremely difficult to argue persuasively that the reasonable and the rational are "two distinct and independent" ideas in any meaningful practical sense. This fact has important consequences for the viability of Rawls' argument, especially insofar as it renders his conception of public reasonableness unreasonably coercive and thereby undermines the ability of his proposed governance framework to secure and sustain the type of widespread, voluntary public agreement (i.e. an overlapping consensus) he deems essential to the establishment of a just and stable liberal polity. It is concluded that the only way one can be assured of generating the sought after conditions is to develop a regulatory framework that publicly supports and more effectively protects the principles embodied in Rawls' notion of reasonableness than does Rawls's conception of justice, which problematically relies upon the reasonableness of individuals to secure and nourish the required conditions. The essay presents an analysis premised a careful review of both Rawls's Political Liberalism and Justice as Fairness: A Brief Restatement. The examination engages research that is part of a book-length study entitled Reasonable Public Policy (under contract to the University of British Columbia Press), which analyzes the role of the concept of reasonableness in the theory and practice of public policy development.

Jasmin Zine (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education), "Beyond Orientalism and Fundamentalism: Muslim Women and Feminist Resistance - In this paper, I explore the ways in which Muslim women's feminist theorizing and praxis has responded to the war on terror that has re-activated Orientalist tropes and representations of backward, oppressed and politically immature women in need of liberation through imperialist interventions, and to the challenge of religious extremism and puritan discourses that authorize equally limiting narratives of Islamic womanhood and compromise their human rights and liberty. Currently there is no cohesive framework for feminism shared among the variously oriented Muslim women who operate from either secular or religious paradigms. Secular feminists have built transnational alliances connected to global anti-racist feminist and anti-fundamentalist movements and remain ideologically at odds with faith-centred Muslim women who root their resistance within the space of religious reform. Reconciling these positions in order to develop strategic solidarities among Muslim feminists is a contemporary challenge. A common agenda of combating racist and imperialist domination will be proposed as a means of developing a framework of solidarity among these diversely situated Muslim women engaged in liberatory feminist practices.

Bojana Zizic (Queen's), "Political Participation and the Internet - Mobilization theory asserts that the internet helps to level the playing field between the dominant and marginal political players because it reduces barriers to political participation. On the other hand, reinforcement theory holds that the internet reinforces political participation of the dominant political elites. Current debates between strictly defined reinforcement and mobilization accounts have not brought scholars much closer to the full comprehension of the complex relationship between internet use and political participation. Firmly choosing one account over the other necessarily simplifies the problem, leaving out numerous nuances which do not fit within a single theoretical framework. This paper demonstrates that the two accounts can both be applicable to different groups, circumstances and situations. My hypothesis is that the internet use is capable of both mobilizing new political activists, and reinforcing political participation of the dominant political players, depending on how they use the internet. To prove this hypothesis, the paper analyzes how internet participation of political and social activists in a local, Kingston study intertwines with the overall essence of their political involvement. Lastly, the paper examines the prospect of activists' participation for democracy, providing recommendations for their possibly more effective online participation. As part of methodology, numerous in-depth interviews with executives from the Liberal Party, the NDP, the Green Party and the former Progressive Conservative Party and Canadian Alliance were conducted. In addition, leaders and spokespersons from different social movements, such as Amnesty International, Kingston Pesticide Reduction Group, The Ontario Public Interest Research Group

(OPIRG) and Queen s Project on International Development (QPID) were interviewed. Lastly, website content analysis is also part of methodology used.