

**Abu-Laban, Yasmeen**

*Multiculturalism, the State and Political Science*

This paper concerns itself with the growing attention to ethnic, linguistic, religious and racial diversity paid by both the Canadian state through its policies, as well as the manner in which Canada's diversity has been both approached within the contemporary Canadian political science tradition. This endeavour suggests that there is an important, and specifically "Canadian" contribution to debates and policies. However, it is argued that in both cases "culture," has emerged as a central lens by which diversity has been viewed, and that this emphasis alone has limitations in dealing with the historic and contemporary ways in which inequality is experienced. A more adequate approach in both policy and analysis would also explicitly engage themes of racialization (emerging from anti-racist perspectives) as well as themes of power (emerging from colonial and post-colonial perspectives). In making this argument, this paper draws on a wide array of the extant literature, as well as government documents.

**Adams, Chris, Berdahl, Loleen and Poelzer, Greg**

*On-Reserve Provincial Voting in Manitoba*

On-reserve Status Indian populations face realities that are distinct from other Aboriginal populations (such as urban Aboriginal and Metis populations), and from the Canadian population as a whole. Many on-reserve populations are impacted affected directly by provincial government policies and initiatives, such as natural resource development, transportation infrastructure, among other things; accordingly, provincial policies are of immediate interest to the on-reserve Aboriginal electorate. Yet despite this, on-reserve Aboriginal provincial voting – and in particular, on-reserve provincial partisanship – has yet to be fully explored in Canada. This paper will examine on-reserve provincial partisanship in Manitoba, and in particular provincial voting in the 2007 Manitoba Election. Two data sources will be used: poll results supplied by Elections Manitoba (which will serve for the ecological analysis portion of the paper) and survey data from Probe Research's Indigenous Voices Survey. The paper seeks to determine: (1) if on-reserve voting differs from general population voting; (2) if on-reserve residents report different partisan leanings than the general population; and (3) what factors might explain any variations that are found. The paper seeks to contribute to theories of Aboriginal political behavior. The research builds on the authors' collective interests in Aboriginal governance and political behaviour.

**Adams, Erika and Maslove, Allan**

*Innovations in Transfer Payments to Local Governments: The Case of the Gas Tax Fund*

As part of Paul's Martin New Deal for Cities and Communities the federal government agreed to transfer a portion of the excise tax revenues collected on gasoline to municipalities to support environmentally sustainable infrastructure investments. The original commitment made by the Liberals was for \$5 billion, but the Harper Conservatives re-branded the Gas Tax Fund (GTF) under the Building Canada initiative and made it a permanent measure at \$2 billion per year in 2008.

While transfer payments have been widely used in Canada by the federal government to address provincial and municipal fiscal gaps, deal with interjurisdictional externalities, and achieve fiscal equity, from the perspective of local governments the GTF is innovative because it is a hybrid between a grant and a contribution.

The GTF has some characteristics of a contribution because it contains a complex accountability framework that includes an annual expenditure report, an outcomes report, and an audit report. At the same time, it has characteristics associated with grants because the funding is given up-front and, while the agreements specify eligible categories, the federal government is not involved in the selection of projects.

Considering that the innovative design of this program, which includes a comprehensive multilevel governance arrangement, is being presented as a valuable alternative that could be used in the future for other transfer programs, this analysis could answer practical questions about the rationale for choosing this particular arrangement, challenges of implementation, and its implications for municipal decision making, autonomy and accountability.

**Adelman, Howard**

*The Responsibility to Protect: Theory and Practice*

This paper offers a theory of responsibility rooted in Hegel. The theory of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as developed over the last decade and best articulated in the Canadian report of that same name is examined as a contrast. The paper consists of three parts. The first part articulates in a summary form a theory of collective responsibility applied to international organizations, more specifically the United Nations, as best articulated by Toni Erskine's recent publications, then traces the theoretical roots of that theory to Hegel and examines the practices entailed by that theory. The second part provides a succinct summary of the development of the R2P doctrine beginning with Kofi Annan's articulation of the doctrine in 1999 up to its unanimous endorsement by the UN in 2005 and then unpacks the theory underlying the doctrine to indicate why its liberal idealism is riddled with inherent contradictions. The third part will articulate how those contradictions played out in practice in Darfur since civil war broke out in that region of Sudan in February of 2003.. Instead of offering protection to those forcefully displaced in Sudan, the practices led to feints and delays, misplaced hopes, a situation of protracted displacement, an illusory use of the international justice system, and an impotent military

peacekeeping force. These effects were reinforced rather than mitigated by the Kantian neo-cosmopolitan R2P doctrine. An alternative theory of responsibility and its incumbent practices could have mitigated the distress.

### **Aitken, Rob**

#### *Post-structuralism and the Critical Project in International Political Economy*

International Political Economy (IPE) is often conceived as an 'open terrain' of interdisciplinary analysis and inquiry. Although Gramscian-Coxian forms of critical theory have introduced a useful critical vocabulary, they have tended to be preoccupied with a somewhat limited range of issues relating to transformations in world order; shifting configurations of social forces in the global political economy; or the prospects for hegemony and counter-hegemony at the global level. Although significant and innovative, this approach has not engaged with recent conversations across the social sciences dealing with issues of language, discourse and representation. In particular critical IPE voices, with some notable exceptions, have not dealt very fully with post-structuralist concerns. This paper explores the limited ways in which post-structuralist approaches have been taken up in IPE and makes the case that one way in which post-structuralist analysis might productively advance the critical project in IPE relating to the 'making up' and 'performance' of economic categories. Drawing on a recent strand of work related to the 'performativity' of economics (work by Timothy Mitchell, Donald Mackenzie and Michel Callon) this paper argues for the importance of analysis which can foreground the mundane ways in which particular economic categories—the 'firm', 'capital', 'the economy'—are constituted in forms of discourse and knowledge. To make this case the paper reviews recent regulatory changes across the Anglo-American world relating to payday lending; regulatory and policy practices which constitute payday lending as a formalized and legalized practice in the global political economy.

### **Aivalli, Tejas**

#### *Pork Barrel Politics at Queen's Park*

This paper will examine presence, extent and nature of pork barrel politics at Queen's Park firstly by analyzing the expenditure of public funds in the ridings of government backbench MPPs. The research will involve interviews with these MPPs that will center on the justification in their eyes of the riding-specific allocations. Their connection with interest groups and local officials will also be investigated.

Pork barrel politics is well-known in the United States but much less studied in Canada. At the same time, while there is an extensive literature on interest association politics, little of it focuses on riding-specific allocations. Much of the pork barrel spending occurs late in the fiscal year and is often called fourth quarter expenditures. This pattern will be explained.

### **Akuffo, Edward**

#### *Towards Human Security by Proxy? : An investigation of Canada's support for African Union Mission in Darfur, Sudan (AMIS) in the Post-Liberal Government Era*

The exit of the Liberal governments of Prime Ministers Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin from power appears to mark the end of human security in Canadian foreign policy as "prophesised" by scholars such as Denis Stairs. Indeed the concept of human security attracts diverse interpretations and understandings, however, within the Liberal government circles the concept was used to connote the protection of people from violent conflict. For some analysts such as John English, human security is entrenched in the liberal internationalist tradition of Canadian foreign policy. In this respect, Canada has played key leadership roles in creating the 1997 Ottawa treaty to ban landmines, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine, and the International Criminal Court. Within the context of the liberal internationalist orientation of human security, the central question that drives the discussion in this paper is this: In what ways has human security informed the policy of Chrétien and Martin on the one hand, and the government of Conservative Stephen Harper on the other hand, towards the African Union Mission in Darfur Sudan (AMIS)? In order to address this question, the paper traces the origins of the Liberal government's support to AMIS and how this support has evolved under the Conservative government of Mr. Harper. I will argue that although the idea of human security appears to wax and wane from the foreign policy vocabulary of the Canadian government under Mr. Harper, the Conservative government is moving towards promoting what I will call 'human security by proxy' especially through its reliance on the African Union's leadership to resolve the violent conflict in Darfur.

### **Alcantara, Christopher and Whitfield, Greg**

#### *Aboriginal Constitutions in Canada*

As a result of Aboriginal mobilization, organization, and activism over the last 60 years, Canada's constitutional framework has undergone significant change. Scholars have documented these changes by focusing on the Constitution Act of 1982, comprehensive land claims agreements, and the treatment of Aboriginal rights by Canadian courts, among other things. What hasn't received much attention is the emergence of Aboriginal constitutions, which transform Aboriginal self-government agreements signed by Aboriginal, federal and provincial/territorial governments, into fully functional Aboriginal governance structures.

This paper seeks to answer the following questions: are Aboriginal constitutions different from non-Aboriginal constitutions? If so, to what extent have Aboriginal groups indigenized western constitutional structures to better reflect local values and norms? Is there significant divergence or convergence in the types of constitutional structures being produced? To answer these questions, we draw upon the Canadian and comparative literatures on constitutional design

and Aboriginal politics to analyze the constitutional texts of those Aboriginal groups that have completed comprehensive land claims and self-government agreements in Canada.

**Altamirano, Isabel and Kuokkanen, Rauna**

*Globalization, Land and Property Rights: Producing Indigeneity, Producing Women*

This paper compares Indigenous women's matrimonial property rights and access to land in Canada and Mexico, arguing that colonial and national state policies that erased women's political legitimacy within their own communities are being addressed by contemporary legislative initiatives that silence Indigenous self-governance and rights even as they claim to respect those rights. Governments in these countries have attempted to maintain control over Indigenous lands while recognizing some degree of governing autonomy for Indigenous peoples. This contradictory set of political objectives has been especially pernicious for Indigenous women. Systematic gender differences in land tenure, property rights and access to resources that were produced through colonial practices and embraced by Indigenous male leadership, are now being re-read by neocolonial governments as expressions of an originary patriarchal backwardness of Indigenous men. Indigenous women's struggles to gain matrimonial property rights and access to land place them in an awkward spot vis a vis discourses of domination and subjection. On the one hand, property rights reify class inequalities and shore up capitalism while on the other hand the significance of land to Indigenous cultures and economies must be viewed as a part of the package of rights that must be granted in order to secure Indigenous identities and political legitimacy. The fact that property, and particularly matrimonial property, has become a key site for the enactment of these contradictions and struggles in the contemporary period also invites analysis of how neoliberal globalization functions in and through these conflicts.

**Anderson, Cameron, Roy, Jason and Stephenson, Laura B.**

*Partisans, Defectors and Non-Partisans: Explaining the Rise and Fall of Canadian Governments from 1988-2006*

With turnout reaching a historic low of 59% in the most recent Canadian federal election, it appears that the downward trend, occurring since 1988, will continue. Explaining this trend as well as proposing solutions has been the focus of much scholarly and public interest in recent years. Less attention has been paid to the effects of declining turnout on partisan support and electoral outcomes in Canada. What work has been done (Martinez and Gill 2006, Rubenson et al. 2007) evaluates the conventional wisdom that left leaning parties are most likely to be negatively influenced by low turnout levels. In this paper, we first update these analyses for the elections of 2004 and 2006. We then offer an alternative interpretation for the effects of turnout. Building on the work of DeNardo (1980), we apply his theory to a multiparty context and examine the possibility that turnout effects can be traced to defection rates among shallow partisan supporters. Our analyses use aggregate and individual-level data from the 2000-2006 Canadian federal elections.

**Anderson, Christopher G. and Sasley, Brent E.**

*Identity, Political Actors, and Preferences: Organized Ethnic Communities and Canadian Public Policy*

While scholars have long argued that Canadian national identity influences policy formation, how this occurs is not often well theorized or substantiated. One reason is that much of the literature on the impact of domestic groups on public policy is built on American examples. Another is that few studies focus on the competition between ethnic groups over how to define national identity, and how this affects policy. Finally, there has been little discussion on the effects of international developments on national identity and, subsequently, policymaking.

In order to address these grey areas, this paper investigates the interplay between organized ethnic communities, Canadian national identity, and policymaking in the context of domestic facets of the war on terrorism since September 11. In particular, two case studies are explored: dual citizenship policy and the listing of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. In each case, the paper explores how political actors such as the Canadian public, ethnic groups, and political parties have been influenced by international events (especially in the Middle East), and how they have responded, both in terms of their conceptualization of Canadian national identity and their policy preferences.

In providing a systematic policy analysis of ethnic groups in Canada and their efforts to influence policy, this paper not only sheds light on how political actors can shape policy responses, but also contributes to debates on the construction of Canadian identity and its reflection in government policy.

**Andree, Peter**

*Emerging (neoliberal?) forms of agri-environmental governance: making sense of "re-embedded" food systems in Australia.*

Drawing on Polanyi, Foucault and their interlocutors, this paper examines how food systems are being re-embedded through governance mechanisms designed to enhance long-term sustainability. Australia provides a useful case study for this workshop because its agricultural sector is one of the most liberalized in the world. At the same time, Australian agriculture has a role in causing – and is having to deal with the consequences – of multiple environmental problems, with climate change foremost among them. Drawing on in-depth interviews with sixty farmers in the state of Victoria, this paper examines the forms and effects of various market-based governance mechanisms currently being pursued by the Australian state and its farmers. These include organic farming, on-farm Environmental Management Systems, and the rise of direct marketing such as farmers markets and Community Supported Agriculture. This paper argues two points: First, while the Polanyian theorization of embedded markets serves to raise a number of important factors for

consideration, including the environmental implications of the commodification process and the role of trust in market relations, this frame is ultimately insufficient for making sense of the complexities of emerging forms of agri-environmental governance in what Peck and Tickell (2002) identify as the "roll out" phase of neoliberalism. Second, building on Julia Guthman's (2007) work on alternative food systems in California, the paper argues that scholars should pay particular attention to the "neoliberal subjectivities" of both consumers and farmers when examining these diffuse mechanisms of food governance/governmentality and their effects.

### **Andrew, Blake**

#### *Mass-Mediated Rationality: News Headlines as Shortcuts for the 2006 Canadian Campaign*

This paper tests three hypotheses about the supply of essential political information in media headlines compared with stories. Essential political information is defined as news about politics that disproportionately affects political behaviour. These are the so-called "cognitive heuristics" of politics: party signals, candidate signals, expert advice, and polling information (Lau and Redlawsk 2001). By analytically and empirically distinguishing between news headlines and stories, this paper seeks to assess how well media-generated shortcuts proxy a more complete political information environment. The hypotheses examined are:

1. Candidate-Centered Politics: Candidate signals should be most prominent in headlines, whereas party signals should be most prominent in stories.
2. Game-Frame Coverage: Horse race signals should be most prominent in headlines, whereas issue signals should be most prominent in stories.
3. Sensationalism: Headlines should amplify positive and (especially) negative endorsements that parties and candidates receive in the stories.

These hypotheses are tested using a unique dataset of media content from the 2006 Canadian federal election campaign. All headlines and stories reported during the campaign in seven Canadian newspapers (N=3766), five Internet news websites (N=1229), three public radio programs (n=318) and two television news programs (n=568) have been content analyzed for the presence of heuristic signals. Preliminary results corroborate previous research showing that mass media headlines convey predictably different political information than the stories they introduce (Andrew 2007). This is further evidence that people who rely on media-generated shortcuts such as headlines are exposed to a fundamentally different stream of information about politics than those who pay closer attention.

### **Andrew, Edward**

#### *Empire and Its Illusions*

I wish to clarify the meaning of empire and imperialism to find if there is a common core in what have been called Athenian, Roman, Chinese, Mongol, Moghul, Ottoman, Spanish, Portuguese, British, French and American empires. J.G.A. Pocock's view, in *Barbarians, Savages and Empire*, that British and French colonialism in the West Indies and Americas, was not imperialistic but the East India Company, as successor to the Moghul authority was for the first time empire in the full modern sense; of Europeans dominating non-Europeans (332-37) invites a host of questions that Pocock did not address. Pocock's assessment corresponds to Sankar Muthu's *Enlightenment Against Empire* (2003) and Jennifer Pitts's *A Turn to Empire* (2005). Can empire be distinguished from nation-building or continental expansion? Do seas have to be crossed, such that the Roman empire began not when it dominated other Italian cities but when it built a navy to contest Cyprus with the Carthaginians? Was British rule over Ireland imperialist but the military conquests of Wales and Scotland just part of building the British nation? Was the eighteenth century distinction between empires of trade (English and French) and empires of conquest (Portuguese and Spanish) tenable or was it a false distinction that still entraps Pocock, Muthu and Pitts? Are nineteenth century empires different from eighteenth century empires where dominated persons were savages; or barbarians; (according to Scottish stadial theory) whereas nineteenth century empires dominated Indian and Chinese civilizations? If otherness is a central factor, one nation dominating another with different religion, language, customs and laws, does this assume homogeneity and fixity in the imperial and subject nations (such that West or East Indians could never become Europeans, could never be accepted by Europeans as equals or non-Europeans ever consider themselves to be part of European civilization)?

### **Angolano, Joseph**

#### *Deliberation and Manipulation: Collision Course?*

Advocates of deliberative democracy argue that deliberation can help mitigate the issue of low quality of political participation by creating different avenues for citizen participation. This gives individuals, among other things, the opportunity to better understand their own preferences as well as those of other participants. One issue that greatly concerns deliberative democrats is the issue of manipulation. Manipulation is here defined as preferring x, but voting or arguing for y to prevent z from winning. Several advocates of deliberation have argued that manipulation might pollute the deliberative process. There is little question that manipulation can happen in deliberation, and comes about when partisans enter into deliberation (since their preferences are fixed and are more likely to believe that they have complete information).

This paper will argue that manipulation is ubiquitous in deliberative democracy as it is in aggregative functions of democracy, but it is not something that necessarily threatens the viability of deliberation. Most manipulation that can occur

is sincere since those who do manipulate will act in a way to prevent their least preferred option from winning, or being agreed upon in a deliberative setting. Because it is ubiquitous, getting rid of it is antithetical to democracy. However, manipulation can lead to disempowerment if it is constantly being used by some segments of the population to get the results that they want, and not used by others. Put more simply, manipulation can have a disempowering effect if it leads to a set of perennial winners and losers in a democracy. This paper will conclude by arguing that manipulation is a skill, like any other deliberative skill such as debate and discussion, and deliberative participants should be educated in it.

### **Atkinson, Michael**

#### *Why Is Canada so Corrupt?*

In 1984 and again in 2006 Canadians went to the polls in the shadow of charges of ethical impropriety. By Ian Greene's reckoning, the Mulroney-Chrétien/Martin years generated between them twenty-three episodes in which plausible accusations of ethical breaches were leveled and in several cases sustained. Scandals are never far from the surface, and there is strong evidence that many Canadians see their politicians and their institutions as fundamentally corrupt. Yet international corruption indices place Canada consistently among the lowest ranked countries. Why do Canadians see their country as corrupt, but informed international observers do not? This paper will argue that the gap that exists between these two perceptions of reality has its roots in the meanings assigned to the term "corruption." Distinctions among types of corruption are vital to appreciating this apparent paradox. This paper will suggest a typology of corruption and associate elite and mass attitudes with different corruption forms. It will argue that both elite and public perceptions are correct: Canada's corruption problem is relatively minor by international standards, but it is substantial when considered against the standards that Canadians have come to adopt in evaluating their political institutions.

### **Auger, Cheryl**

#### *Municipal Body Politics: Local Context and the Regulation of Sex Among Consenting Adults*

Most research on prostitution politics in Canada has been concerned with how the Criminal Code affects sex workers and their clients (Benoit and Shaver 2006; Lowman 2000). However, more is being written on how Canadian municipalities and local contexts influence the sex industry (see Francis 2006 on Vancouver and Jeffrey and MacDonald 2006 on the Maritimes). This paper will examine how the sex trade is regulated and policed in Canadian municipalities. It will highlight and contrast licensing schemes used to regulate escort services in Vancouver, BC and Windsor, ON with the law and order approach in Edmonton where police have authority to seize cars involved in prostitution related offences. By exploring a variety of approaches adopted across Canada at the municipal level in the regulation of prostitution and other forms of sex work I hope to show that local context is important in understanding both problem definition and policy response. An examination of municipal prostitution politics will also reveal some troublesome discrepancies between local bylaws and the federal Criminal Code.

### **Auger, Cheryl**

*Family, Gender, Nation: An Analysis of the Canadian Subcommittee on Solicitation's Witness Testimony and Final Report* Academics (Lowman 1998, 2004) and activists (Chez Stella, Pivot 2004) have recommended that Canada decriminalize prostitution in order to prevent violence against sex workers. Two studies by the government of Canada have also suggested legal reform (Fraser 1986; The Federal, Provincial, Territorial Working Group on Prostitution 1998). However, the most recent attempt at law reform, The Subcommittee on Solicitation, offered contradictory recommendations with the Liberal, New Democratic, and Bloc Québécois parties suggesting prostitution be considered a health issue and "not just a criminal issue" and the Conservative Party advocating the adoption of the Swedish model where selling sex is unpunished but buying sex remains a criminal offense.

This paper asks: why do the laws governing the sale of sex between consenting adults remain mostly unchanged since the 1980s despite repeated calls for reform and wide recognition that Canada's federal prostitution policy regime contributes to violence against prostitutes? While there are a number of factors that influence a country's prostitution policies, this paper will focus on the role ideology plays in influencing policy debates and outcomes. It will offer an analysis of the publicly available testimony, witness submissions, and final report, "The Challenge of Change," of the Subcommittee on Solicitation in order to examine how ideological commitments to the heterosexual nuclear family and monogamous sex, the paternalistic protection of women through state regulation (and rehabilitation), and Canada as a multicultural safe haven all influence sex work policy debates and prescriptions.

### **Austin, Matthew**

#### *The Responsibility of 'The Political': Responsibility in Carl Schmitt*

My paper examines the ethic of responsibility inherent in Carl Schmitt's definition of 'the political.' It has three parts. First, I outline existential exposure to the enemy as threat. This exposure demands a response. It imposes the responsibility of political friendship. Second, I articulate the responsibility this threat places upon groups to respond with a decision. The nature of the political is 'fundamental' and unavoidable. Therefore, all 'romantic' attempts to evade a political decision in the name of 'pseudo-universal' concepts such as 'humanity' merely obscure and intensify the concrete political situation. Finally, I explore Schmitt's attempt, especially in *Theory of the Partisan* (1962), to "fence in war." Without eradicating the political, pacifist movements, by totalizing values such as humanity, justice, progress, etc., totalize war. Rather than war between sovereign, equal enemies, there is a total war waged against whole populations of monstrously inhuman 'foes.'

The 'foe,' unlike the 'enemy,' is without value, justice and humanity. The struggle for the highest, pacific values leads ironically to 'absolute enmity.' Schmitt, by centering his thought and indeed existence itself on the political, argues for what G. L. Ulmen, in his commentary on Schmitt, rightly calls the "equality and reciprocity" of enemies. In this Schmitt articulates a responsibility to the enemy as a justus hostis, a just enemy. As such, I argue Schmitt's thought of the political implies a network of responsibilities: to the concrete situation of enemy threat; to the grouping of friends; to make a decision; and, to the enemy itself.

### **Axani, Jordan**

*"Further Operationalizing Public Diplomacy in a 3-D Mission: A Canadian Defense Support to Public Diplomacy (DSPD) Model in Afghanistan or Otherwise?"*

The notion of Defense Support to Public Diplomacy (DSPD), also known as Military Support to Public Diplomacy (MSPD), has increasingly become the concentration of academic papers and policy advisories in the United States. This notion places emphasis on the employment of new public diplomacy practices during military operations within asymmetric warfare - a pertinent and timely issue. In considering how these American models could bond with Canadian institutions and policies, preliminary research suggests that the implementation of such strategies would require convergence (in message) and cooperation (in practice) between foreign ministries and defensive agencies (especially between the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Department of National Defense). This would result in a heightened emphasis on 'soft power' embedded in the 'hard' military structure, ensuring that public diplomacy is a fundamental objective in military operations. This integration goes far beyond what is currently practiced by Canadian agencies. Operationalizing the practices of new public diplomacy into defensive activities, according to this model, could perhaps enrich Canada's 3-D and whole-of-government engagements, in Afghanistan or otherwise. This paper part of an effort to expand a very small body of existing scholarship pertaining to DSPD, which is almost entirely American-centric. It is necessary to consider such a model in both an academic and Canadian manner, while using a normative framework.

### **Baer, Judith**

*Guilt: Privilege, Responsibility and Feminist Post-Liberalism*

While Communist systems may try to sweeten the privations imposed on the people by assuring them that the loss of privilege entitles them to immunity from guilt, capitalist societies are more likely to encourage people to feel angry and resentful about their relative disadvantages. But capitalism has not eradicated guilt feelings. Both feminists and liberals find it hard to reconcile their belief in equality with the fact that they, like most people who have time for politics, have a better than average standard of living. But privilege is not the only source of guilt. As I argued in *OUR LIVES BEFORE THE LAW* (1999), women tend to have more responsibility for tasks than they have freedom to change the situations that assign them responsibility; guilt feelings are a common result. This paper explores the sources of guilt, considers whether guilt is a healthy response to privilege and responsibility, assesses the effects of guilt feelings on the possibilities for social change, and asks how feminist post-liberalism might deal with the problem of guilt.

### **Baglioni, Sebastian**

*The normative case of federalism in Spain: how multinationality opens the door to asymmetry*

Federalism is often presented as a form of political organisation that combines unity and diversity through self-government and shared government. However, it is important to distinguish between the normative principle of federalism and the different array of federal arrangements, ranging from symmetrical and asymmetrical federations, federacies, confederations and other possible combinations. Moreover, the institutional framework adopted will also impose different dynamics conducive (or not) to democratic legitimacy. In the case of multinational democracies, federalism can be seen as a viable instrument to guarantee political recognition and inclusion. But in order to work as such, the normative principles, institutional structures and political practices must break away from the single-nation, uniform assumptions that have characterised some models.

The convenience of federalism for Spain has been often argued. However, it is interesting to note that asymmetrical proposals for federalising that country have been greeted with much more reluctance, due to fears of political instability or open denial of the convenience of such movement.

This proposal aims at analysing the possibility of combining multinationality with asymmetrical federal arrangement. It is argued that in the name of democracy, federalism in multinational polities like Spain could adopt asymmetrical procedures and institutions with a view to reinforcing democratic legitimacy and political recognition of the units that encompass the polity.

### **Bakan, Abigail and Abu-Laban, Yasmeen**

*'Apartheid' Compared?: South Africa and Israel/Palestine*

Although scholarly and political discussions highlighting the similarities and differences between Israel and Apartheid South Africa go back many decades, since 2000 a growing literature has drawn parallels between the condition of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and the black population under Apartheid South Africa. Perhaps reflecting the inspiration of a post-Apartheid South Africa today, many authors representative of this new generation of work, including Ilan Pappé, Ghada Kharmi, Virginia Tilley, Salim Vally and Uri Davis, assert the utility of the analogy. The analogy has

also come to the fore in the civil society call for boycott, divestment and sanctions, and in the contested terrain of the 2001 (Durban) and 2009 (Geneva) UN World Conferences Against Racism (WCAR).

Using the lens of comparative politics, this paper systematically assesses the utility of the apartheid analogy and its implications for understanding Israel/Palestine. In light of state practices of differential treatment, citizenship and rights, and land access, we suggest that the analogy is essentially valid. It operates as a useful heuristic tool, and also supports an effective international mobilizing strategy. Our analysis does not, however, assume an exact correlation, a perspective consistent with comparative political science. Rather, differences and similarities are brought into relief precisely through the comparative method. Post-apartheid South Africa, from such a perspective, offers both the promise of transformation and stability within a liberal democratic unified state model, but also the limitations, and the need for continued measures to ensure equality and human rights.

### **Banack, Clark**

#### *Religion and Political Thought on the Canadian Prairies*

The well-documented political history of the Canadian prairies is one of vigorous regional protest, non-traditional party formation, unprecedented policy experimentation and a more general “populist” culture which has repeatedly emphasized the moral and practical worth of the “common man.” However, there has been surprisingly little sustained academic attention paid to the role that religious interpretation has played within the formation of distinct versions of prairie-based political thought despite the blatant religious language that colored much of the regions early political discourse, in addition to the more recent evangelical Christian presence within the corridors of the prairie-based Reform Party. This paper, part of my larger doctoral dissertation on the same topic, begins to address this gap by considering how religion in general and religious development or change in particular has influenced the political thought and subsequent tradition of political protest within prairie Canada. Specifically, how has the evolving nature of religious interpretation in the region, from the early agrarian and CCF social gospel tradition to the more individual-based evangelicalism of Social Credit to perhaps a more secular contemporary society, altered the direction or goals of prairie-based political protest? I argue that, although goals have changed, religion continues to play a far more influential role on prairie political thought than observers have previously acknowledged. Furthermore, this religiously-inspired prairie political tradition has strong roots in the early religious traditions of America and is thus related to the continuing role religion plays within the public sphere of the contemporary United States.

### **Banfield, Andrew**

#### *Dying with Dignity: The Politics of Euthanasia in Canada*

On May 20th, 1993, in *Rodriguez v. British Columbia*, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered its landmark decision on euthanasia. In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled the prohibition of physician-assisted suicide (PAS) did not violate Section 7 (life, liberty, security of the person) of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In the 15 years since that decision, public opinion data suggest that nearly 70 per cent of Canadians would support physician-assisted suicide legislation. This paper examines the four post-Rodriguez attempts to legislate PAS in Canada. I suggest that legislation fails, in part, because of the lasting impact of the Rodriguez ruling. I further suggest that failed attempts at PAS legislation follow a similar pattern to other Canadian attempts at social regulatory policy (e.g. abortion). Namely, that judicial involvement in these types of policies effectively stops any further attempt at legislative compromise. This trend of judicial involvement impeding legislative compromise becomes clear by using comparative data from other liberal democratic countries where PAS legislation exists.

### **Banting, Keith and Boychuk, Gerard**

#### *Revisiting the Public-Private Divide: Private Benefits and the Inception of Public Health Insurance and Pensions in Canada*

The conventional wisdom regarding the relationship between public and private benefits is that pre-existing private benefits are argued to constrain the subsequent development of public benefits. The development of health insurance and pensions in Canada stands in marked contrast. Public benefits came to dominate in health insurance where private benefits were already well established. Established private benefits are argued to have spurred rather than retarded the development of public benefits contributing to a number of prerequisites for the development of public programs. In pensions, where private benefits were not well-developed prior to the advent of public programs, the public benefit programs which did emerge were relatively limited and left ample space for private benefits as an equal pillar of the retirement income system.

### **Bashir, Hassan**

#### *We Fight Therefore We Are: Exploring Religious Militancy in South Asia*

This paper's central argument is that religiously motivated militancy is fundamentally different from violence based on secular ideology. The paper employs the MIPT: Terrorism Knowledge Base dataset and uses data on secular and religious militant organizations in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kashmir and India from the 1950s till 2003. It then applies the concept of the non-compensatory principle extracted from the Poliheuristic Theory developed by Alex Mintz (2004). The analytical model thus developed assumes that militant leaders are rational actors whose primary concern is their own professional survival. The analysis suggests that the non-compensatory options are fundamentally different for secular

and religious militants because of the disproportionate significance of the role played by ideology in the rationale for organizations' creation and in shaping their subsequent decision making processes. Because of this disproportionate significance religious militancy often tends to be inherently transnational in character, and highly mobile in nature, as opposed to its secular counterpart. This insight also helps us understand the puzzling fact that the most frequent targets of religiously motivated militants are their co-religionists. The paper concludes with suggestions for further research and highlights some useful policy implications for tactical prevention of religious militancy in South Asian in particular and in the world in general.

### **Bashir, Hassan**

#### *Otherness, Canonicity and Comparative Political Theory*

This paper argues that traditional western political theory, because of its exclusive reliance on the western canon, is by definition a limited enterprise. A comparative perspective allows us to understand the nature and basis of a civilizational criterion against which the degree of civility and humanness of the Other is measured by different civilizations. Theoretical claims made in the paper are supported by references to several encounters between the west and its others with a special focus on European encounter with the New World. The absence of an Europe-like system of ideas among the Amerindians provides for a unique opportunity to see the role played by canonicity in the construction of Other and a re-evaluation of Self. The paper contributes to the broader argument in favor of comparative political theory as a new subfield of political theory in the west, on the one hand, and serves as a critique of prevalent modes of political theorizing in the west on the other.

### **Bastedo, Heather, Goodman, Nicole, LeDuc, Lawrence and Pammett, Jon**

#### *"Facebooking" Young Voters in the 2008 Federal Election Campaign*

The withdrawal of young voters from the electorate accounts for a substantial part of the decline in voting turnout that has taken place in Canadian elections over the past two decades. While the demographic patterns of participation in recent elections, both federal and provincial, are clear, the reasons which lie behind the disinclination of young people to participate in electoral politics are less well understood. In this paper, we report the results of a qualitative study of newly eligible voters conducted via a dedicated Facebook site during the 2008 federal election campaign. Following an initial sign-up and screening procedure, 33 respondents in the Ottawa and Toronto areas were contacted weekly during the campaign in order to gain direct insights into their perceptions of the campaign, attitudes towards politics more generally, and expected participation. The extensive qualitative data gathered in this way enhance our understanding of young peoples' attitudes toward the relevance of politics in their lives and their perceptions of the value and meaning of electoral participation.

### **Bathelt, Harald and Gibson, Rachael**

#### *Processes of Specialization and Diffusion Across Capitalist Varieties and the Role of International Trade Fairs*

Recent work on the varieties of capitalism has been influential in demonstrating how capitalist economies develop distinct institutional configurations that produce divergent development paths. Adopting a "relational view" of the firm, which focuses on the action and interaction of economic agents in different institutional contexts, it highlights the importance of deliberative institutions in enabling such interaction. While the approach presents a strong path-dependency argument for the persistence of national varieties, it fails to adequately account for the evolution of national systems over time, the role of knowledge exchange and trade in shaping institutional adjustment patterns, and whether such processes may lead to convergence. In response to these questions, this paper investigates those mechanisms which facilitate the transfer of institutional arrangements and their concomitant knowledge bases across capitalist systems. It posits that leading international trade fairs are key sites for interaction as they bring together actors from around the world for purposes such as presenting and scanning new technological developments, connecting with new and existing customers, finding new markets, and generating or maintaining international business networks. Our paper suggests that while firms are not primarily interested in institutional transfer, they engage in practices that enable knowledge diffusion across capitalist economies. Similar to "organized anarchies", trade fairs are highly complex events characterized by problematic preferences, unclear processes, and fluid participation. As such, we expect to see simultaneous processes of "ubiquitification", in which previously localized production assets become internationally available, and contextualization, where innovations are translated into the agent's established production environment.

### **Baxter, Paul**

#### *Epistemological and Moral Responsible and the Problem of Justification*

How do we determine whether or not we are using moral and political beliefs responsibly? How do we answer moral skeptics who argue that the reasons we give for our moral beliefs are arbitrary, subjective, or somehow wholly conventional? The answers to these questions requires political thinkers to combine epistemology and ontology with moral thought in order to conceive of adequate methods of justifying moral and political principles. Thus, one could argue that the responsible use of moral and political principles is dependent on one's ability to justify those principles in an epistemologically and ontologically responsible way. Moral skeptics argue that "foundationalist" attempts achieve these goals have failed. Others have tried to re frame our moral and political justifications in "coherentist" and "contextualist" accounts of justification. Drawing on a range of contemporary thinkers in the post-analytic tradition, this paper argues that



foundationalism remains the best way to avoid skeptical attacks on moral and political beliefs. Moreover, the author defends conceptual foundationalism as the epistemologically and ontologically most responsible way of justifying moral and political beliefs. This argument is framed in a critique of the skeptical and constructivist arguments against foundationalism in the work of Rorty and Alcoff. The author argues that "coherentist" accounts of justification such as those offered by Rorty and Alcoff fail because they are parasitic upon the very foundationalism they seek to avoid.

### **Baxter, Paul**

#### *Post-colonial Politics, Truth and Reconciliation, and the Criminal Liability of the State*

The paper discusses critically whether or not the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into the residential schools can satisfy the demands for justice for the state's role in the residential schools; I doubt that it can, and I make the argument that: a) there is sufficient grounds \*within\* Canadian law to find the state and its auxiliaries in the administration of the Residential Schools criminally liable for the full consequences of their actions. Further, I argue that both the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the "official" compensation measures for victims of residential schools are woefully inadequate to redress the harm done. The paper relies on recent advances in concepts of state harm and criminal liability applied to the Canadian context. I conclude by arguing a truly "post-colonial" (as opposed to a pejoratively "political") solution entails long-term solutions to First Nations' claims to an "inherent right to self-government" and the settling of outstanding land claims.

### **Beange, Pauline**

#### *Canadian Campaign Finance Reform Since 2000: Path Dependent or Dynamic?*

This paper examines the politics of Canadian reforms to political finance since 2000. Certainly the elections and party literature has been thorough in its examination of these reforms. However, little examination from either a public policy or new institutionalist perspective has occurred. Noting this gap, this paper employs an explicitly public policy approach and engages new institutionalist theory. To what extent were reforms influenced by campaign finance reform initiatives in the U.K. (2000) and the U.S. (2002)? Were Canadian policies in this period driven by evidence or norms and, more generally, what incentives motivated leading actors? Using a variety of public documents, I hypothesize that analysis of post-2000 reforms will demonstrate a preponderant effect of ideas and interests in this particular policy process, and concomitantly, a relative lack of attention to changed campaign finance rules as a set of new incentives.

### **Behringer, Ronald**

#### *Zones of Interest: The Fault Lines of Contemporary Great Power Conflict*

Each of the contemporary great powers—the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France—has a history of demarcating particular regions of the world as belonging to their own sphere of influence. During the Cold War, proponents of the realist approach to international relations argued that the United States and the Soviet Union could preserve global peace by maintaining separate spheres of influence, regions where they would sustain order and fulfill their national interest without interference from the other superpower. While the great powers used to enjoy unbridled primacy within their spheres of influence, changes in the structures of international governance—namely the end of the imperial and Cold War eras—have led to a sharp reduction in the degree to which the great powers have been able to dominate other states within these spheres. In this paper, I argue that while geopolitics remains of paramount importance to the great powers, their traditional preoccupation with spheres of influence has been replaced with their prioritization of "zones of interest". I perform a qualitative analysis of the zones of interest of the five great powers, defined as spatial areas which have variable geographical boundaries, but are distinctly characterized by their military, economic, and/or cultural importance to the great powers. My paper suggests that the possibility of contemporary conflict between the great powers increases whenever two conditions are met: the great powers' zones of interest overlap, and the great powers pursue zero-sum objectives within these zones.

### **Belanger, Yale**

#### *A Reversal of Fortune: A Critical Analysis of NIMBY Discourse in Lethbridge*

In recent years homelessness in Lethbridge has become increasingly visible. In response to local calls for action the Lethbridge City Council founded the Social Housing In Action Society to foster affordable housing projects and present educational programs to combat this issue. Policy makers were compelled to acknowledge Lethbridge's Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) consciousness, which has to date proven an obstacle to successful implementation of various projects. What is the cause of these NIMBY attitudes? Why do people in Lethbridge aggressively resist socially valuable projects? This paper will focus on the recent controversy associated with the proposed placement of the Native Women's Transition Home in a north-side neighbourhood. Flush with a \$1 million housing grant Transition Home administrators upon announcing their selection of a former north side church were confronted with acute resistance from local residents displaying NIMBY attitudes. What was not anticipated was the sophistication of the opposition; specifically, the use of semantic reversals to guide what was an incredibly well structured and organized resistance. As part of a longer study of social relations of homelessness and transition in Lethbridge, a project municipal policy makers are ardently observing, this paper will deconstruct the anti-Transition Home discourse presented at a public meeting of city council in an effort to understand these relationships and the meanings given to race, gender, and citizenship.

**Belanger, Yale***Gambling on First Nations Participation: An Overview of SEIGA and Barriers to First Nations Engagement*

Gambling generates a variety of economic contributions for Alberta. Approximately \$1.3 billion in direct revenue is generated annually for the Province as is employment and indirect revenue. There have been associated social and economic costs that have proven difficult to measure, however, many of which have yet to be comprehensively identified and assessed. An area of concern is related to the five First Nations operating reserve casinos. Specifically, what is their overall contribution to the provincial gaming industry? Despite negotiating and agreeing to accept provincial regulatory control over reserve casinos, to date only one gaming First Nation has agreed to fully participate in the Social & Economic Impacts of Gambling in Alberta (SEIGA) project seeking answers to various policy questions. Reasons cited range from fears that the SEIGA project once completed could lead to casino closures to the fact that First Nations' possess a self-governing right to keep researchers from entering their communities. Nevertheless, the gaming First Nations lack of participation in a provincially mandated study examining the viability of an industry of which they are an integral part is problematic. The purpose of the presentation is twofold. One, it will provide an overview of the SEIGA project and the importance of providing an accurate assessment of the provincial gaming industry in order to significantly improve Albertans' knowledge of how gambling affects society. Second, the presentation will assess the methodological complexities of working with First Nations communities and why the communities in this instance resisted project participation.

**Bell, Colleen***From Shock and Awe to Hearts and Minds: The use of ethnographic knowledge for counterinsurgency*

Programs to improve cultural awareness and communication have gained ground in efforts to turn the tide on failure and stagnation in Coalition interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Attention to the concerns and interests of subject populations professes a transition from exclusive focus on hunting down particular terrorists to securing the loyalty, or at least acquiescence, of potentially insurgent populations. This paper explores the links between ethnographic knowledge and the reemergence of counterinsurgency in interventionary warfare. It asks how the battlespace of the War on Terror is shaped by the collection and use of cultural and political knowledge about subject populations. While increased focus on 'hearts and minds' tends to be presented as a more humane approach, the re-emergence of counterinsurgency raises troubling questions not only about the militarization of academically acquired knowledge to pacify host societies, but also calls for an exploration of the enduring link between the development of disciplinary knowledge within Western societies and the containment of external populations.

**Ben-Ishai, Elizabeth***The Sexual Politics of Ascriptive Autonomy*

This paper engages with what I claim are two under-explored aspects of theories of autonomy: ascription and embodiment. I shed light on these aspects by considering both the potentially positive and negative implications of ascription of sexual agency to women. Positive insofar as such ascription may be emancipating, countering misogynistic constraints that have conventionally been placed on women's sexuality; but, possibly negative insofar as such ascription may lead to a failure to consider the systemic roots of many abuses and exploitations women face, therefore leading to an excessively individualized account of such ongoing problems. Broadly, an understanding of autonomy as an ascriptive quality highlights the extent to which being recognized as an autonomous individual is a critical component of accessing the rights associated with autonomy in our society. In turn, such recognition or the lack thereof may contribute to the enabling or disabling of the capacity for autonomy. I argue that despite the potentially negative cooption of the notion of ascriptive autonomy, feminist theorists of autonomy are well served by embracing such a notion. Despite possible concerns, theories of ascriptive autonomy remain appealing to feminists insofar as they may highlight the ways in which autonomy emerges from contexts of dependence and interdependence and the grounds upon which resistance to forms of domination and oppression may be cultivated.

**Benoît, Maude and Crête, Jean***A Systematic Analysis of Interest Groups' Discourse*

Agricultural management is, in many western countries, characterized by a corporatist model made of civil servants and agricultural producers. This institutional sectoring leads to essentially technical or economic policies leaving aside social and environmental concerns. Hence a conflicting relationship between the agricultural world and civil society. During the last few years the protest against this sectoring of the agricultural domain has invaded the policy process. What are the contestants saying? What are they proposing? This paper borrows from the corporatist, the pluralist and the governance approaches to analyze the protestation addressed to the corporate agricultural model in Quebec.

The empirical study is based on the content analysis of 770 memorandum submitted to the Commission sur l'avenir de l'agriculture et de l'agroalimentaire québécois by stake holders. All memorandum are processed through QDA/Miner to extract and classify the positions of the stake holders into categories built from the corporatist, pluralist and governance approaches. Stake holders are then compared among themselves and to the ideal types derived from the three approaches. Protesters are not in total opposition to the corporate model; they also suggest changes to the corporate model, a result that is consistent with recent studies on corporatism.

**Berdahl, Loleen and Raney, Tracey***A Woman's Duty? Group Identity and Citizenship Norms in Explaining the "Gender Gap" in Political Attitudes and Preferences*

Given that women have had full political citizenship rights in Canada for almost a century, and that their paid work and education advances have brought them close to the levels of men's, persistent gender differences in political preferences and attitudes in Canada are surprising. Research shows that women are generally less interested in and knowledgeable about politics, and tend to prefer policies that are more supportive of the welfare state and less market-oriented than do men. Using analysis of data from the Looking West 2006 Survey, this paper examines two possible sources of gender differentiation in political preferences: group identity and citizenship norms. Citizenship norms refer to expectations of what being a "good citizen" and "good government" entail. By demonstrating how group identities and citizenship norms vary between women and men, the paper aims to explain one piece of the "gender gap" puzzle of political preferences and attitudes. The paper offers additional weight to political socialization arguments by showing that women and men hold different citizenship norms, which in turn help explain why gendered differences in political attitudes and opinions persist today.

**Bhandar, Davina***Reframing the Multicultural: A Call from Below*

In Himani Bannerji's highly influential text *Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* she argues for the necessity to activate what she calls a "multiculturalism from below". What would the examination of a multiculturalism from below offer in light of the further entrenchment, containment and state practices of tolerance and diversity management in the arena of multicultural politics? Is this a potential strategy that will displace the hegemonic rendering of contemporary multicultural discourse? This paper examines these central questions in an effort to expand the framing of multiculturalism within a decolonizing political strategy. By examining contemporary social movements such as those fighting for migrant rights, border politics and anti-imperialism, this paper proposes that these practices of the everyday represent a political decolonization that runs counter to official multiculturalism. In this paper I argue that this reframing of multiculturalism will offer a set of strategies and new directions in the context of anti-racist and decolonizing politics.

**Bhattacharya, Chanchal***Connecting the Dots: Integrating Netroots and Grassroots Political Activism, the Cases of the Bush 2004 and Obama 2008 Campaigns*

This paper argues that the internet is enabling the emergence of "cybernetic" political campaigns. It explains how the internet has enabled American campaigns to revive mass volunteer activism and facilitate the surge in voter participation observed in the last two US presidential elections. Most political science research on the impact of the internet address its role in political communication. The paper focuses upon its crucial and under-studied role in political organizing and participation.

It has five parts. First, it outlines the evolution of political use of the internet, and identifies critical challenges that have limited its effectiveness in the past. Second, it delineates the two dominant techno-ideologies that currently structure internet-based political organizing, and their organizational implications. Third, it examines the organizational and internet innovations developed by the Bush and Obama campaigns to overcome these obstacles. Fourth, it discusses the emerging characteristics of "cybernetic" campaigns, and some of their long-term political implications. Finally, briefly discusses some of the methodological and substantive challenges posed by this type of research.

The paper uses the comparative case study approach to examine how the Bush 2004 and Obama 2008 Campaigns integrated internet political support with grassroots activism and donor support. These exemplify the two dominant approaches to using the internet in election campaigns. The underlying research applies internet-archival research methods to construct an extensive database of news reports, blog posts, and campaign documents.

**Bilodeau, Antoine and Fadol, Nada***Attitudes toward Immigration in Canada and Australia: The Priming Effect of Inter-Ethnic Cohabitation*

As the proportion of immigrants in most Western democracies is increasing, governments face the challenge of identifying the conditions under which local populations react positively or negatively to the arrival of immigrants.

A body of research focuses on the impact of individual-level factors such as age (O'Rourke and Sinnot 2006), education (Moore and Ovadia 2006), personal economic insecurity (Palmer 1996) and perception of national economic conditions (Wilson 2001) on attitudes toward immigration.

Other research focuses on the role of contextual factors like inter-ethnic cohabitation. It is not yet clear whether inter-ethnic cohabitation leads to positive or negative attitudes toward immigration (Taylor, 1998; Glaser, 1994; Hood and Morris, 1997).

In this paper, we propose to integrate individual-level and contextual-level factors for a better understanding of attitudes toward immigration. More specifically, we examine whether inter-ethnic cohabitation amplifies either the positive or negative impact of individual-level factors. For example, do people who feel economically insecure (generally negative toward immigration) feel even more negative when living in areas of high concentration of immigrants? Is the opposite true

for people who feel economically secure? The analyses for this paper will rely on the Canadian (2000-2006) and Australian (1998-2004) Election Studies and Census data.

This study has important social and policy implications. If our hypothesis is supported, it would imply that the increasing presence of immigrants might generate greater social cleavages. People traditionally negatively orientated toward immigration will likely become even more negative while people traditionally positively orientated toward immigration will likely become even more positive.

### **Bird, Malcolm G.**

#### *Passenger Rail in Canada: Where is VIA Going?*

The purpose of this paper is to examine VIA Rail within its contemporary political context. It will have two main segments. The first will briefly outline VIA's history and examine its thirty-year life span. The central premise of this section will be that VIA was a 'default' organization comprised of the passenger services of Canadian Pacific (CP) and Canadian National (CN), both of whom were no longer interested in providing this type of service to the public. The creation of VIA, did not, however, signify the commencement of reinvigorated passenger rail service for Canadians. VIA's thirty year lifespan has instead been marked by a slow and steady institutional decline, as funding, revenues, passenger miles, service areas and the like have fallen dramatically since its inception. It is an organization that is, in colloquial terms, on life-support. The second section of the paper will explore some reasons why VIA is such a marginal organization. It will argue that the fault lies with successive federal governments, which have neglected to provide adequate operational and capital funding and, most critically, have not articulated clear and consistent objectives as to the role passenger rail service was and is to play in Canada. Political interference with many of VIA's operational and business decisions, furthermore, makes operating passenger rail service in Canada even more challenging. In fact, given the considerable opposition to VIA Rail's operations from CN (with whom VIA 'shares' its track infrastructure), coupled with opposition from other modes of transportation such as bus transport, automobile manufacturers, airlines and some hostile forces to VIA within the federal government, it is not exactly clear how, or why, VIA Rail has managed to survive for the last thirty years in its current form. This paper will try to supply an answer to this question.

### **Bittner, Amanda**

#### *Not a Dichotomous Variable: Rethinking Gender in Election Studies*

Research in political behaviour has for some time pointed to the existence of a 'gender gap,' between the political attitudes of men and women. Men and women diverge in their attitudes on many political issues, including foreign policy, social welfare spending, and crime and punishment. With this focus on the differences between women and men in political survey research, it is important to better understand the underlying assumption: that women and men form two distinct groups which can be isolated and analyzed. Furthermore, this research assumes that the biological difference of sex is synonymous with the socially constructed concept of gender. Especially in quantitative analysis, the two concepts are used interchangeably, and scholars do not carefully consider the important distinctions between sex and gender. Gender research asserts that in fact, gender is not dichotomous, but more closely reflects "a continuum of norms and behaviours socially constructed, socially perpetuated, and socially alterable" (Mackie, 2). Understanding gender as distinct from sex, and assessing attitudes and values accordingly may provide new insight into the 'gender gap.' How can this understanding of gender be integrated into survey research, which currently focuses on the dichotomous variable of male/female? This paper will explore the concepts of sex and gender, as well as their presence in political behaviour research, to understand the methodological implications. Infusing survey research with measures that reflect conceptions of gender as differentiated from sex is the best way to ensure that more robust gendered research in political behaviour can be achieved, and this paper proposes a method for moving forward.

### **Bittner, Amanda**

#### *The Impact of Party Leaders in Elections: Leaders Matter at the Ballot Box*

Campaign organizers and the media appear to agree that voters' perceptions of party leaders have an important impact on the vote: substantial effort is made to ensure that leaders look good, that they speak well, and that they are up in the polls. Media reports during election campaigns focus on the horserace and how leaders are perceived in the public eye. In contrast, the academic literature is much more divided. Some suggest that leaders play an important role in the vote calculus, while others argue that in comparison to other factors (such as partisanship and the economy) perceptions of leaders have only a minimal impact.

Problematically, the literature on party leaders is diverse and non-cumulative. Existing studies have been based primarily upon the analysis of only a single election in a single country, and scholars have relied upon different survey questions in varying formats to inform their conclusions. As a result, the literature on the evaluation of party leaders is inconclusive. In order to move forward, what is required in order to understand the role of party leaders is a larger study, comparative across both time and space.

This paper incorporates data from 35 election studies across seven countries with varying institutional environments. By pooling these data and examining the impact of leaders on a larger (comparative) basis, this study takes both a broad and in-depth look at evaluations of party leaders. Leaders matter—they have an influential effect on the individual vote calculus, as well as having a discernible impact on electoral outcomes.

**Black, David***Voices in the Wilderness? Canadian 'Public Intellectuals' and Africa*

Some of Canada's most celebrated public intellectuals and commentators have made the need for a new, more active and more generous, approach towards Africa a (if not the) central theme of their interventions. These public figures include, but are not limited to, Romeo Dallaire and Stephen Lewis. These two men have come to assume virtually heroic status in the dominant public imaginary, and are in different ways amongst the most eloquent and compelling public commentators in Canada today. Yet their repeated appeals and arguments would appear to have had remarkably little impact on Canadian foreign policy practice towards Africa. How do we account for this apparent disjuncture between image and influence? If Canada's 'celebrity Africanists' have not had much traction on policy practices in Canada, what purposes can their discursive interventions be said to have served? This paper probes the paradoxical role of these public intellectuals in both challenging and sustaining the 'human internationalist' tradition/mythology in Canadian foreign policy.

**Black, David***Out of Africa? The Harper Government and the 'Developing World'*

In efforts to parse the foreign policy of the Canadian government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, in power since early 2006, much has been made of its new "key priority" on the Americas, and the concomitant paucity of substantial statements on or initiatives toward Africa. Does this reflect a decisive shift from previous Canadian governments' intermittent emphasis on Africa – arguably a key theme in the self-definition of Canada's international role since the advent of decolonization in the early 1960s? This paper has two main purposes. First, it seeks to assess the degree to which the "new" Canadian government has decisively altered (and downgraded) its approach to African issues. It does so by focusing on Canada's ongoing roles in development assistance, human security, and G8 initiatives toward the continent. Second, insofar as there has been a substantial change in approach, discursively and/or in terms of policy praxis, it seeks to understand this shift and assess its durability. In particular, the paper will examine three types of explanation: idiosyncratic/ideological (focusing on the interests and ideas of the Prime Minister and his government), partisan (emphasizing the salience of approaches to Africa as a means of differentiating the Conservative government from its Liberal predecessors), and political cultural (positing a long-term decline of the "humane internationalist" tradition in Canadian foreign policy).

**Blais, André***The Determinants of Turnout in More and Less Competitive Constituencies*

The paper will use an internet survey conducted among samples of 2000 citizens in the provinces of Quebec and British Columbia in the last week of the 2008 Canadian election. The survey was entirely focused on the factors that affect the decision to vote or not to vote. The paper will determine whether individual level determinants of turnout, most especially strength of preferences and sense of civic duty, play differently depending on the level of competition in the local constituency.

**Bloodgood, Elizabeth, Tremblay-Boire, Joannie and Clough, Emily***The Dynamics of NGO Death*

We explore the question of when and why international non-governmental organizations survive (and thrive) in international relations. Do NGOs need to have clear political, social, or humanitarian successes in order to prosper or can networking sustain them despite lack of political influence? We examine this question using an agent-based model of NGO networking in a virtual international system in order to capture hypothetical data about NGOs just prior to death. We then look at defunct NGOs using CQ Press's Public Interest Group Profiles (1984-2006), Gale's Associations Unlimited and US tax return records for 501c and 527 organizations in the United States to see whether US NGOs which went defunct because they lost access to political institutions, vital resources, or network partners. We also examine when an organization is more prone to die—in the early days prior to becoming established or in prolonged, seemingly hopeless policy battles—and whether the political and social forces which affect the viability of an NGO are internal or external and competitive or cooperative in nature. Do NGOs die due to poor management, co-optation by government or another NGO, or extreme competition in an unfriendly international environment? This paper has implications for the study of NGOs as organizations and for our understanding of the emergence and evolution of NGOs at the international level. While our data features US NGOs, we examine a broad range of issue areas and believe that these results are reflective of INGOs as a larger population.

**Bodet, Marc André***Representation at the Margins – The Government Caucus*

Representative democracy in Canada faces particular challenges, notably when it comes to reinvesting public money. Certain interests are neglected while others, more widespread or better organized, harvest greater benefits. Moreover, regional representation in the government caucus is often unbalanced. Political tensions are both managed and fostered through an interaction between the heterogeneity of citizens' preferences and the rigidity of electoral and institutional rules. I am interested in the effect of electoral representation on public spending. More specifically, I look at how a concentration in the government caucus of electoral districts with similar socio-economic landscapes might affect how the government invests public money. For example, does a government caucus with a strong representation of districts with

many primary sector jobs tend to spend more on lumber and mining economic policies? Using district-level Canadian census data, federal public spending data, and official electoral results from the past 30 years, I test whether strong concentration increases public spending in related policy domains. The expectation is that a strong and significant relationship between electoral representation and budgetary spending will be observed. I also offer an original methodology to quantify the effect of electoral representation on budgetary policy-making. Results suggest that the effect of electoral representation varies in a systematic way relative to the nature of policy domains.

### **Bonner, Michelle**

#### *Protest and Police "Excesses" in Chile: The Limits of Social Accountability*

Police repression of social protest is generally thought of as a feature of authoritarian governments, yet it occurs even in established democracies. What distinguishes excessive police violence in a democracy is, ideally, the immediate and effective activation of democratic mechanisms of accountability. This article assesses the role of the media as a mechanism of social accountability on police violence against social protest. Analyzing newspaper coverage of the police excesses during the 2006 student protest in Chile, this article asks: do the media act as a mechanism of social accountability? Drawing on the work of Enrique Peruzzotti and Catalina Smulovitz, the article argues that in this instance the role the media in Chile play as a mechanism of social accountability is limited by legal constraints, access to information, and issues of inclusion.

### **Boothe, Katherine**

#### *Pharmaceutical benefits in time: comparing Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom*

Canada is a country that prides itself on its universal and comprehensive public health insurance system, but the coverage of prescription drugs calls that comprehensiveness into question. In fact, Canada is the only country that provides widespread public health benefits but does not provide similar pharmaceutical benefits. This presents both an empirical puzzle and a theoretical challenge, which have not been discussed in the existing literature on pharmaceutical policies, and cannot be accounted for by literature on variation among welfare state regimes or national health insurance systems. Canada's outlier status suggests that pharmaceutical benefits cannot simply be subsumed into health insurance policy, and more generally, that closely related aspects of social policy might be subject to quite different dynamics. My paper addresses this overlooked policy puzzle by comparing Canada to two otherwise similar welfare states (Australia and the UK). I use a process-tracing approach to gather detailed, chronological accounts of policy development in each case, and combine path dependence analysis with insights from the framing and agenda setting literature. I demonstrate that the somewhat contingent way health policy priorities were determined in the immediate post-World War II era have proven to be important policy legacies. The ways these legacies interact with issue frames concerning the universality and comprehensiveness of benefits, and with ongoing efforts to influence policy from organized interests such as medical professionals and the pharmaceutical industry, have determined the different paths of pharmaceutical policy in these countries, and distinguish them from the paths followed by related social benefits.

### **Bourdelon, Bertille and Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel**

#### *Building World City Human Resources in Vancouver, and the 2010 Olympic Games*

In 2003 the "The Globalization and World Cities - Study Group Network" ranked Vancouver at the bottom of the top 80 of world cities. Recently, under the Campbell administration, Vancouver was successful in its bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Mega-events, such as Olympic Games, are known economic development tools but are they also addressing current world cities human resource strategies. Mega events are not a new strategy. It is something Vancouverites implemented with great success when in 1986 they staged Expo 86 and turned downtown industrial wastelands into spiffy waterfront amenities and housing.

With the 2010 Olympic Games, Vancouver is relying again on a "mega-events strategy" to attract public funding. This paper describes the bid for the Olympic Games and analyses and questions the strategy. It asks whether the Olympics bid participate in Vancouver's human resource strategy looking at educational, social and housing policies and amenities that may address issues of poverty and homelessness, which conflict with Vancouver's liveable and sustainable reputation. The evidence presented in this paper suggests that Vancouver benefits from its bid and implementation of the Olympic Games infrastructures but also rolled back its original goals to effectively implement clear human resource strategies: Raising questions regarding Vancouver world city strategy.

### **Bourgault, Sophie**

#### *On the Uses and Abuses of Plato in Contemporary Political Thought*

Plato's metaphysics and his disparaging comments on democracy have the scent of heresy in our post-metaphysical, pluralist world. And yet Socrates tends to receive a different treatment, and has recently been hailed as the champion of a democratic ethos. For instance, Dana Villa has recently argued in his *Socratic Citizenship* that, whereas Socrates is the 'inventor of the secular conscience' and a "kind of democrat"(5), Plato is an "arch-rationalist", a dogmatic elitist and the creator of a "tyranny of reason" (14).

For scholars like Dana Villa then, it seems possible (and desirable) to separate the historical Socrates from the metaphysical divagations of his student Plato. If Plato is a dead-end, Socrates is a source of inspiration. This paper will show that this overly clean interpretative split is dubious. More importantly, the paper will indicate the degree to which this interpretative dichotomy is heavily informed by the way many contemporary theorists approach the task of political philosophy.

### **Bourque, Mélanie**

*From Castonguay 1966 to Castonguay 2008: The Pathway to Privatization of Quebec's Health-Insurance*

Le débat sur le financement et l'accessibilité aux soins de santé québécois a fait l'objet de plusieurs rapports produits par des commissions parlementaires et des groupes de travail qui ont conduit à des transformations importantes du système. À titre d'exemple, on peut citer la Commission Castonguay-Nepveu (1966), la Commission Rochon (1985), le groupe de travail Ménard (2005). La première Commission commandé par le gouvernement de Lesage en 1966 et dirigé par Claude Castonguay avait recommandé la mise en place d'un système de santé universel dont l'accessibilité serait liée aux besoins de chacun. L'augmentation des coûts, les contraintes budgétaires liées à la crise financière des États depuis les années 1980 a remis en cause cette caractéristique fondamentale de l'universalité des soins de santé au Québec, comme ailleurs dans le monde. En février 2008, le même individu, Claude Castonguay dirige, 40 ans plus tard, une seconde commission sur le financement du système de santé québécois dont les propositions sont en contradiction avec celle de 1966. À la lumière de la théorie de l'action publique, cette présentation vise à faire la rétrospective des rapports produits depuis 1966 par les commissions parlementaires et les groupes de travail dont le mandat était de trouver des solutions aux problèmes du financement et de l'accessibilité aux soins de santé. L'objectif principal est de mettre en rapport l'évolution du discours de ces différents rapports, les transformations du système de santé québécois (référentiel sectoriel) ainsi que les transformations plus générales du rôle de l'État (référentiel global). L'analyse de contenu des différents rapports permettra de comprendre comment le même acteur a pu diriger deux commissions et produire des recommandations diamétralement opposées.

### **Bousfield, Dan**

*Methods of Struggle or Struggling Methods: Academic Depictions of International Protest*

This paper emerged from the methodological and practical issues of my research on international protest in Seoul, Korea and Toronto, Canada. This paper explores the Gramscian notion of the 'organic intellectual' and the interplay between academia and activism that is an integral part of the protest site. Too often efforts to explore the agency, messages and militancy of protest fail to capture the overlapping and complex relationship between the production of academic work by researchers and the written and published responses by activists themselves. Moreover, in situations where activists are publishing their ideas in academic journals and researchers are leaving academia to pursue personal political strategies, the problems of demarcating activity understood as 'activist' or 'academic' raises a range of methodological issues. This paper addresses my encounters with the ethical and political concerns about the role of research in depicting a partial view of contemporary international protest, as well as exploring the political consequences of such efforts. What does it mean for scholarship in International Relations when international students turn to away from their research for activism, and activist collectives publish manifestos in academic publications? I explore the ways in which the militancy of the protest site is mediated, encouraged and bolstered by activist publications and the appeals that political engagement holds for those of us engaged in academic practice.

### **Bradshaw, Leah**

*Republic to Empire*

Employing the term empire in the current political climate causes confusion. The term conjures images of ancient Rome in decadent decline and of European colonialism and the post-colonial reaction. It can be collapsed into globalization (Negri) and identified with a long Western history of excess and bloated economies (Laxer). This paper argues that modern Western empire is irrevocably attached to the republican ideal. While this may seem to run contrary to the conventional understanding that republics, with their defense of self-government and the separation of powers, are an antidote to imperial expansion, the paper argues that the a priori assertion of the primacy of individual right that underscores republican ideals makes republics untenable. Modern republics always slide into empires. The paper draws heavily on Kant's (doomed) project of a world of separate republics aiming for perpetual peace, and on Habermas's consideration of Kant's project.

### **Breton, Charles**

*Moral Conservatism in Canada: Network of Actors and Identity analysis*

Since the election of Stephen Harper and the Conservative party in 2006, Canadian medias regularly link the policies put forward by the government with what they call the religious right groups. Literature on this type of movement in Canada being very limited, this research aims to identify these groups as well as to elucidate what they may have in common. Our goal is to determine if it is possible to describe these groups as an organized movement. We answer these questions with semi-directed interviews conducted with the leaders of ten groups associated to the religious right by the medias. With a structural analysis of the links between these groups, we show that they form a densely-knit network that is not centralized and which consists, in large part, of strong links. The semi-directed interviews also allow us to show that the network finds

it meaning in the moral conservatism idea rather than in the religious or christian right appellation and that it has the characteristics essential to form a movement

**Brich, Lisa**

*Policy-relevant Knowledge throughout the Policy Cycle: Production and Use Patterns of State-commissioned Public Opinion Research in Canadian Health Policy*

Over the last decade, Health Canada is the federal department that has commissioned the most public opinion research by contract value. Several hundred quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method studies have produced policy-relevant knowledge for health promotion and disease prevention activities as well as health care reform, regulatory decision-making and program evaluation. Why is there such an interest in knowledge from POR? What kinds of knowledge about public opinion does this research produce? Does the recourse to survey and focus group methods of opinion research vary throughout the policy cycle? If so, what does this suggest about the knowledge needs for policy making? How is this POR used at each stage in the policy cycle? Do use patterns suggest single or multiple uses for instrumental, conceptual, strategic and managerial purposes throughout the policy cycle?

To address these questions, we compare production and use patterns in two distinct health care domains, namely tobacco control, and the reform of the health care system. During the period from 1990 to 2007, these two domains alone account for well over 250 research reports. We have gathered and coded all of the accessible POR reports in these domains for this period. We triangulate our analysis with data from in-depth interviews with policymakers and stakeholders, and from archival sources.

**Brock, Kathy**

*The Implications of a Changing Federation for the Canadian Federal Government*

Two events in fall 2008 have serious ramifications for the operation of the Canadian federal system. First, re-election of the Conservatives under Stephen Harper to minority government status in Parliament signifies continuation of the redefinition of the roles of the federal and provincial governments under the concept of open federalism. Second, economic instability caused by turmoil in financial markets requires an almost unprecedented level of cooperation among Canadian governments and an active role for the federal government in meeting this challenge.

This paper examines effects of these two trends on the role of the Canadian federal government. Is it advisable for the federal government to continue to observe the division of powers scrupulously as envisaged under open federalism when economic circumstances suggest that it should adopt a more interventionist role in society and the economy? Should provincial governments jealously guard their jurisdiction when global restructuring adversely affects their relative stability? Should the federal government adopt a differentiated approach to the specificity of provincial needs, thus embedding the principles of asymmetrical federalism more deeply in the union with all the negative implications for federal comity that have been identified in the past? This paper argues that the federal government must respond to new circumstances by redefining its role in the federation to embrace social, economic and human rights in a more vigorous and comprehensive manner.

The paper is part of a series that examines changes in the Canadian federal system and their implications for the federal and provincial governments.

**Broschek, Joerg and Schneider, Steffen G.**

*In Search for Canadian Political Development: An Examination of Canadian State Transformations through the APD Lens*

American Political Development (APD) has firmly established itself as a sub-field of political science in the United States. As a variant of historical institutionalism, APD reconstructs the evolution of a polity by tracing the origins of its constitutive elements back in time. Instead of analytically separating change from continuity, as in path dependency theory, the approach posits that different temporal mechanisms operate simultaneously; states are understood as non-equilibrated political orders, consisting of several contextual layers that are permanently in motion.

Yet, while the approach has contributed new insights into various facets of U.S. political history, its repercussions in Canadian research have been few and far between. There is a tension between its ambitious research questions and narrow U.S. focus. We intend to show that it might, however, contribute to a fresh perspective on Canadian political development that gives full weight to issues of temporality, order, and disorder. The paper first reconceptualizes the Canadian state as a multi-layered political order by uncovering the juxtaposition of different modes of governance such as federalism, Westminster democracy, and Charter-based jurisprudence. Secondly, it identifies endogenous sources of change stemming from mismatch and frictions between these layers, and probes the sequence and interaction of permanent, recurrent and emergent patterns of change. This systematical reconstruction of Canadian political history enables us to uncover the deep structures of the Canadian state and to trace the "common grammar" of its development and transformations since 1867. In conclusion, we briefly speculate on the comparative uses of the APD approach.

**Brotea, Julia**

*On Dying and Becoming: the challenges of biotechnology*

The focus of this paper is death and dying in the context of modern biotechnology; an area where medicine is intertwined with philosophy and technological certitude riddled with abstract ambiguity. It understands biotechnology as a branch of technology which deals with knowledge of human biology and whose implications extend on a spectrum from maintaining



and improving human life to potentially changing human nature. It introduces biotechnology and the questions it raises by drawing primarily from literature in the actual discipline of bioethics with a focus on life support, euthanasia, suicide and the possibility of immortality. Yet, this work is a work rooted in political theory as it attempts to understand some of the challenges of biotechnology from the perspective of political philosophy. The intention is to tap into potential insights and possible dangers present in Martin Heidegger's thought for bioethics in the context of death and dying. More specifically, it aims to engage the dual presence of Martin Heidegger's thought in the field of bioethics and to show that on one level Heidegger's thought on technology can help us understand the dangers of technology but that these dangers are best addressed through politics rather than the arts as Heidegger affirmed. On a second level, it engages Jacques Derrida's invitation to consider Heidegger's discourse on death and dying as the most proper and most authentic and shows that Heidegger's discourse is not compatible with liberal democracy and that it invites abuse of individuals' freedom.

### **Brown, David C.G.**

*Coming to Terms with Information and Communications Technologies: the Role of the Chief Information Officer in the Government of Canada*

The position of CIO (initially Chief Informatics Officer, later Chief Information Officer) was established in the federal Treasury Board Secretariat as part of the major government reorganization made by Prime Minister Kim Campbell when she came into office in June 1993. This paper examines three propositions about the CIO. The first is that the decision to create the office can be seen as an illustration of public policy theories of policy change and stability, treating organizational change as a long-term policy planning instrument. The office's role and mandate grew out of historical institutional dynamics and the decision to create it and its subsequent evolution were shaped by a series of critical junctures. Punctuated equilibrium theory also provides useful insights into the timing and content of the decision, which was catalyzed by a change in government, major changes in information technology and the ascendancy of New Public Management. The second proposition is that the role of the office has defined a new sector in public administration, linking management of information and of technology, on a par with financial and human resources management. The sector's substantive concerns bring it into relationships that go well beyond traditional public administration, notably with the public – through technology's centrality to citizen-centred serviced delivery – with the private sector and with other jurisdictions. The third proposition is that both the office and the sector are institutionally not as mature as financial and human resources management and face serious challenges in order to realize their full potential.

### **Brown, Stephen**

*Donor Responses to the 2008 Kenya Crisis*

This paper will investigate the responses of the international community to the crisis that followed Kenya's December 2007 elections, notably the political impasse and the political violence that lasted until the power-sharing agreement was reached under international auspices (February 2008) and a government of national unity formed (April 2008). Though the violence was often portrayed in the media as an eruption of spontaneous and almost primordial "tribal hatred" and "mob violence", the attacks associated with the political crisis were in many cases orchestrated and financed by senior politicians and influential businessmen. This was confirmed by the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence, which recommended prosecution of those responsible (Waki Commission, October 2008). The prime minister and many members of the president's party immediately rejected the findings of the report and its recommendations (BBC News online, October 31, 2008).

This paper will analyze the international community's responses to these various events, in particular the role of Western aid donors. It will draw from primary and secondary sources, supplemented by semi-structured interviews to be conducted out in Kenya in December 2008. The interviews will provide information that is unavailable in print but may be crucial to assessing empirical facts, interpretations, decision-making processes and motivations. Earlier research on donor responses to similar violence in the 1990s (Brown 2003) will form the basis of a comparative analysis.

### **Buckham, Meghan**

*Do Constituents Suffer When Their Representative is the Speaker? Evidence from Queen's Park*

Non-partisan impartiality is the cornerstone of the speakership in a parliamentary democracy. When a member is elected as speaker, the member must detach themselves from partisan politics and as a result must refrain from influencing debates or taking part in discussions in the legislature. However, the speaker is still an elected member chosen by their constituents to represent their interests in parliament. One of the most important ways a member can do this is by raising issues in the legislature, yet as speaker this avenue of representation is taken away.

Thus the purpose of this research is to explore whether being a speaker is detrimental to the speaker's constituents. On the other hand, some like former clerk David Hamilton of the Northwest territories have argued that speakers have privileged access to cabinet ministers and senior civil servants to express constituency concerns. This research examines the techniques employed by speakers to ensure the problems of their constituents are dealt with.

### **Busser, Mark**

*Enough About Discourse -- Let's Talk About Arguments: Argumentation Analysis and Power Politics in International Relations*

Contemporary debates in international relations theory highlight the essential contestability of political knowledge and the complex interrelationship between ethics, social science and power. It has been difficult to develop methodologies that satisfy IR scholars' increasing focus on epistemology, ontology and the knowledge-power nexus. This paper will explore the helpfulness of 'bringing in' insights from the interdisciplinary field of argumentation theory to the study of international relations. If contestability poses methodological dilemmas in IR, then perhaps some insight is to be gained from a methodological focus on disagreement itself.

While standard discourse analysis can yield important insights, argumentation analysis adds focus by foregrounding that which is actually contested about a given speech act. This means a deliberate focus on audiences, relationships and contexts, and an understanding of discourse as a technique of persuasion and activation where there are significant social stakes. An emphasis on controversy prompts argumentation analysts to study political speech as always potentially contributing, even if subtly, to meaningful struggles over how human agents should conduct themselves in global affairs. The goal of this paper will be to highlight the practical difference between standard discourse analysis and political argumentation analysis. It will also show that argumentation analysis gives students of international relations key conceptual tools for managing challenging issues of subjectivity and positionality without pretenses to impossible objectivity. Argumentation analysis presents a potentially fruitful methodological approach in a field where there have been repeated and insistent calls for more reflexive, responsible and rigorous styles of investigation and contribution.

### **Byrne, Siobhan**

*From Cross-community to Coalition Models of Activism: The Experiences of Feminist Peace Organizations in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine*

Cross-community feminist peace organizations, which emerged in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine in the 1970s, are often lauded in the gender and conflict literature as evidence of the ways that women can more easily work across ethnonational identity boundaries. Commonly, this literature attempts to explain the success of such initiatives by suggesting that women are more cooperative and peaceful, thereby enabling them to traverse ethnonational cleavages with little difficulty. Through my interviews with activists, however, I have found many women to be cognizant of the limits of such engagements. In some instances, women have organized autonomous projects within separate ethnonational, class and/or sexual identity communities. Critics have variably described cross-community organizations as the artificial constructs of external funding agencies and exclusionary and homogenizing spaces that perpetuate socioeconomic hierarchies and heteronormative values.

In this paper, I review some of the difficulties associated with women's cross-community activism in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine, noting the ways in which the 'thirdspace' of women's feminist peace activism has not always been the inclusive space that is suggested in the literature. I argue that what remains remarkable is that women's joint peace initiatives advance feminist priorities related to equality and justice that are informed, rather than undermined, by the internal contestation among feminist activists.

This paper draws on my interviews with women in Israel/Palestine in 2005 and my ongoing interviews with women in Northern Ireland as a post-doctoral researcher. It builds on the contributions to the gender and conflict literature by theorists like Nira Yuval-Davis and Cynthia Cockburn.

### **Cairns, James**

*A new approach to political time in Canada*

What can students of Canadian politics learn from the burgeoning literature on social acceleration?

There is widespread agreement among social scientists that the past century has been marked by a rapid "acceleration of the pace of life" (Rosa 2003). Political scientists in the United States have asked whether this development harms democracy (e.g. Connolly 2002; Pierson 2004; Scheuerman 2004). Scheuerman, for example, has advocated "a drastic deceleration" of deliberative processes and ways of harnessing emergent information technologies "for the sake of refurbishing public debate and strengthening deliberative legislatures". However, despite growing interest in social acceleration and politics in the US and Europe, there is a dearth of research devoted to political time in Canada.

This paper outlines a new research programme on Canadian political time. The paper (1) explains the need for a new perspective on the temporal aspects of politics; (2) develops a definition of "political time" as an analytical concept; and (3) discusses potential methodological approaches to the evolution of political time in Canada. The first section of the paper situates recent writing on social acceleration within the scholarly tradition that views time as a social construct. The second section argues that, despite the centrality of time both in democratic theory and in the widely influential work of Harold Innis, time in Canadian political science is largely ignored. The final section demonstrates ways in which new approaches to studying the quickening pace of politics would strengthen current research on the democratic deficit.

### **Campana, Aurélie et Ratelle, Jean-François**

*Conceptualisation et contextualisation des violences politiques au Caucase du Nord*

Cette communication propose une réflexion théorique et empirique sur l'objet « violences politiques ». Les problèmes de « frontières » entre le terrorisme, les violences criminelles, la guérilla et les répressions, ont maintes fois été relevés. Ils sont exacerbés par le contexte de la « guerre totale contre la terreur », lancée par les États-Unis après le 11 septembre 2001, et les luttes de signification qui l'accompagnent. Nous basons notre réflexion sur le Caucase du Nord russe (Tchéchénie, Ingouchie, Daghestan, Ossétie du Nord, Kabardino-Balkarie et Karatchaëvo-Tcherkessie), région volatile

secouée depuis 1991 par des conflits séparatistes, des insurrections, des attentats terroristes, et marquées par des interventions militaires répétées. Nous analysons la continuité, la diffusion et la transformation des pratiques violentes chez deux acteurs collectifs : les groupes infra-étatiques insurgés (groupes séparatistes ; groupes ethniques ; groupes religieux ; groupes criminels) et l'État russe. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que l'évolution des différentes formes de violences politiques ne peut être appréhendée que de manière relationnelle. Ce faisant, nous replaçons les processus politiques au centre de la réflexion et plaidons pour une nécessaire contextualisation afin de mieux saisir les ajustements effectués par les deux groupes d'acteurs principaux. Notre approche emprunte aux théories relationnelles de la violence politique (C. Tilly) et aux théories critiques de la sécurité (concept de sécurisation (O. Weaver)) ces principaux postulats théoriques.

### **Caouette, Dominique**

Oligarchisme et cassiquisme dans l'État philippin contemporain.

Cet exposé se concentre sur l'étude des dynamiques oligarchiques dans les différentes transformations des régimes politiques aux Philippines.

Par delà les changements formels opérés au sein de l'État philippin, lesquels lui ont valu d'être souvent décrit comme un précurseur de la Troisième Vague en Asie du Sud Est, notre analyse met en relief la perpétuation des dynamiques oligarchiques au coeur du régime.

### **Cappucci, John**

*The Pernicious Path: The Reactionary Nature of Nationalism and the Birth of the Sikh Movement in India*

This study attempts to explain the rise of nationalism by suggesting that it is a teleological phenomenon that arises when a nation's survival becomes threatened and thus forces the nation to reaffirm its heritage. This process is exemplified in the Sikh nationalist movement in India and further can be divided into three stages of development: conflictual, creational, and confrontational. The conflictual stage begins when there is a direct threat on the nation from an external force. This stage of nationalism began with the religious and ideological incursions made by Hinduism on Sikhism, through the Arya Samaj movement and the events leading up to the Gurdwara Reform movement. The creational stage is formulated when an overarching organization of elites resurrects, constructs, or reconstructs a nationalist sentiment or myth that is used to galvanize the masses and to provide some form of opposition to the state's policies. This stage of nationalism occurred when the Akali Dal personified itself as the contemporary Khalsa Brotherhood and began to equate piety with voting. Finally, the confrontational stage occurs when the nationalist movement has lost its ability to operate within traditional political channels and thus resorts to other violent forms of political action. This stage is exemplified during the 1980s when the Akali Dal lost power in the Punjabi legislature, due to the immense Hindu immigration brought about by the labour demands of the Green Revolution. This fall from power caused a reorientation in Sikh politics that was directed by radical Sikh leaders.

### **Carbert, Louise**

*What does Senate Reform Mean for Women?*

The Senate is the House where proportionally more women sit - over a third now.

There are more women in the Senate because the Senate was always intended to be representative of Canada's diversity - first and foremost, our English and French diversity, but also our ethnic and religious diversity. And gender diversity too. Women have benefited by the traditional method by which prime ministers appoint at their own discretion. Prime Minister Chrétien came close to achieving gender parity during his time in office; thirty-three women and forty-two men. Prime Minister Martin appointed a total of seventeen Senators, of whom six were women. So far, Prime Minister Harper has appointed twenty Senators, of whom five were women. As a result, thirty-five of 105 Senators are women - 33.3%. By comparison, 22% of parliamentarians in the House of Commons are female.

What happens to those rates if Prime Minister Harper proceeds with Senate reform? Should the Conservative Government go ahead with its stated plans, what are the implications for women's prospects to be appointed to sit in the Upper House?

Much of the answer lies in the electoral machinery of Bill C-20, as introduced in the 39th Parliament. Considering four elements of the proposal, first, the preferential vote; second, campaign finance; third, the panel of nominees; and fourth, district magnitude, Carbert argues that the longer the list of nominees to be elected from a district then, all else being equal, the better chance for a woman to be elected.

### **Carson, Jonathan**

*Two Steps forward, One step back: Legislating labour relations in the Ontario Public Service*

This paper is about a recent attempt to amend the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act (CECBA) – the act that governs labour relations within the Ontario Public Service (OPS). Late in the summer of 2008, the Ministry of Government Services (which functions as the corporate employer on behalf of the Government of Ontario) convened a multi-day meeting of the OPS's assorted bargaining agents in an attempt to engineer significant changes to the labour relations scheme within the Ontario Government. Most notably, the employer representatives sought to abrogate the bargaining rights of several thousand employees. For the most part, this attempt to change CECBA failed.

The paper will endeavour to tell the quite curious story of what transpired through the reform initiative. This story will be set into the broader context of the development of OPS labour relations through the post-war period – a trend that has

been very much one of two steps forward for union rights, followed by one step back. Ultimately, it will be argued that the 2008 attempt at CECBA reform failed due to (1) significant negative employee reaction, and (2) a lack of political will to follow through with the proposed amendments.

The paper will contribute to the ongoing discourse concerning trade union rights in Canada (e.g. Panitch & Swartz) as well as studies of the “evolution of public sector unionism” (e.g. Rose, 1995). Additionally, the paper will provide a rigorous historical account of the factors guiding the development of public sector labour relations in Ontario.

### **Cattapan, Alana**

#### *Theorizing Transgender Citizenship in Canada*

In the last twenty years, the concept of “sexual citizenship” has been used to expand the rights of those traditionally excluded from Marshallian citizenship on the basis of their sexuality or sexual orientation. Building on this literature, a number of scholars have recently put forth the idea of “transgender citizenship” as a means to critique how transgender and transsexual people have been excluded from the rights, resources and benefits enjoyed by other citizens. This paper examines relationships between transgender identity, the changing social welfare state and citizenship rights in Canada. While research to date has examined transgendered citizenship in Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina, amongst other states, this paper assesses the relevance of applying this concept in the Canadian context. After first examining recent work on transgender citizenship and then applying Dan Irving’s notion of trans people as “productive citizens” to the case of trans people’s limited access to social assistance in Ontario, this paper demonstrates how the notion of transgender citizenship might be used as a tool of analysis to address the marginalization of trans people in Canada.

### **Chaarani, Hala**

#### *The American Census: An Inconspicuous Surveillance Instrument*

First created in 1787 to see the proportion of the population eligible for war, the American Census has seen over the years many a transformation. Very few people are aware that the census is required by the Constitution, and punishable by important fines and even jail time if not complied with. Today, the census represents a wide pool of information used by a multitude of government agencies: education, health care, social reform, military and so on. However, more and more today, the census is used for an inconspicuous task: that of population surveillance and classification, allowing the government to target specific groups. Indeed, in 2002, the Census Bureau released information on Arab Americans to United States Customs Service in 2002 and, later, the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection at the Department of Homeland Security in 2003. The American Civil Liberty Union voiced grave concern over this practice, which reminded Americans of the same incident during World War II, but this time to Japanese Americans and led to their internment in camps around the country. The following paper will explore the role of politics in the American census and highlights how it is used as an instrument of surveillance and study its implications for public policy making.

### **Changfoot, Nadine**

#### *Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Whose Truth? Whose Reconciliation?*

Forums for apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation have increasingly entered the vocabulary and political terrain of social justice in the last two decades. Canada’s Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission was added in 2008 to the growing list of forums. This paper will argue that the Canadian TRC demonstrates the continued political struggles between the Canadian state and aboriginal peoples. Specifically, the paper will demonstrate that the commission itself is a site for this struggle even as it attempts to create and preserve an accurate record of events and the legacy of the Indian Residential Schools as well as educate the Canadian population of this history. The public disagreements between Commission Chairs over the direction of the Commission, between the Chair, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Assembly of First Nations over the organization of the Commission, the recent resignation of the Commission Chair (Justice Harry LaForme) and the paralysis of the Commission in fall 2008 are indicators of this ongoing contestation. Disclosure of the truth of the experiences of aboriginal children in Indian Residential Schools continues to be delayed; this paper will provide an explanation for these challenges through a critique of liberal theory of equality and truth. The disclosure of truth is inherently compromised manifest by the disagreements over the contested authority within the Commission that have emerged thus far and, I predict, will likely continue to come to light during the Commission’s five year mandate. Meanwhile, the political identities of Indian Residential School survivors remain neglected and I will present the resulting social and political consequences.

### **Charbonneau, Bruno**

#### *Multilateralism, Europeanization, and Humanitarianism: Franco-European Practices of Intervention in Chad*

Multilateralism and Europeanization are two concepts that have served to justify and to legitimize both the transformation of France’s policy of intervention in Africa and the construction of a European capacity for such intervention. They have also served to rebuff accusations of Franco-European neocolonialism in Chad and elsewhere in Africa. This paper examines the French-led European Union (EU) mission in eastern Chad through the historical links between the concepts of multilateralism, Europeanization, and humanitarianism. An exploration of the French intellectual history of these ideas suggests, this paper argues, how the multi-lateralization and Europeanization of humanitarian practices are not inherently more legitimate “best-practices.” Historically, they have been active processes that have worked to shape French-

European-African relationships. In this light, the analysis of Franco-European practices and discourses as practices in Chad calls into question many assumptions about peace operations in general, and peacebuilding in particular. Specifically, this paper examines the moment of decision when the mission was approved and defined by the EU in late 2007. How the EU defined and came to define the mission suggests the specific meanings of multilateralism and Europeanization, and thus how the “limits” to European humanitarianism are embedded and rooted in historical European-African relations.

**Charlton, Chris and Jansen, Harold**

*The Relationship Between Organized Labour and the Alberta New Democratic Party*

Like its counterparts in other provinces, the Alberta New Democratic Party has a formal relationship with organized labour. Building on work by Jansen and Young (2005), this paper will examine the logic of the underlying relationship between these two actors in the context of Alberta politics. Most analyses of the relationship between unions and social democratic political parties are built on an exchange model where organized labour provides votes, financial and organizational support to the party and the party delivers policy when in government. Such accounts encounter difficulty in the case of Alberta, where the NDP is electorally weak and organized labour has been a weak presence. This paper will discuss the complex and changing relationship between labour and the NDP in Alberta. It will make use of data from a variety of sources, including financial data, but will rely heavily on data gathered from a series of interviews conducted with union and party officials in Alberta. The paper will deal particularly with the increasing fragmentation of the union movement in Alberta and the increasing independence of labour union campaigns during elections as challenges for the Alberta NDP in the future.

**Cheng, Christine**

*Rivals to the State: Alternative Governance on Liberia's Rubber Plantations*

In 2003, Liberia's fourteen-year civil war finally came to an end. Yet even as UN peacekeepers were attempting to bring the country's security situation under control, pockets of insecurity and corruption persisted for years afterward. The rubber industry proved to be especially problematic: two of the country's largest rubber plantations, Guthrie and Sinoe, were being outright controlled by groups of ex-combatants. Other groups of ex-combatants also attempted similar takeovers of other major rubber plantations, sparking years of violence and unrest in one of the country's most important industries. This study argues that these ex-combatant groups and the nature of their operations posed both a short-term and long-term threat to the state. By building extensive taxation structures, both ex-combatant groups were able to gradually assemble local bases of support that compromised local government authorities. This paper begins by describing how the rubber sector operates in Liberia and then details how the Guthrie Group and the Sinoe Group emerged and developed into a destabilizing force in the aftermath of war.

This paper uses qualitative methods to analyze how these ex-combatant groups interacted with the state. In addition to the academic literature on Liberia, this study draws on research conducted during six months of field work. It contributes to the wider literature on state formation, post-conflict transitions, and the African state.

**Chin, Greg**

*Rising Power Broker in Global Finance? China as International Creditor*

To what extent and how is China emerging as a new power center in the global financial system? Drawing on scholarly debates on hegemonic transitions, rising powers, new power brokers, and the reshaping of the global financial architecture, this paper examines China's growing international financial power along three dimensions. First, China still finds itself constrained by the enduring “structural power” of the US in the international financial system. This systemic power resides in the continuing role of the US dollar as the major international reserve currency, and the overall size and depth of US financial markets. It is also reflected diplomatically in the centrality of US authorities in coordinating the plurilateral meetings called to address the global financial crisis. Second, at the same time, China's prominence as a creditor nation continues to grow, as seen in its rising contributions to international financial institutions, growing foreign aid lending, and via commercial channels. In addition to boosting China's domestic policy “autonomy”, its creditor position has generated new opportunities for China to “influence” the international arena. Beijing has effectively leveraged its growing financial clout to promote systems reform at the G20 finance meetings from late 2008 onwards. Finally, Chinese authorities have taken gradual steps to cultivate increasing financial independence from the US. Key developments have included China's growing monetary and financial cooperation with Japan, Korea and the ASEAN countries. These measures form the base for Asian countries to gradually overcome some of the obstacles they have faced in cultivating their own structural power in the international financial system. While China's current power in the international financial system should not be over-estimated, the aforementioned China-specific and regional developments do create the potential for a more fundamental reshaping of the global financial system.

**Chisholm, Amanda**

*Privatization of Militarized Masculinities: An examination of ethnicity and gender in private security companies.*

There has been a plethora of scholarship written on the evolution and rise of private security companies (PSCs) in the overall war narrative and in military and security operations. While the current work is insightful, an important lacuna remains; little to no analysis has been produced highlighting the gender and racial implications of these companies'

operations. Scholarship produced from these empirical studies are vital but they also tend to place the exceptional cases, like Blackwater in Iraq, as the focus of inquiry and give the reader the impression that all companies operate like this one and all scenarios are similar to Iraq.

This paper is a comparative and ethnographic account that examines the role race, class, and gender play in private security contractual work in Kabul City, Afghanistan. This research was inspired by my six-month stay in the capital city and my daily observations and discussions with security contractors from various ethnicities and nations.

My assessments incorporate both informal interviews and my recorded accounts from observations of daily life. Both are interpreted with the assistance of critical race theory (CRT). By employing this theory, I ask how gender and race intersect through 1) individual performances of masculinities by contractors, 2) the organizational culture of various contracting firms and 3) the overall impact PSC operations have in racializing and militarizing the global political economy.

In answering these questions, I hope to provide a more detailed and nuanced understanding of security contractors' varying masculinities based on identifiers such as race, nationality, and class and the subsequent implications of these categorizations.

### **Chowanietz, Christophe and Doray-Demers, Pascal**

#### *Do Environmental Disasters Benefit Green Parties? Findings From a Multilevel Analysis*

Since the early 1980s Green parties across Europe have made substantial electoral gains and have on occasions taken part in governmental coalitions. Throughout this period Green parties have presented themselves as staunch defenders of the environment, although mainstream parties have recently disputed their ownership of this issue. This paper explores the possibility that these electoral successes might be linked to the occurrence of environmental disasters provoked by major oil spills, significant industrial accidents and serious incidents at nuclear power plants. Our study focuses on the French Green Party. We carry out a multilevel analysis based on data for the 12 national elections that took place between 1981 and 2007 to determine the effects on electoral results, as well as data from the Eurobarometer in order to determine how people's perception of the Green Party evolved in the aftermath of environmental disasters. We hypothesize that the effects of such disasters on voters are likely to be strongest within electoral districts that have been hurt by a disaster, or that share essential characteristics with regions hit by a disaster.

### **Coletto, David, Jansen, Harold and Young, Lisa**

#### *Election Finance Law and Centralization of Party Organization*

Amendments to the Canada Elections Act in 2004 and 2006 had profound impacts on political parties competing at the federal level. These changes outlawed most of the contributions that had sustained political parties in the past (those from corporate and union sources), replacing them with state subventions. Large contributions from individuals were also banned, with a maximum cap of \$5000 imposed in 2004, and of \$1000 in 2006.

The impact of these legislative changes have been felt at the national level, having significant implications for national party organization and competitiveness among parties (Young et al 2005; Jansen and Young forthcoming). There is also reason to believe that these legislative changes are affecting the financial balance between national and local branches of Canadian political parties, as centralized fundraising combines with nationally-focused state subsidies. This is potentially of great significance, given the delicate balance between local autonomy and national authority in Canadian 'franchise' parties (Carty 2002, 2004; Carty and Eagles 2005).

This paper will analyse data made available through public disclosure of revenues and financial holdings of registered Electoral District Associations and national registered political parties (including records of transfers within parties). For each party, it will seek to determine the direction of change in the local – national financial balance since 2004 and discuss the significance of this shift for internal party organization.

### **Coletto, David**

#### *Candidates and Constituencies: Explaining fundraising in Canadian elections*

Despite extensive research showing that spending affects election outcomes in Canada and other countries, we know relatively little about why some candidates and campaigns are more successful at fundraising than others. As Canadian political parties routinely spend the maximum amount on the national campaign, what happens in the electoral districts (as a result of variance in available resources) can have a profound impact on the outcome of Canadian elections.

Using multilevel analysis and data from the 2004 and 2006 Canadian federal elections, the paper merges data on candidate characteristics such as gender, previous political experience and occupation with aggregate constituency data such as competitiveness, presence of an incumbent, and socio-economic indicators to explain variation in fundraising totals. While it is expected that political variables at the constituency and candidate levels will have significant impacts on fundraising (Eagles, 1992; Carty and Eagles, 2004) research in the United States finds that candidate characteristics, particularly political experience and occupation, should also affect campaign receipts (Jacobson, 1980; Roberds and Roberts, 2002; Thompson, Moncrief and Hamm, 1999).

The advantage of multilevel analysis is that it can test for the impact of candidate characteristics and the electoral district simultaneously on fundraising. Normally, studies focus on the national campaign and party leaders instead of the constituency elections. This paper is the first to systematically test two competing approaches to explaining fundraising success in a single model. Note: the data set is almost complete at this time.

**Collier, Cheryl**

*Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality*  
Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism. This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

**Comeau, Gina and Church, Anthony**

*A Comparative Analysis of Sport Advocacy Groups in Canada and the United States*

The aim of this paper is to provide a comparative analysis of two sport advocacy groups in Canada and the United States. The collective action literature tends to examine their role in the policy process or questions their democratic value. Studies which examine the influence of institutional factors on group action are not as extensively developed, with a few notable exceptions. Montpetit (2002) demonstrates that institutions have different impacts on Canadian interest groups than they do on American ones while Abelson and Carberry (1998) suggest that institutional differences are less influential in the case of think tanks.

In seeking to understand the influence of institutions and political opportunity structures on group action, this research examines two sport advocacy organisations with similar mandates in Canada and the US: Sport Matters Group and the U.S. Sport Alliance. During non-electoral periods, these groups use some similar strategies whereas during an electoral campaign, as with the 2008 election season, their differences are more prominent. In this paper, we seek to explain these differences in strategy.

The paper adopts a neo-institutional perspective and also draws from the political opportunity structure literature to illustrate the factors influencing collective action in the sport policy sector in both countries. This research builds on both authors' doctoral dissertations on sport policy making in Canada, as well as previous research on interest groups (Comeau) and sport organizations (Church).

**Conteh, Charles**

*Administering Regional Development Policy in Canada's Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Regions*

The aim of this research is to examine the dynamics of administering regional economic development policy in Canada over the past forty years, drawing examples from the experience of Northern Ontario and New Brunswick. The focus of policy research on regional economic development in Canada has often been on the intraorganizational and interorganizational challenges within the public sector, either among public sector departments and agencies, or intergovernmental relations between federal and provincial organizations and personnel.

The present study will focus on advancing our understanding of the complexities of the strategic environment of state-society relations in administering regional economic development policy in Canada's socioeconomically disadvantaged regions. The paper will take an integrative approach in its analytical framework by synthesizing the literature on interorganizational theory, strategic management, and governance. Drawing from the insights of interorganizational theory, administering regional economic development policy can be viewed as a series of interactions and interpretations between the outputs of policy formation and the effects of organizational and interorganizational impacts, and between the latter and the target-groups' behaviours. The above perspective also provides for an inclusion of the insights of strategic management and governance approaches in accounting for the actions of organized target groups and other societal interests in often diverse, complex and dynamic policy environments.

Thus, I hope to evaluate the capacity, relevance and integrity of existing administrative institutions and processes of regional economic development in light of current exogenous or strategic challenges facing regional economic development in Canada's socioeconomically disadvantaged regions.

**Conteh, Charles**

*Regional Economic Development Policy Implementation in Canada's Disadvantaged Regions*

This paper will examine the experience of regional economic development policy implementation in Canada, with a particular focus on Northern Ontario and New Brunswick over the past forty years. There have been a large number of regional economic development policies and programmes in Canada over the past four decades, aimed at alleviating the socioeconomic disadvantages of less developed regions, but Northern Ontario and New Brunswick remain economically fragile and underdeveloped relative to the rest of Canada. It would seem, therefore, that the implementation of Canada's regional economic development policies needs a proper re-examination.

Three main questions are addressed. First, what are the administrative and political mechanics that surround the relationship between the public sector and societal groups in the pursuit of economic development policy in socioeconomically disadvantaged regions of Canada? Second, how have the structures and processes of regional economic development policy implementation affected the success of the federal and provincial governments' endeavours to facilitate economic development in Northern Ontario and New Brunswick? Third, how can these mechanisms be

altered to improve the existing and future partnerships between the various levels of governments and organized community interests in Northern Ontario and New Brunswick?

While regional differences and fragmentation in Canada's federal structure have been noted, a comparative examination of the peculiarities of less-developed regions and the implication for governance of these regions have not been given enough attention in the Canadian public policy literature.

### **Conway, Janet and Singh, Jakeet**

*Is the World Social Forum a Transnational Public Sphere?*

*Nancy Fraser, Critical Theory and the Containment of Radical Possibility*

In a number of recent articles, Nancy Fraser attempts to understand the World Social Forum within the framework of critical democratic theory. In this article, we examine the descriptive and normative aspects of Fraser's theoretical framework, and explore the effects of projecting it upon the World Social Forum. We argue that while some aspects of the WSF are elucidated by Fraser's theory, her framework also serves to obscure many of the Forum's most challenging and innovative aspects, and may thereby serve to limit and contain its more radical potentialities. Not only, then, does the WSF elude Fraser's conceptualization of it, but we suggest that the praxis of the Forum poses a number of serious challenges to Fraser's critical theory of democracy and social justice.

We proceed in four sections. First, we provide an account of Fraser's democratic theory of the public sphere, and her recent reworking of this theory in the face of challenges posed by globalization. We also situate this aspect of Fraser's work within her larger normative theory of social justice. Second, we provide some background on the genesis, organizational character, and recent history of the WSF. Third, we examine the extent to which the WSF can be theorized as a transnational public sphere in Fraser's sense, and in particular explore the incongruities between Fraser's model and the WSF. Finally, we reverse the theoretical gaze by suggesting a number of ways in which the praxis of the WSF may pose deep challenges for critical democratic theory today.

### **Cornut, Jérémie and Roussel, Stéphane**

*Does it Help for French-speaking Scholars in Canadian Foreign Policy to Publish in English?*

It is commonly held by French-speaking scholars that writing in English helps being read. Is this intuition true as far as Canadian Foreign Policy (CFP) is concerned? More precisely, to what extent publishing in English for French-speaking scholars is worth? To answer these questions, we have to measure the percentages of references by English-speaking scholars to French-speaking works written in French on the one side and in English on the other side. We used John Holmes Index to measure the actual production in CFP. Then we analyzed a representative sample of biographies taken from books and articles written by English-speaking scholars and published between 1995 and 2005. Thanks to these data we were able to measure the discrepancy between what English-speaking scholars refer to and what French-speaking scholars produce. The results are striking: works written by francophone in French represent around 12% of the production and 0.70% of the references; works written by francophone in English represent around 5% of the production and 2.76% of the references. This means that a work published in English is nearly ten times more referred to than a work published in French! Writing in a different language than their own is obviously a cost for French-speaking scholars but this study shows that it is worth the endeavor. Our communication will present the methodology and the results of a one-year quantitative study supported by the Research Chair in Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy (UQAM). It has not been published yet.

### **Cosgrove, Kenneth**

*Howard Dean, Barack Obama and The Transformation of Democratic Politics.*

Part of a larger project, this paper will look at the transformation in Democratic marketing strategies that took place during the period from 2004 to 2008. Its argument is that one of the key reasons for the current Democratic success is the switch that the party made during the period from an issues based - political activist model of campaigning to a values based marketing model of campaigning.

It will look specifically at the increased role that branding has played in Democratic campaigns during the period. It will examine the 2004 Dean for American campaign and compare it to the 2008 Obama for America campaign. It will examine the extent to which both of these campaigns made use of branding in particular and new consumer marketing techniques in general to turn the Democratic Party into the kind of branded entity that the Republican Party has been since the 1980 Reagan election. The paper will argue that the current Democratic success owes a great deal to the above noted strategic transformation and that Barack Obama, rather than creating the current circumstances alone, has been one participant in a much larger change in the way that the Democratic Party has organized and presented itself during the past two electoral cycles. The end result of which is that the party has intentionally built an enduring brand for itself and is now faced with the same strategic dangers and opportunities that have faced branded Republicans over the last three decades.

### **Coulthard, Glen**

*"O my body, make me always a man who questions!" Power and Freedom in the Thought of Frantz Fanon*

As a theorist of post-war decolonization, national liberation, and sovereignty, Frantz Fanon routinely undergoes criticism for being out of date, for adhering to a conception of power that sheds little insight into the complexity of relations of



exploitation and domination that plague our post-colonial present. According to this general line of criticism, Fanon appears to portray colonial subjects as always being interpellated by the gaze of colonial recognition, being constructed by colonial discourse, or being assimilated by imperial power structures. Subsequently, anti-imperialist resistance seems to require a complete "break" from colonial power as such, often expressed in terms of the total liberation of the colonized and their national territories. To the degree that Fanon can be said to have promulgated such a view, it has been suggested that his work rests on an antiquated conception of power and resistance which several decades of post-structuralist deconstructive energy have rendered obsolete, or worse, feeds into the very binary logic that has played such an essential role in supporting colonial relations in the first place. My proposed paper challenges this interpretation of Fanon. Rather than viewing post-colonial freedom as an end-state, achieved with the recognition of indigenous economic and political sovereignty, I argue that Fanon posits freedom as an ongoing tension or critical practice through which colonized subjects seek to collectively desubjectify themselves in ways that are attentive to the contingent and changing structure of colonial forms of governance over time and space.

### **Coulthard, Glen**

*Marx, Indigenous Peoples, and the Politics of Dispossession in Post-White Paper Canada*

In Chapters 26 through 32 of *Capital*, Volume 1, Karl Marx links the emergence of capitalism with the advance of colonialist state practices aimed at violently tearing non-capitalist societies – indigenous peoples, peasants, and small scale agricultural producers - from their means of production and subsistence - the land. In Marx's formulation, this process established the two necessary preconditions undergirding the capital-relation itself: it forcefully opened-up what were once collectively held territories and resources to privatization, which, over time, came to produce a "class" of workers compelled to enter the exploitative realm of the labour market for their survival. In this paper, I critically assess the utility of Marx's "primitive accumulation" thesis for making sense of colonial relations of power in neoliberal times. In doing so, I argue that since the rejection of the federal government's 1969 "White Paper" on Indian policy, colonial rule has undergone a profound shift in Canada, from a structure that was once primarily reinforced by explicit and often violent practices oriented around dispossession, to one that is now reproduced through a seemingly more conciliatory set of languages and policies emphasizing indigenous recognition and accommodation. In light of this shift, I argue that in the current neoliberal context, colonial dispossession is no longer carried out through "blood and fire" like Marx originally suggested, but rather through a "politics of recognition" that subtly compels indigenous peoples to dispossess themselves by opening-up their own lands and communities to capitalist exploitation and development.

### **Couture, Jean-Pierre**

*(Im)Possible Disagreements: Debating America's Faces after Vietnam and September 11*

America is a culture of contradiction of confrontation. The confrontation ("disagreement", for Jacques Rancière), happens when consensus is broken, when nonparticipating individuals want to be part of society and claim, through their action and speech, their equality. Building on cultural studies and IR literatures that link national identity and popular culture, I hold that disagreement can hardly be represented in American national cinema because of the hegemonic need for consensus. I try to expose this disagreement as an aporetic choice between rallying or exile as featured pedagogy of several US movies of the post-Vietnam and post-September 11 eras: rallying) *Deer Hunter* (1978); *Mississippi Burning* (1988), *We Were Soldiers* (2002); or exile) *Apocalypse Now* (1969), and *Crash* (2004). The rallying thesis displays that, notwithstanding the social fabric being torn apart, the debate can only lead to a compromise favoring the whole "united" nation. The exile thesis highlights that dissidence and perpetual confrontation are synonym with an explosive situation that leaves all protagonists in a state of war. As such, the exclusion thesis brings out that in the absence of a consensus and in the impossibility to rally, one must choose exile from the nation as one unified body politic.

### **Crookshanks, John Douglas (JD)**

*Gender and Aboriginal Governance in Winnipeg's Housing Sector*

The paper I wish to present will be the first major paper coming from my dissertation research. I use a gendered approach to look at urban Aboriginal governance and the effects of neoliberalism. Key factors include partnerships with the private sector, conceiving citizens as customers, and the privatization of social reproduction. Using Winnipeg's housing field as a case study, I explore the extent to which the neoliberal political-economic paradigm has shaped concepts of "good housing," "citizenship," and possibilities for urban self-government.

My method differs from existing work in this area (Walker, 2006; Silver, 2008; Peters, 2005) because I will engage housing field actors on multiple scales. I will be interviewing those who carry out local housing policy, Aboriginal organization representatives, and state actors at three levels of government. Significantly, I will also conduct focus groups with Aboriginal women and men who are directly affected by the decisions of these elites.

With this paper, I will report my preliminary findings from these interviews and focus groups. I anticipate that I will be able to show how, at the intersection of racialized and gendered identities, Aboriginal women exist in a unique position in the housing field and experience different housing needs. I will use a field analysis method (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) to demonstrate the extent to which subjects' dispositions are shaped by neoliberal forces. By learning from their stories, I hope to show that there are spaces for resistance to the political and economic structures that limit the capacity for Aboriginal self-governance.

**Cross, William and Blais, André**

*Who Selects the Party Leader?: Motivations for Change and Implications for Party Democracy*

In recent years there has been significant increase in the diversity of methods used in the selection of party leaders. Many parties now include members of the extra parliamentary party while others continue to restrict the choice to their parliamentary caucus. In this paper we explore the different methods of leadership selection employed by parties in five parliamentary democracies (the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada) from 1965 to 2007. We identify five distinct categories of leadership selectorates currently used (parliamentary caucus, party organ, party congress, electoral college and party membership) and find significant diversity in the methods used in each of our five countries. This is a dramatic shift from 1965 when there was no diversity among parties in any of these party systems in terms of method of leadership selection. Beyond examining the types of processes used we consider the factors leading to a decision to expand the leadership selectorate and explore why some parties resist change. We are able to identify common patterns in the decision whether or not to 'democratize' leadership selection across countries. The comparative analysis of more than two dozen parties allows us to draw some conclusions regarding what motivates parties to adopt particular methods of leadership selection and what the implications of expanding the leadership selectorate are for party democracy in terms of rates of grassroots participation and the ability of parties to hold their leaders accountable. This paper speaks to the literature on intra party democracy and the increasing trend of parties to democratize their internal decision making processes.

**Crowe, Lori**

*Merging Man and Machine: Is Iron Man the Soldier of the Future?*

The explosion of technology in this century has fundamentally changed every aspect of everyday life and the future of the world as we know it. Developments in digital technologies, artificial intelligence, and nanotechnology are today transforming the nature of warfare and in particular the possibilities for militaries and their role in international politics. Looking specifically at the connections between military applications of technology research being conducted for enhanced armored soldiers, this paper asks how the rapid development in technoscience and nanotech research for military technology may significantly alter the potential for militaries globally and the nature of military conflict. It will interrogate the intended purpose of such developments – defense, surveillance, or weaponry – and what sorts of ethical issues they raise. This paper will also contribute to a crucial analysis of the developments in military technoscience research and its interdependence with the popular culture media ecology (science fiction, comic books, etc) that informs and motivates it. What is the relationship, for example, between soldier nanotechnologies and science fiction/popular culture? Current research on soldier nanotechnologies being done by the US Department of Defense that seek to augment human performance to create a 'super' or 'cyborg' soldier suggests that the role and capacity of the military needs to be interrogated in the context of both the changing nature of defense and security policy and the social and cultural environment in which these changes are occurring.

**Crysler, John**

*Follow the Leader: Testing for Evidence of 'Presidentialization' in the New Zealand Labour Party and the Liberal Party of Australia*

It long has been observed that political parties are dominated by elites. Robert Michels, writing in the early part of the 20th century, observed that an elite 'oligarchy' in the party bureaucracy dominated socialist parties. Ever since, nearly all party organization theorists have observed continuing or growing elite dominance of major political parties in industrialized parliamentary democracies. Recently, many analysts also have observed shifts in intra-party power from extra-parliamentary to parliamentary elites, and, within the parliamentary party, from the caucus/cabinet to the leader/prime minister. Changes in election campaign communications (i.e. increasing proliferation and sophistication of public opinion polling and electronic media advertising) are hypothesized to have led to this 'presidentialization' of politics in which leaders dominate their parties, election campaigns and government (see Poguntke and Webb 2005).

This paper adds to an emerging literature on the 'presidentialization' of political parties by testing Poguntke and Webb's thesis that over the past few decades party leaders are acquiring more and more power resources and autonomy from their parties. Drawing on archival data and interviews with party insiders, I assess the extent to which 'presidentialization' has occurred across a series of indicators in two parties: the New Zealand Labour Party and the Liberal Party of Australia. This research is part of a larger comparative project that examines changing patterns of intra-party competition between party leaders and their rivals in the wake of dramatic innovations in campaign communications technologies.

**Cusher, Brent**

*God and the Good Citizen: Rousseau and Plato on Civil Religion*

My paper conducts a comparison of Rousseau and Plato on the subject of civil religion, centering on Bk. IV, Ch. 8 of the *Contrat social*, on the one hand, and Bk. 10 of the *Laws*, on the other. The paper is related to a larger project concerning Rousseau's and Plato's respective doctrines of the legislator, as both philosophers insist that the wise legislator uses religion as an instrument in the process of political founding. With this paper, I seek to add to the growing body of scholarship exploring Rousseau's connection to Plato and to Platonism, as well as to scholarship on civil religion

generally. While the relation between the two philosophers in this regard has been noted, there exists no full comparison of the two, even though their texts cry out for one. Each presents the classic position—Rousseau the modern position, Plato the ancient—for the need for religion to support healthy political life. Through a careful reading of the primary texts, then, I investigate the question how, and how deeply, Rousseau may have been influenced by his ancient predecessor on civil religion, given similarities between their teachings. Yet these similarities notwithstanding, I seek also to illuminate the basis for the chief difference between the two positions, namely that Rousseau advocates a version of religious toleration while Plato's Athenian stranger does not. My paper concludes with a discussion of how this comparative inquiry clarifies the relation between religion and politics generally.

### **Daigle, Christine**

#### *Beauvoir's Politics Of Ambiguity*

The *Second Sex* can be read as a paradigm work that offers the ground for a positive ethics and politics. Reading it in conjunction with the earlier essay *The Ethics of Ambiguity* unveils the political program at work in Beauvoir's thought and her conception of the ambiguous political agent. I will explain the notion of ambiguity as well as her revised notion of alterity. These can serve as a solid foundation for a feminist ethics and politics in which interpersonal relations are dramatically re-assessed. Beauvoir's phenomenological analyses are intertwined with ethical and political proposals that posit that the individual ought to seek authentic experiences through ambiguous relations with the Other. One ought to enact an ambiguous encounter between ambiguous beings. The right conditions have to be put in place for this experience and flourishing of ambiguity to occur. For Beauvoir, this implies a rejection of the patriarchal system of values and meaning which negates ambiguity by its determination of the feminine and the masculine. Beauvoir's ethical proposal is deeply connected to political demands for radical socio-economical changes that will create the conditions for the ethical project of ambiguity to unfold. I will explain how willing the freedom of others is the cornerstone of her politics; it is an effect of our being ambiguous. Indeed, as ambiguous, I am free and must make myself free. I will be successful only by willing the freedom of the Other, to whom I am ontologically related and bound.

### **Dance, Anne**

#### *Present and Accounted For: Protest and Public Space on Parliament Hill*

Historical literature suggests that the nature of Canadian political protest has undergone significant change over the last century; during the same period, protests have often influenced federal policy.

This paper examines how social activism and protest have shaped the political culture of Canada and particularly conceptualizations of public space on Parliament Hill. Based on a series of interviews undertaken with protesters and Parliament Hill officials during the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament, it seeks to understand expectations held by protesters and the mechanisms instituted to respond to their presence. What are the issues that encourage protesters to persist? How do their expectations of federal government affect political culture at a time of declining voter participation? And finally, what do these findings reveal about the Canadian state?

### **Danero, Julien**

#### *National Minorities in Moldova: Legality and Reality*

Always torn between empires and great powers, Moldova exhibits anything but a conventional history. Part of the Romanov Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of the Greater Romania between the two World Wars and of the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1991, the population of Moldova has been the object of intense contradictory nation-building processes (see by instance King, 2000).

When the Republic gained independence in 1991, while democratisation and market economy were to be launched, a nation was also to be created. The "nationalizing state" (Brubaker, 1996) of Moldova had to find a clear definition of national identity. After years of confusion, a Moldovan civic nationalism was advocated, focusing on the existence of a Moldovan people. But regarding the more than 100 minorities listed in the territory with their particular claims, the nationalizing state had to find ways of including them in the new national project.

Starting from this, the paper analyses the way the Moldovan nationalizing state included national minorities. Opposing the minorities' claims and their setting on the agenda by the state, the study tries to confront the legal framework regarding minorities and reality.

Based on Moldovan literature and two field-researches in Moldova during the past two years, the paper shows mainly that, even if Moldovan legislation on minorities is rich and persuasive, lots of issues need to be tackled in order to include Moldovan national minorities in the new process.

### **Danjoux, Ilan**

#### *Failed Securitization and the al Aqsa Intifada*

This article uses the collapse of the Oslo Peace to test Balzacq's (2005) understanding of securitization as an interaction between securitizing actors and their audience. It is the striking discrepancy between the Israeli and Palestinian leaderships' commitment to diplomacy in the fall of 2000 and the widespread political violence on the al Aqsa Intifada that makes this an effective case study. The futile efforts made by diplomats on both sides to salvage negotiations only reinforce Balzacq's claim that speech acts are limited tools of securitization.

The decision by Israeli and Palestinian leaders to initiate bilateral negotiations in 1993 resulted from the convergence of public opinion and elite interests around the issue of national security. This shared belief that negotiations offers a solution to Israeli and Palestinian security concerns broke down in the summer of 2000. This contrast is demonstrated by comparing public opinion polls, conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC), the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS) and the Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research, with official statements made by Israeli and Palestinian leaders at the time.

Recognizing a public's influence on security policy grants scholars the ability to anticipate conflict change. Where official discourse can expose the policy preferences of political leaders, a study of domestic support reveals the likelihood of its implementation. By highlighting the discrepancy between the articulation of threat and implementation of policy, this paper demonstrates the insight that a public opinion research offers to a study of security.

### **Dauda, Carol**

#### *Sex, gender and generation: age of consent and moral regulation in Canada*

This paper considers recent legislative proceedings on the age of consent, Bill C22, later encapsulated in Bill C25 amending the criminal code, in order to understand to what extent the state is involved in moral regulation and by what means, as well as the impact it has on gender identity and equality. As Dobrowolsky and Jenson (2004) argue, current reinvestment in social provision diverts attention from women's equality to the needs of children, a politicized identity that avoids gender inequality and forces feminist policy actors to focus on children rather than strategic gender identity and equality. This tactic is evident in raising the general age of consent, recast as age of protection, to sixteen while leaving consent to anal sex at eighteen. Although the ostensible purpose is protection of victims, evidence reveals the means by which moral regulation is accomplished: selective partnering in the policy community; politicizing of youth sexuality through the juxtaposition of sexuality and criminality; and, characterizing the child as in need of protection, including the reinforcing of sexual, gender and generational stereotypes, privileging an idealized child and adult relationship. Though institutional arrangements are considered, this paper argues that the politicized identity of the child, what I call the politics of generation, is a more important factor. The paper concludes that there is a need to open up a debate on the politicized identity of the child in relation to adults to challenge this attempt to regulate morality and the impact it has on sexuality, gender identity and equality.

### **De Cock, Geert**

#### *The European Union's Multilateralism vis--à-vis Iran*

In 2003, the European Union (EU) launched its European Security Strategy (ESS), which commits the EU to an international order based on "effective multilateralism". Most existing analyses of the ESS focus on its possible impact on the EU as a 'civilian power'. Less attention has been paid to how the broad principles of the ESS, such as multilateralism, are applied in practice.

To rectify this imbalance, this paper addresses how the EU pursued this multilateralist strategy vis-a-vis Iran, when dealing with Iran's presumed non-compliance with the Non-Proliferation-Treaty. This paper draws on existing secondary accounts along with primary sources, in particular the June 2006 proposal for an agreement between the EU and Iran, which was renewed in May 2008. It situates a discourse analysis of these two agreements within a constructivist theoretical framework to assess how the EU uses the norm of multilateralism in engaging with Iran.

This paper will then compare and contrast these findings with Ruggie's maximalist definition of multilateralism from his 1993 book 'Multilateralism matters'. Ruggie defines multilateralism as "an institutional form that coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct". Using this definition allows this paper to clarify whether the EU consistently pursues such 'generalized principles of conduct' in the pursuit of its non-proliferation policies and to help our understanding of how norms shape security policies.

### **DeCosta, Ravi**

#### *Reconciliation and Neoliberalism*

The formalisation of Canada's response to the Indian Residential School system has placed reconciliation at the forefront of national and academic debate. The ascendance of reconciliation has coincided with a range of economic and social changes, which have altered the terrain on which the Canadian process must take place. In particular, a broader framework of neoliberal commitments has repositioned the state vis-à-vis First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples. Aboriginal communities have already expressed concerns that significant health and other burdens will arise as survivors tell their stories and that under-resourced community organisations will be expected to meet these needs. Furthermore, a danger inherent to reconciliation processes is that they relegitimize rather than transform the social order imposed during colonisation. Indeed, reinforced notions of individual responsibility, prevalent under neoliberalism, may deny Aboriginal peoples' hopes that reconciliation, as incarnated in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, will proceed according to "nation-to-nation" relations. Near the end of the TRC's first year of operation, the paper will investigate the formal institutions of reconciliation in Canada and locate them within the broader context on neoliberal governance, assessing the resources, moral authority and power they have to draw on in order to engage and to transform the normative assumptions of the dominant society.

**DeGagne, Alexa***Constructing the Patriarch in the Personal Responsibility Act*

This paper examines how the father is defined through the provisions relating to paternity testing, child support payments, fatherhood programs and marriage promotion in the United States' Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). In addition to the discursive construction of these programs, I examine social conservative influences in congressional debates and social movement rhetoric at the time that the PRWORA was initially passed (1996) and during its re-authorization in 2005. As will be seen, the PRWORA defines the father, and male citizen, in terms of three fundamental familial roles: provider, protector and authority. Fathers thus become true citizens by taking financial responsibility for their families, by representing their families in the larger society as well as shielding their families from society's most negative effects, and by being moral and disciplinary authorities. Moreover, in assuming these roles, fathers also embody the ideal citizen and personify a specifically socially conservative articulation of the American nation. Feminist scholars have argued that the implementation of the PRWORA punishes single-mothers (Mink 2003; Dubler 2003), promotes heterosexuality (Snyder 2003), and is particularly punitive to non-white women (Hirschmann 2003). While the class and racialized effects of PRWORA on women have received considerable attention, less work has engaged how the PRWORA envisions masculinity and fatherhood. My aim is to shift the analytical framework of feminist scholarship toward men and fatherhood, and to explore the relationship between the social conservative articulation of the family and its vision of the American national identity.

**Delov, Igor***Legislative Committees: Instruments of Change or Mere Talking Shops? Assessing the Role of Partisanship, Scrutiny and Cooperation at Committee Level*

Committees constitute an integral part of the legislative process in parliamentary democracies. They review bills, make amendments, and offer a forum for inter-party contestation. This research looks at how the rules governing their work affect the agendas of the political parties and the dynamics of the legislative policy-making process. Do committees assume a momentum of their own? How do the issues deal with and affect the prospect of inter-party cooperation? This paper will use the principal-agent theory as a way to answer these questions. Special attention will be paid to the procedural differences between standing and select committees. This research is expected to add to our knowledge of committee processes and work and although the cases examined will be from the Ontario legislature, it is hoped that the insights from this study will help explain committees and their work in other parliamentary systems.

**Dembinska, Magdalena***Citizenship and Cultural Diversity: Building Trust, Developing Solidarity and Sharing Power*

Traditional models of citizenship are based on a construction of the State as representing a single national group. Loyalty and support for the State and the definition of the "common good" were thought to derive from identification with the national group. This model of citizenship is challenged with the multiplication of sub-national identities claiming specific rights. Given the "myth of a neutral state", the challenge of citizenship in heterogeneous societies is thus to "glue" different communities and provide equitable but differentiated access to power and resources for the benefit and peaceful development of the wider society. Observing political developments in Central Eastern Europe, the paper argues for a holistic manner to understanding inclusive citizenship, as rights, laws and institutions embedded in political processes strengthening the political belonging. The mechanisms and policies that bring otherwise divided communities closer together are presented in three political dimensions: (1) the trust-building through recognition, apology politics and the management of common past; (2) the making of linguistic, educational and media laws which, when developed in a way that remains flexible and so open to continuous adaptation, contribute to the building of solidarity; (3) the transformation and convergence of inter-ethnic interests and perspectives through diverse forms of distributing power between cultural groups.

**Dembinska, Magdalena***The Imagined "Other" and Its Shifts: the "Cyprus Model" and the Post-Soviet de facto States*

While Russia was recognizing Abkhazia's and South Ossetia's independence, the leaders of the Cyprian Greeks and Cypriot Turks began talks on reunification. In 2004, the referendum conducted in Cyprus gave a paradoxical result: the separatist Turkish north voted for reunification, while the Greek south voted against. In 2003, the Turkish Cypriots rewrote school history books shifting the Turko-centric narrative towards a Cypro-centric one and adapting civic nationalism, inclusive of all Cypriots, Greek&Turkish. The paper explores the shift from an essentialist approach to the Turkish identity in Cyprus towards a constructivist. What does it take for such a shift to occur and for the people to be responsive to it? The paper explores five explanatory factors: time since the armed conflict; international incentives/Europeanization process; changing perception of the patron State by locals; earlier initiatives of reconciliation; leadership and political regime. It will discuss their pertinence for attenuating conflict in the post-Soviet cases. The study has broader implications. As ethnic conflicts result from hostile interpretations of history, peacebuilding has to take into account transforming historical myths. Cyprus is puzzling: aspiring to be sovereign, the Turkish North "should" continue with nationalizing policies. To assure legitimacy, States construct, maintain and reinforce social cohesion and involve themselves in historical politics committing to a particular interpretation of history. Similarly, de facto States build national cohesion to justify and legitimize their separatist cause. All of them reinforce common national identity through perpetuating

victimization myths and the identification of historical enemies, i.e. the majority nation of the centre. What happened with the imagined "Other" serving the separatist cause in the Northern Cyprus?

### **Desrosiers, Marie-Eve**

*Ethno-nationalism as Good Civic Citizenship: Rwanda from 1959 to the 1990s*

This paper analyzes the ideology of two successive Hutu regimes in Kigali, under Presidents Grégoire Kayibanda and Juvénal Habyarimana, as well as mechanisms developed by both to disseminate and concretize a form of civic nationalism that served an ethno-nationalist project. Because both the Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes, to varying degree, grounded their notions of civic nationalism on an ideology of ethno-nationalist divisions, good citizenship and regular engagement with state structures (whether at the communal or national level) inherently entailed the affirmation of difference between groups in Rwanda. To legitimize their hold on power, these regimes regularly stressed the Hutus' roles in 'defeating' a Tutsi monarchy and in instituting a regime based on a demographic, and therefore democratic, majority, given that the Hutus constituted the largest group in Rwanda. Furthermore, whether in terms of access to employment, civic education, or regular ceremonies held to glorify the regime, when individuals interacted with the state, their ethno-national identities served as a primary identity marker. Under Kayibanda and Habyarimana, embracing ethno-nationalism was a sign of good civic citizenship.

This paper will build on archival work to be conducted in Rwanda in fall 2008. While a number of authors have written on the 1959-1990s period in Rwanda, much of their work has drawn on secondary accounts. As a corrective, this paper goes back to original sources and draws on political speeches made at the time, as well as internal government documents.

### **Dick, Caroline**

*Intimate Homicide and the Law of Provocation: Cultural Defences and Meaningful Rights of Exit*

The law of provocation offers a legal defence that can be invoked by an accused to reduce murder to manslaughter. While debates rage over whether 'cultural defences' should be taken into account when determining whether an accused was provoked, this paper argues that the provocation defence is a cultural defence that institutionalizes values, rules and norms that are gendered and raced. By examining the literature and jurisprudence concerning provocation in the context of intimate homicides, including cases where 'cultural defences' were asserted, this paper will focus on the relationship between the law of provocation and rights of exit. In addition to assessing whether Canada's provocation law respects the right of women to exit intimate relationships, this paper will examine rights of exit in the context of theories of group rights. While the provision of rights to minority cultural communities is a source of great debate, scholars agree on one point: in a liberal society members of minority cultural communities must have the right to exit those communities. The implicit assumption here is that the dominant society affords individuals a more liberal and less oppressive culture in which to reside. This paper will critically assess whether Canada's dominant culture supports meaningful rights of exit to members of minority cultural communities with the following question in mind: given the provocation jurisprudence involving intimate homicides and cultural defences, does Canadian society really provide the refuge from racism and patriarchal values that liberal theory and rights of exit demand?

### **Dobrescu, Radu Bogdan**

*Quatre approches épistémiques de la démocratie et la bonne algèbre de Rousseau*

On connaît le modèle longtemps dominant de la pensée libérale : les individus ont des préférences singulières, des intérêts particuliers conflictuels, le marchandage entre des groupes ou le vote en assurent une agrégation équitable et efficace. On y reconnaît sans difficultés la volonté de tous de Rousseau – somme de volontés particulières ne regardant qu'à l'intérêt privé – dans sa séparation d'avec la volonté générale (factionalisation, majoritarisme). Depuis une vingtaine d'années, en s'appuyant à la fois sur le théorème du jury de Condorcet (1785) et sur les débats autour de la démocratie délibérative, on tente un dépassement épistémique de la volonté de tous libérale, un retour à la volonté générale, en assimilant les procédures démocratiques à une recherche cognitive-judiciaire de vérité, c'est-à-dire du bien commun, et en les justifiant non plus par leur équité procédurale (libérale) mais par la qualité (épistémique) de leurs résultats. Mon objectif est double. D'une part, faire un bilan critique des approches épistémiques – condorcetienne-classique, délibérative-condorcetienne, délibérative-non-condorcetienne, théories de la correctitude – et montrer que leurs problèmes internes font obstacle à un argument épistémique pour la démocratie. D'autre part, montrer comment on peut régler ces problèmes – et débloquent ainsi un argument épistémique pour les procédures démocratiques – grâce à la reconstruction interprétative du dépassement inaugural de la volonté de tous par la volonté générale envisagé par Rousseau lui-même dans la fameuse mais trop longtemps incomprise analogie mathématique (Contrat social, II/3) selon laquelle la volonté générale émergerait de la volonté de tous comme intégrale, comme somme algébrique des différences des vouloirs particuliers.

### **Dobrowolsky, Alexandra**

*The Intended and Unintended Effects of a New Immigration Strategy: Insights from Nova Scotia's Provincial Nominee Programme*

This paper will explore the multiple and wide ranging implications of one of Canada's new immigration strategies, the provincial nominee programme (PNP), through a case study of the logic and outcomes of the Nova Scotia Nominee Programme (NSNP). Such programmes, for example, have a considerable impact on federal provincial relations. PNPs

signal a significant jurisdictional shift in that provinces that undertake such programmes now have an active role to play in aspects of immigration policy, when historically (outside of Quebec), the federal government held primary responsibility for immigration matters. Is such devolution in the realm of immigration a good thing? The NSNP initiative illustrates that there are some potential opportunities to be seized, to be sure. However, the highly problematic Nova Scotian PNP experience also underscores many of the constraints involved. For instance, the NSNP highlights, as well as calls into question, the economic logic that lies at the heart of such programs. Moreover, through close and careful study of both the rationale and the events that unfolded around the NSNP, the paper will detail, analyze and assess the complex, intersecting dynamics at play in terms of gender, race, ethnicity and class.

### **Donovan, David**

#### *Removing the Shroud from Vice-Regal Appointments*

As federal and provincial governments move towards more transparent accountable governance, the process of state appointments remain shrouded in a veil of secrecy. This seems to apply with special force to office of lieutenant governor. Habitually treated as an office of traditions and formalities but of little importance to the day to day business of government, the role of the lieutenant governor is important in a situation of minority government. However, as the process nominating and vetting candidates is completed behind closed doors, Canadians hear little of their vice-regal appointments until their installation. Thus, the question which arises is, who are these appointments and how are they selected? Moreover, in fulfilling a role as both a ceremonial representative and a constitutional arbitrator, what seems to be the common attributes and professions of the appointees? And in an officially non-partisan office, how much thought is placed on their previous partisan affiliations?

### **Doody, Brian**

#### *Les circonscriptions électorales et le lieu de résidence des candidat(e)s : Un lien brisé ?*

Les données tirées des élections provinciales et fédérales au Nouveau-Brunswick, au Québec, en Ontario et en Colombie-Britannique de 1959 à 2001 font preuve d'une tendance montante pour les candidat(e)s des partis politiques de ne pas habiter la circonscription où ils ou elles se présentent. Une étude comparée sur les deux paliers de gouvernement, à travers quatre décennies et autant de provinces, nous permet une réflexion sérieuse sur les causes et les conséquences de ce phénomène. Les modalités de réglementation des partis politiques – notamment le pouvoir des chefs de nommer les candidat(e)s unilatéralement, en dépit des décisions des membres dans les circonscriptions –, ainsi que les incitatifs fiscaux que leur offrent les lois sur le financement des élections, sont parmi les explications qui sont en cause.

### **Doucet, Cindy**

#### *Grassroots Mobilising: Is Direct Democracy Really Possible in an Age of Globalisation?*

##### *A Case Study of an Independent NGO from Mexico's Border Region*

A major objective of any grassroots organisation is to give a voice to its members, to arrive at decisions through consensus, thus espousing direct democracy principles. When such an organisation seeks to expand, to develop transnational ties, or to operate on a global scale, is it possible to retain the direct democratic decision process and not lose sight of the local grassroots membership? The democratic challenges within social movement organisations that purport themselves to be democratic and grassroots-based will be analysed through the case study of one such organisation. The Comité Fronterizo de Obrer@s (CFO) (Border Committee of Women Workers) has been mobilising maquiladora workers in Mexico's northern border region for almost three decades.

Among academics and social activists who concentrate on Mexico-US border issues, the CFO is known as one of the first organisations of and for Mexican workers in the maquiladoras, empowering women from the ground up. However, this idealised notion of consciousness-raising efforts and a grassroots organisation that espouses direct democratic principles is problematic. As the organisation has developed, the complexity of the decisions around areas such as competing for scarce international funding has increased. This raises the question - Is it possible for an organisation to still be true to the direct democracy principles of its origins, once it has developed beyond the capacity for decision making by consensus?

\*Maquiladoras are foreign-owned factories (usually textile, electronics and machinery) located in Mexico's northern border region which import materials in order to transform and re-export them.

### **Doucet, Marc and de Larrinaga, Miguel**

#### *The UN Peacebuilding Commission and 'Therapeutic' International Intervention*

Michel Foucault's work on liberal forms of governmentality offers interesting insight into how recent forms of international intervention can be squared with liberalism's principle that governance must ultimately be self-authored. Foucault's work is well known for demonstrating how, far from working with pre-governed 'free' individuals, liberal governance draws from a vast economy of power meant to discipline people to live as 'free'. Foucault showed how this economy of power operates both at the level of populations through forms of biopower and at the level of the individual through forms of disciplinary power. In order to function, such an economy of power relies heavily on a vast labour of pathologizing those who are incapable of, or unwilling to, govern themselves thereby authorizing an array of interventions and forms of surveillance that would otherwise be deemed illegitimate. Drawing from Foucault's work, scholars in International Relations (IR) have

detailed how contemporary instances of post-colonial international intervention can be examined as emerging forms of global governmentality modeled on such an understanding of liberalism. Recent interventions have often relied on a similar discursive labour of pathologizing the targeted government and population. In line with this area of research, this paper seeks to examine the new UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) as a site where the further institutionalization of intervention modeled on liberal forms of governmentality is proceeding at the international level. The PBC appears to have largely adopted a therapeutic model of governance that relies on pathologizing societies which, as noted in the PBC's founding Security Council resolution, are identified to be 'at risk of relapsing into conflict' and therefore in need of 'integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery' S/RES/1645 (2005).

### **Drake, Anna and McCulloch, Allison**

#### *Inclusion, Voice, and Loudness: institutional Design in Divided Societies*

When newly-democratizing countries engage in constitution-making a great deal rests upon the kind of inclusion that the state grants to different groups. This is particularly the case in states that are characterized by deep division where inclusive participation is crucial to success, and because the decisions that are made here set the stage for the resolution of future conflicts. Constitution-writing necessarily begins with the question of "who decides who decides?" This implies i) the issue of who has a legitimate claim to a seat at the constitution-writing table and ii) the extent to which such new representatives in fact effectively represent their assumed constituents. Our particular focus concerns the participation of extremists and moderates. As we look at the role that their presence plays in constitutional processes we examine the dangers and benefits of including extremist groups: we look at circumstances where their inclusion or exclusion can undermine deliberative processes (from both inside and outside constitutional processes), and we ask which approach is best equipped to advance (substantive) democratization and under what circumstances this is (or is not) the case. The paper is divided into three parts: 1) we offer a normative account of ideal processes of deliberation that take issues of deep division seriously; 2) we examine processes of constitution-making in non-ideal circumstances, and; 3) we attempt to bridge the ideal and non-ideal circumstances. In so doing, we focus on two cases: post-apartheid South Africa and Burundi's constitutional process beginning with the Arusha Accords in 2000.

### **Dreher, Sabine**

#### *Development Reconsidered: The Case of Turkey*

#### *Development Reconsidered: The Case of Turkey*

The argument to be developed in this paper is that Turkish development has been held back by the inability of one of the Turkish elite sections to establish hegemony within the country. In the current situation this is a reflection of the undecided power struggle in the global political economy between the European Union advocating a more civilized capitalism in opposition to the United State pushing for an extreme version of laissez-faire capitalism and the emergence of even more authoritarian forms of successful economic development in China and Russia. It is this more open geo-economic space that intensifies the internal inability to successfully decide on one economic development model instead the wavering between various understandings of modernization or westernization is ongoing even within the current Islamic party in power that has banked its success on implementing the Washington consensus but that is also behind one of the more successful forms of resistance to the war in Iraq and that is, in part, trying to reorient the country towards the Middle East, a transformation at odds with the secular establishment. The paper is first going to outline the theoretical model underlying this argumentation and then presenting evidence for its validity from the current period and from revolutionary reforms instigated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that already display the ambivalence of Turkish development: will Turkey be a part of the current western system that requires the acceptance of the prevalent understanding of westernization or will it westernize in order to fight the west.

### **Dubois, Janique**

#### *The Boundaries of Self-Government: Learning from the Saskatchewan experience*

The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, the Government of Canada and the Government of Saskatchewan are negotiating a tripartite (Canada - Saskatchewan - First Nations) socio-economic development strategy to institute a province-wide system of Aboriginal governance representing over 115,000 members and over 70 communities. Since negotiations began in 1996, Aboriginal peoples have acquired political autonomy on certain issues, namely those related to culture, language and education, and aim to expand their jurisdiction to exclusively govern other areas as well. While the self-government model under negotiation in Saskatchewan may be the most efficient and democratic way to comply with Aboriginal peoples' aspiration to political autonomy, it nevertheless raises substantial significant questions and concerns regarding the boundaries of self-government.

My central argument is that self-government in Canada is caught in the tension between the inherited state form and the anti-colonial nationalism of Aboriginal nations. I divide the paper in two parts. In a first section, I contend that the main obstacle Aboriginal self-government faces in Canada lies in an unchallenged assumption that territory is a necessary condition for the claim to self-determination. I argue that nations are not contingent on a specific territory; instead, they are defined by their aspiration to self-determination. Whereas the first section provides normative justification for Aboriginal self-government by redefining the relationship between state, nation and territory, the second section considers some of the challenges of developing models of governance that do not reify and impose colonial ideas of sovereignty and territory.



**Dubouloz, Claire-Jehanne***Homegrown Terrorism and Transformative Learning: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Radicalization*

International terrorism is an evolving phenomenon. In the years since 9/11, a preponderance of the terrorist attacks carried out (and foiled) in Europe, North America, Australia, and elsewhere, have involved Western-born and Western-educated individuals. The general trend reveals a diminution of centrally orchestrated international terrorism matched by a concurrent rise in localized and unaffiliated terrorism. Coupled with the emergence of what has been labelled leaderless jihad, these global developments suggest that homegrown terrorism will remain a major security concern in the coming decade. While a consensus has formed concerning the importance radicalization has in persuading Westerners to embrace terrorism, no theoretical agreement has yet been reached concerning the environmental conditions and variables that inform the radicalization process in the first place. We suggest that transformative learning theory might help fill the gap. The approach, developed from the sciences in education (particularly concerning adult learning and processes of transformation), provides an unconventional and interdisciplinary lens with which to study radicalization in Western society. Transformative learning allows for a deeper understanding of the complexity associated with processes of personal change and explains how triggering factors, like illness, economic hardship, or socio-political developments, can result in critical reflection of existing personal belief systems. These transformative processes guide future action and can lead to sustained behavioural change. In analysing homegrown terrorism, transformative learning theory can explain how once imperturbable individuals legitimize violent behaviour, how radicalization spreads and sustains itself within a given social setting, and what rehabilitation processes might allow for eventual de-radicalization.

**Duggan, Colleen***Historic Memory and Racism in Guatemala: Evaluating the Effects of the "Why are we the way we are?" Museum Exposition*

As transitional justice approaches proliferate around the globe, academics, policymakers and advocates are increasingly calling for evidence that proves a causal relationship between these mechanisms and peacebuilding, reconciliation, democratization and the rule of law. This dilemma is not new; the question of proving impact has bedevilled international development practice for decades. Drawing from discussions and learning emerging from international development evaluation theory and practice, this article will address the problem of attributing the effects of transitional justice mechanisms to larger societal goals. The discussion will be framed within a small case study focussing on the experience of a Guatemalan research organisation that has been using a museum exposition as a tool for changing citizen's attitudes and behaviours around issues of historic memory and racism.

**Dupont, Benoit***The Politics of Police – Private Security Interactions*

The incapacity of the police to provide satisfactory levels of urban security has often been described as one of the main reasons for the exponential growth of the private security industry over the past thirty years. As private security assumes a growing responsibility in the policing of public or quasi-public spaces, the intensity of interactions between public and private providers of security is increasing sharply. But while private security operates primarily under market constraints, public policing is defined by a much broader mandate of law enforcement and order maintenance on behalf of all citizens. These two competing rationalities influence to a large degree the extent and nature of interactions between public and private providers, although the lines demarcating the two groups have blurred recently. I will use empirical data collected in a large Canadian city over the past five years to show how police organizations and private security services mobilize and use their political capital in order to regulate their interactions and ensure that their partnerships remain beneficial. I will also show how each set of actors is willing to 'borrow' values and practices from its counterpart in order to maintain or improve its position.

**Dutil, Patrice and Ryan, Peter***The Language of Leadership: The Clerk of the Privy Council's Annual Report*

This paper studies the communication of the Clerk of the Privy Council's Annual Reports in Canada to assess the language of leadership used by the Clerks from 1991 to 2008. Fifteen reports have been produced since 1991, but little scholarship on the topic has been conducted. One of the best observers of the Canadian Clerk of the Privy Council has noted that the annual report is critically important because it "contains a number of messages to the public service: it commits him [the clerk] to actions before the public service and before the wider public [...] his message must demonstrate accomplishments, show confidence and engagement" (Bourgault, 2008). How well has the report succeeded in its mission of providing a personalized report of the challenges of the public service? The objective of this research is to examine the issue frames that the Clerks have created in the annual report by comparing their styles and substance, focusing on their dominant themes. Ten years ago, Gail Fairhurst and Robert Starr linked the concepts of "framing" and "managing the language of leadership" in *The Art of Framing* (1996). They insisted that framing is "a quality of communication that causes others to accept one meaning over another" and can spell the difference between effective and ineffective leadership. Our analysis of these strategically important reports reveals them to be fundamentally flawed instruments of leadership. They are repetitious, show little personalization, almost no variety of styles and have consistently overlooked the pressing issues of the day.

**Dyck, Chris***Exploring 'structure' and 'agency' in Liberal peacebuilding in Africa*

This paper explores the relationship between 'structure' and 'agency' in the context of post-conflict development and peacebuilding in Africa. While most scholars concerned with the development-peace nexus in the South tend to prioritize macro-structural considerations in order to place constraints on the behaviour of local political elite leaders, scant attention is paid to understanding more concretely how macro approaches to peace-building impact on micro-levels forms of political authority, modes of economic accumulation and manifestations of power. In response to criticisms of liberal peace in Rwanda and Angola, political economists (David Keen and Mark Duffield) and anthropologists (Paul Richards) have paid more attention to the role of agency among local elites exploit opportunities created by globalization and structural aspects of the global economic system. This essay explores how local elites in the post-conflict contexts negotiate around the structural conditions of the liberal peace to create networks of political authority and modes of economic wealth creation that supercede the market democratic political structures liberal peacebuilders seek to create in post-war society. I attempt to build on this growing perception by drawing on Anthony Giddens' 'duality of structure' approach, which attempts to explain the dependent relationship between structure and agency. I argue that war and destabilization in the context of accelerated globalization has created opportunities for local elites in post-conflict settings to negotiate around the structural demands of the liberal peace to create new forms of political and economic authority at the local level.

**Earles, Kimberly***The Gendered Effects of the Swedish Pension Reform*

From 1959 until the 1990s Sweden had one of the most generous pension systems in the world, viewed as the 'jewel in the crown' of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. The pension system, based on a universal flat-rate entitlement, as well as a national supplementary pension based on one's pre-retirement income (ATP), provided most pensioners with between 60 and 75 per cent of their pre-retirement income. The ATP system achieved income security for all Swedish workers and, as such, was important both materially and symbolically. However, during the 1980s and 1990s the political and economic elite in Sweden began to paint the ATP system as unsustainable and in need of reform. This paper will analyze the reasons for the reform, as well as what the new pension system means for pensioners in Sweden, particularly women. In the end, the pension reform has negative consequences for social democracy in Sweden, in that the new pension system is more individualized, with far more uncertain outcomes, as well as providing an expanded role for the market, challenging the social democratic principles of decommodification, solidarity, and universal entitlements. It also has negative consequences for women, as the new pension system rewards a traditionally 'male' work pattern, working full-time hours during most of one's adult life. Swedish women, who make up the vast majority of part-time workers, and who take more time out of the labour market for caring work, will be punished under this new system unless they change their labour market patterns.

**Edge, Jessica***Shifting Regulatory Approaches: CO2 Emissions and the Auto Industry in the European Union*

Reducing automotive emissions is a key environmental policy challenge. Both the auto industry and auto emissions are trans-border in character, and the influence of the industry combined with concerns regarding its competitiveness have led to assumptions political authorities will, as in other industries, fail to produce effective transnational regulation to protect public interest and non-commercial values. The EU experience calls into question these assumptions. Despite strong opposition from the auto industry, in 2007 the EU announced it would introduce legislation to reduce new vehicle emissions due to the failure of the 1998 voluntary agreement on emissions between the European Commission and the auto industry.

This paper will explain this regulatory shift by arguing that the increased politicization of climate change has undermined the political influence of the automotive industry, despite the Commission's recent focus on the industry's competitiveness. This paper identifies a number of political factors that are underestimated by assumptions powerful industries will defeat transnational regulatory initiatives. It draws on and goes beyond the concept of "political opportunity structure" in social movement theory to identify the importance of "industry opportunity structures", which include discursive, political and institutional elements. The theoretical and empirical insights that this case provides are important not only in understanding this aspect of climate change, and the fate of the EU's utilization of voluntary agreements with industry to address a number of other environmental issues, but also more generally in understanding variations in the outcomes of transnational regulatory conflicts between states and other actors.

**Eichler, Maya***Russia's Soldiers' Mothers: Contesting or Reinforcing Militarized Gender Roles?*

Russia's Soldiers' Mothers have played a central role in shaping military-society relations in post-Soviet Russia. They have worked to protect the rights of draftees and conscripts, and lobbied for military reform. This paper draws on fieldwork in Samara (Russia) and theoretical insights from the literature on gender and militarization to contribute to a better

understanding of this gender-based movement in the context of Russia's Chechen Wars. Feminist IR scholars have argued that states' ability to wage war depends not only on resources, strategy, or public opinion, but also relies on men and women's adherence to particular militarized roles. Therefore this paper poses the following question: How have Soldiers' Mothers challenged or reinforced notions of patriotic motherhood and militarized masculinity in the context of the two Russian-Chechen Wars? The analysis will reveal important differences that exist between Soldiers' Mothers groups in the center (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and those in Russia's regions.

### **Eidelman, Gabriel and Taylor, Zack**

*Canadian Political Science and the City: Then and Now*

As part of a larger project reviewing the state of Canadian urban political science, this paper expands upon the work of Higgins (1979), whose landmark review remains the only synthetic overview of the field, by posing three questions: What have students of municipal, local, and urban politics in Canada tended to study? What key questions underlie their research? And what approaches have political scientists, specifically, used to address these research problems? To answer these questions, we present an updated analysis of the field, identifying discourses and paradigms that have shaped — and continue to shape — the study of urban politics in Canada. Focusing on works published since the mid-1990s, we identify eight "islands," or clusters, of research attention in Canadian urban political science. We conclude that despite several discursive shifts — from the descriptive works of the 1950s and 1960s, through to the blossoming of interdisciplinary research in the 1980s and 1990s — Higgins' principal conclusion, that the various streams of urban politics continue to be studied in relative isolation from each other, still rings true. Few Canadian political scientists have consistently published on urban issues over the years, and their work has not added up to a coherent research program. Despite recent broadening of the literature, productive scholarly debates within and across research clusters are rare, and where debates do emerge, they are generally driven by normative rather than methodological or theoretical claims. To remedy these deficiencies, we propose several bases for a new urban research agenda that is more methodologically and theoretically pluralistic, comparative, and connected to work in other disciplines.

### **Elahi, Khandakar**

*Demand and Supply of Healthcares in Democracy: Some Thoughts from Political Philosophy Perspective*

Health Economics, a recent innovation in Economics discipline, applies economic theories to study issues related to demand and supply for healthcares. Although critically controversial within the profession, this new area is gaining momentum, which is evidenced by increasing number of universities opening up teaching and research opportunities in the field. These facts indicate an urgency for a critical review of this emerging academic innovation, particularly from the perspective of democracy, the only political system that has potentials for peace and prosperity in this rapidly changing global village. The proposed paper is an attempt to answer this urgency.

The unqualified application of economic theories in health sector is conceptually controversial, because characteristics of demand for and supply of healthcares hardly resemble those of private goods and services. First, demand in economics means a consumer's desire for a good or service backed by buying power. Naturally, if this concept is applied to healthcare sector, born and unborn babies and children under nineteen must be excluded from market demand schedules for healthcares. This is simply because these users of healthcares do not earn. Second, progressive democratization of public administration makes governments more responsive and responsible for public welfare. Thus, studying healthcare supply like a private commodity relieves governments from this political obligation and therefore, contradicts the very political system that is responsible for formulating and implementing public policy.

After reviewing theories of health economics, this paper intends to highlight the politically correct public policy for healthcares in democracy.

### **Emamjomehzadeh, Seyed Javad**

*Teaching Political Science in I.R. of Iran: Opportunities and Challenges*

We know political education as an indicator of development is a precondition for political participation. When a country such as Iran topples a long term despotism in 1979 and establishes new political system based on republicanism and popular votes, the people of such a country need to know some laws and rules. Republicanism or more specifically democracy can be defined as a majority rule, and minority rights to oppose. Although the establishment of a democracy is very prominent opportunity for development, at the same time there is a possibility that the majority overlook the minority rights. The main element which can manage this basic challenge concerns with political education. In addition to the citizens who should deal with political education, the authorities should consider the point as well. This investigation in a descriptive analytical study examine the opportunities and challenges towards teaching political science in I.R. of Iran utilizing Tocqueville's theory of democracy as a theoretical framework. Within a theoretical framework we also empirically elaborate the measures which have been made according to the constitution and attempt to analyze the probable shortages proposing solutions to remove them.

Key words: Political education, Political participation, Majority rule, Minority rights, Opportunities and Challenges.

### **Esselment, Anna**

*Friends or Foes Down There Below? The Intergovernmental and Partisan Dimensions of Provincial Government Transitions in Canada*

The question of this paper is does partisanship affect government transitions? The way governments assume power in Canada is an intriguing part of politics, but we have only a limited knowledge of transition mechanics. There has been no investigation into whether transitions have an intergovernmental dimension, for instance, nor have transitions been studied with the partisan complexion of governments in mind. Do federal governments pay attention to provincial transitions? Will Ottawa assist a provincial party cousin transitioning to power? The paper will address this gap in the literature by examining two provincial transitions (Ontario in 2003 and New Brunswick in 2006) through intergovernmental and political lenses.

Using indicators to assess the role and impact of partisanship, the paper argues that in provinces where party organizations formally overlap or are informally intertwined, identical partisan complexions matter in how the transition process is planned and executed. The provincial team will seek advice on the matter from their federal cousins, for example, and recruit experienced political staffers on Parliament Hill to be part of the new sub-national government. Shared partisanship can also predict whether harmonious relations with Ottawa will prevail during the first several months in power. At least initially, there tends to be greater levels of trust and communication across the federal-provincial divide. Where party labels diverge, however, in-coming provincial governments will not have the federal government as a resource for transition assistance and will initially encounter more difficulty in setting up a good relationship with its partisan opposite in Ottawa.

### **Ethier, Diane**

*L'imposition de la démocratie at-elle été l'exception ou la règle depuis 1945 ?*

Les rares auteurs qui se sont intéressés aux scénarios d'imposition de la démocratie (SID) par des forces étrangères d'occupation (FEO) depuis 1945 soutiennent deux thèses diamétralement opposées : selon Stepan (1986) et Schmitter (1996), les SID ont été circonscrits à cinq cas d'exception; selon Whitehead, le 2/3 des démocraties existant en 1995 devaient leur origine à des SID. Qui dit vrai ? Il est impossible de trancher cette question car, ni ces auteurs, ni les études des spécialistes des relations internationales sur les interventions militaires étrangères visant à promouvoir la démocratie, ne proposent une définition claire et une investigation empirique des SID. En se fondant sur les théories de la démocratisation et l'investigation de 26 processus de changement politique associés à des SID par les auteurs recensés, notre recherche soutient que des FEO imposent la démocratie à un pays, uniquement lorsqu'elles jouent un rôle décisif dans l'élaboration et l'adoption d'une nouvelle constitution qui respecte les règles et les procédures d'une démocratie moderne (Schumpeter, 1947; Dahhl, 1971), par le biais du dictat, du contrôle ou d'une pseudo-négotiation. Elle montre que seulement 10 des 26 cas examinés répondent à cette définition. Si cette proportion est confirmée par la poursuite de notre enquête sur une vingtaine d'autres cas probables de SID, on pourra conclure que l'imposition de la démocratie n'a été ni l'exception, ni la règle depuis 1945, tout en étant suffisamment fréquente pour remettre en question la théorie largement consensuelle selon laquelle l'instauration de la démocratie « is a domestic affair par excellence ».

### **Fang, Chen**

Researching Local Participation in China and Canada: Impressions and Experiences

The University of Western Ontario and Xiamen University are engaged in a research partnership to study local public participation in Canada and China. About ten researchers are involved from each country. In this session researchers from Canada and one from China will report on their experiences so far, including a conference in Xiamen in May 2009 at which draft papers were presented. Examples of cases of participation being studied in each country are: newcomers to cities; vulnerable groups who are long-time city residents; rural residents in the context of urbanization; and social housing issues. The project also includes the writing of general papers on systems of local government and patterns of participation in each country. Comparative Chinese-Canadian local research on this subject presents obvious challenges and opportunities that will be discussed in this session.

### **Farney, James**

*Taylor and Kymlicka on the Recognition of Religious Diversity*

Throughout the developed world, debates over claims for the recognition of religious identity have become increasingly prominent. Muslim claims for recognition have received the most public attention but the claims of minority Christian, Sikh, and Hindu populations are just as conceptually difficult and have also caused political debate. Regardless of the religious tradition concerned, how to deal with religious claims for recognition is now a central political question in the developed democracies.

The correct response to these claims is a matter of some debate, for the theories of multiculturalism that have helped guide policy-makers in the recognition of cultural diversity have proven difficult to apply to these new, religiously-based claims (Kymlicka 2007). This has much to do with the assumptions inherent in these theories. They tend to subsume religion into culture (eg. Kymlicka 1988) or treat it as a matter of individual belief not deserving of state support (eg. White 2003). In either case, there is no need to recognize religious claims to distinctive treatment.

This paper examines the recent work of two of Canada's most prominent theorists of multiculturalism: Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka. Both of these thinkers have, recently, turned their attention to the problems of these new religious claims. Through comparison, it seeks to establish both if theories of politics that establish the need to recognize cultural distinctiveness necessarily force the state to recognize religious practices and whether Taylor and Kymlicka present an adequate solution to the problem.

**Feditchkina, Elena**

*The Non-Resident Business Vote in Municipal Elections: Pragmatic, Fair and/or Democratic? The Case of the City of Vancouver*

What explains the stickiness of the non-resident property vote in municipal franchise provisions even though owning property ceased to be the foundation for voter eligibility a long time ago? Over the decades, Canadian municipalities have experienced dramatic changes in voter eligibility requirements. Yet the largest Canadian municipalities have retained the non-resident property vote that incorporates some elements of property ownership in its definition. The paper seeks to examine normative, political and economic factors that have contributed to the retention of the non-resident property vote in municipal franchise. The paper is based on comparing the examples of municipalities in the Westminster systems that have retained the business vote and on in-depth quantitative and qualitative research conducted in the city of Vancouver in spring 2008. The field research is based on the method of triangulation and includes the following components: 1) tracing amendments in electoral provisions in the Vancouver Charter since 1953, 2) conducting expert interviews, and 3) conducting two surveys: a telephone survey of businesses located in downtown Vancouver (N=250), and a survey of the commercial property owners list based on the assessment data of downtown commercial properties (N= 2,910). Projecting the surveys' findings on the entire city of Vancouver permitted to calculate statistically the size of the non-resident property vote. Overall, the paper seeks to contribute to the literature on municipal franchise and its evolution.

**Ferguson, Joanna**

*Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality*

Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism. This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

**Ferguson, Peter A. and de Clercy, Cristine**

*Federal Poll Reporting Regulations and Their Lack of Enforcement or A Treatise on the Ability of Election Officials to Ignore the Law*

Prior to the 2000 general election, the Canadian Parliament enacted a series of new regulations requiring more a complete reporting of opinion poll survey results and limitations. The paper's central research question asks if this regulatory intervention works. To test this, our paper has two parts. First, we hypothesize that more stringent regulations improves public access to accurate information about opinion poll results. To test this hypothesis, we examine the last four Canadian federal elections (2000-08). For each election, we analyze the content of opinion poll reporting supplied in 15 major Canadian. We find that the new regulation has been widely violated. Second, for the 2008 election, we filed 66 complaints concerning violations of Section 326 of the Canada Elections Act with the Commissioner of Elections. This action represented the first time the enforcement mechanisms had been invoked and our conclusion is that the current mechanism is insufficient to enforce the law. An important finding is that the discretion of elections officials serves to undermine the law's core principles.

**Ferry, Leonard**

Consent by any other name; or, was Aquinas a consent theorist?

It has long been commonplace to mark the transition from medieval political thought to that of the early modern period in terms of a transition away from such concepts as social hierarchy and authority to those of social contract and consent. Unfortunately, the transition is sometimes reduced to a caricature whereby voluntary political obligations are taken to displace something akin to the 'divine right of kings'. A. John Simmons characterizes the advent of modern consent theories of political obligation in just such terms: "The political authority of kings [in the Middle Ages] was believed to be granted by God, and the duties of citizens toward their king were imposed by God" [Moral Principles and Political Obligations (Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 58-9]. In "Consent, Custom, and the Common Good in Aquinas' Theory of Political Authority," [The Review of Politics 59 (1997): 323-50] Mark C. Murphy undertakes to correct the oversight by drawing attention to the place of consent in Aquinas' political theory, and readers remain indebted to Murphy's revisionist account of Aquinas, but Murphy overreaches in his exposition. I argue in this paper that the rejection of hierarchy and natural inequality to which Murphy attaches his revamped account of consent distorts the theory of Aquinas. Part of the problem is that Murphy attempts to recover Aquinas as a consent theory without questioning the conceptualization of consent that took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In contrast, I point toward competing conceptualizations of consent, and suggest that the one appropriate to Aquinas – that is, I share Murphy's overall judgment that Aquinas was a consent theorist – lacks several features that the early modern conception has made all but identifiable with consent itself.

**Figueroa Romero, Dolores**

*Diverse Experiences of Training on Human and Women's Rights and Indigenous Women's Leadership in Central America and Ecuador*

This paper will shed light on the challenges, success and outcomes of process of training and teaching that intent to reinforce skills of leadership of Miskitu and Kichwa indigenous women who are involved in the affairs of their communities as well as inside of their ethno-political organizations in Nicaragua and Ecuador.

The aim behind of these -empowerment- initiatives is two folded; on one hand it allows the rise of awareness about human rights as well as discrimination that suffer indigenous people as whole. This process of knowing a universe of rights –individual and collective- indirectly increases the ability of contestation and lobbying of women at local and regional level. Other important outcome is how indigenous women are becoming more critical of the internal contradictions and violence against women within their communities.

**Findlay, Tammy**

*Social Capital and Local Governance Regimes: Early Childhood Development Roundtables in British Columbia*

The concept of social capital has received enormous attention from researchers interested in how neighbourhood might impact a variety of outcomes. However, insufficient attention has been given to issues of local governance and political processes (such as political economy, community partnerships, citizen engagement), particularly in the area of early childhood development (ECD), even though much of the public policy, urban politics, and multilevel governance literature associates local democracy with positive policy outcomes.

Therefore, the paper will explore the relationship between two concepts that have thus far remained largely distinct: "neighbourhood effects" and local or community democracy. Based on interviews, participant observation, and document scan, the paper will map and compare the community governance structures at work in the area of ECD in several BC communities (Surrey, Central Okanagan, Greater Victoria, Prince George, Revelstoke, Vancouver, Vernon, and Dawson Creek). The analysis will be guided by a feminist political economy approach that is concerned with the ways in which power inequalities are institutionalized in governing structures, but also with the agency of political actors and the potential for democratization.

The paper argues that governance is guided by a dominant set of principles, norms, discourses, rules and procedures, or a governance regime. Each regime advances different notions of representation, citizenship, and democracy that have particular gendered and racialized consequences. In canvassing the ECD governance strategies across BC communities, at least three regimes can be identified: the Traditional Public Management, the New Public Management (NPM), and the Democratic Community. The latter has been most successful in bringing together procedural and substantive democracy.

**Fisher, Kirsten**

*Theorizing Punishment in International Law*

The expressive theory of punishment seems to be the most suitable as an underlying theory of criminal punishment, especially for perpetrators of international crimes. In defending this claim, this paper will examine some of the unique challenges this theory faces when applied to the international context. Considerable differences between the domestic and international contexts suggest that the expressive value of punishment may be distinct in each case. This paper aims to show that the significance of the punishment's expression is different in the two contexts and that, as such, we need to ask in reference to the international context: to whom is the message directed and what exactly is the message conveyed? Perhaps punishment of international criminals has two audiences: the affected population and the global community. Additionally, this paper will argue that punishing atrocity leaders and punishing common perpetrators convey different messages; the first a message to the world about reaffirming the value of human persons and the endorsing a certain conception of sovereignty and the second reaffirming the value of a just social order.

**Fitzsimmons, Dan**

*Transformation in the Canadian Forces: A Sociological Institutional Approach to Change in the CF from Peacekeeper to War Fighter.*

This paper seeks to explain the process of institutional transformation within the armed forces of a democracy. It offers an ideational explanation for this process, which is grounded in sociological institutionalism. Specifically, it argues that one of the most important and powerful factors that can drive institutional transformation within national armed forces are radical shifts in how senior political decision-makers perceive the appropriate "institutional role" of their military forces. To illustrate this process, this paper will examine the recent and radical transformation of the Canadian Forces, from an institution structured to specialize in peacekeeping operations to an institution structured to specialize in counter-insurgency war fighting.

**Fitzsimmons, Scott**

*Adapt or Die: The Cultural Foundations of Military Performance in the Sierra Leonean Civil War*

This paper seeks to establish the relative influence of military culture, strategies, and material resources on the performance of the dominant armed forces involved in the Sierra Leonean Civil War: Executive Outcomes (a mercenary group) and the Revolutionary United Front rebels. Specifically, it tests neorealist offence-defence theory, asymmetric

strategic interaction theory, and a constructivist theory of military performance against the empirical record of this conflict to determine which theory provides the most convincing explanation for the outcome of battles and the war overall. It concludes that the interplay between the military cultures adopted by opposing military forces is the primary and most consistent determinant of their fortunes on the battlefield. It further concludes that offence-defence theory and asymmetric strategic interaction theory do not provide consistent explanations for the battlefield performance of combatants in asymmetrical conflicts.

### **Flynn, Greg**

*Talking Trash - Different Institutions, Different Discourses, Different Outcomes*

Policy-making is a contested activity that occurs not only on different levels and between different groups, but also within different institutions, such as courts, legislatures and in the public during elections. This interconnectedness raises issues of institutions, power and discourse (Montpetit, Rothmayr and Varone, 2005). How institutions mediate types of discourse has as much of an impact on which set of policy actors are likely to succeed in advancing their policy-making agenda as do the resources brought to the process by each side or the institution in which the discourse is mediated. This paper will undertake a case study analysis of attempts to locate a landfill for the receipt of solid waste from the City of Toronto. It demonstrates that opponents of the plan to shift waste were only successful in defeating by shifting discourse from an environmental discourse to one focused on risk and potential exposure at the legislative level. In contrast, technical and scientific based discourses were more successful in the judicial context while environmental and voter self-interested motivational claims were successful in the electoral arena. In short, the paper demonstrates that different institutions require different types of discourse and access in order to achieve policy successes.

### **Flynn, Greg**

*Party Member and Public Participation in Party Policy Processes*

Political parties play multiple roles in Canada and are perceived by Canadians as one of the essential links in the Canadian democratic system. (Cross, 2004, 3) However, these organizations are also perceived as becoming increasingly elitist and alienated from normal Canadians, particularly in relation to the policy development process. (Clarke et al, 1996, Ch. 1; Cross, 2004, 4-6) Coinciding to a shift in professional party organization, involvement in election platform drafting process is considered negligible by party members and non-existent for most members of the public. (Carty, 2006, 6; Cross and Young, 2006, 21-25) However, these analyses proceed on the basis that party member and public involvement in the process can only occur at the final stage - the drafting of a party's election platform. This observation fails to consider that party policy development is a multi-tiered process and that involvement by party members can occur at multiple levels and with varying degrees of intensity. This paper will argue that public and party member participation and input into the determination of the content of election policy commitments has tended to change in both form and intensity from one election to the next and from one party to the next. The paper also establishes a more nuanced public and party member participation typology in the platform drafting process.

### **Fontaine-Skronski, Kim**

*Domestic Sources of International Trade Cooperation: Considering Interest-group Strategies and Non Commercial Interests in the Agricultural Sector*

Why do trade negotiations succeed and others fail? A recent successful agreement in a trade related sector, the Convention on the diversity of cultural expressions adopted at UNESCO in 2005, raises two questions about our traditional understanding. First, interest groups played an important role in the process that led to the adoption of the Convention, not only contributing to policy-making at the national level, but also managing to garner international support from interest groups in other countries. Second, the Convention legally recognizes the commercial and non-commercial nature of cultural goods, services and activities, therefore implicitly agreeing that they be submitted to a specific treatment. Could the absence of such factors contribute to the failure of trade talks in more traditional industrial sectors such as agriculture?

This research is an effort to uncover the domestic sources of international economic cooperation. The theoretical model draws on international negotiation theory, by expanding Robert Putnam's two-level game model and his notion of win-sets, and on rational choice theory and the concept of utility maximization. I mainly argue that overcoming domestic resistance to greater liberalisation in sensitive trade areas such as agriculture may not be sufficient to arrive at an agreement but may very well be necessary. This study looks at the strategies used by domestic actors at the international level, and questions the role of non commercial interests in the cost/benefit analysis of decision-makers and interest groups during the Uruguay Round negotiations, which successfully led to the Agreement on Agriculture in 1994, and the Doha Round talks, which failed in 2008.

### **Foucault, Martial, Paty, Sonia and Blais, André**

*Fiscal strategic interactions among Canadian Provincial governments*

The fiscal federalism literature has grown rapidly these last ten years by improving our understanding of important issues regarding interactions between different governments. In particular, the literature has focused on externalities which arise whenever the existence of multi-tiered structure of government is considered, and jurisdictions choose some tax or regulation policy independently. In this case, indeed, the expenditure or tax setting decisions of a given jurisdiction may

have positive or negative consequences on the fiscal choices of other governments. Most of the theoretical papers deal with "horizontal externalities" (i.e. at the same government level) which are mainly due to both mobility and information asymmetries between voters and their representatives in a world where policymakers adopt non-cooperative behavior. In such a setting, an action chosen by a politician in one jurisdiction affects the decision of imperfectly informed voters in other jurisdictions. If voters use the quantity of public goods provided by other governments as a benchmark, increasing spending in one jurisdiction may induce neighboring politicians to do the same in order not to be signaled as bad incumbents. This informational externality may yield fiscal mimicking behavior. As far as economic efficiency is concerned, yardstick competition has beneficial effects either by encouraging revenue-maximizing Leviathans to tilt tax rates toward their efficient level, or by signaling voters the quality of their representatives.

The purpose of this paper is to test the existence of strategic interactions related to public expenditures among the 10 Canadian provinces, using a dynamic panel dataset covering the period 1989-2007. We will highlight what kind of decentralized public spending (health, education, transport, social transfers...) is more prone to mimic behavior.

### **Franceschet, Antonio and Sellinger, Andrea**

#### *Multilateralism and the Ethics of Coercion in Global Politics*

Is multilateralism obligatory when states coerce in global politics? Multilateralism is commonly understood as three or more states coordinating relations according to "generalized" principles of conduct (see John Ruggie 1992). When states coerce, that is, when they employ punitive measures like threats, economic sanctions, and military force, they do so with some justification. To the degree such justifications are accepted by other states, such measures are viewed as coercion rather than acts of aggression or "mere" violence. This paper analyzes the ethical foundations of a multilateral obligation vis-à-vis coercion in global politics. First, we review the literature on the ethics of force in relation to the ideal and practice of multilateral institutionalization. Part two of the paper argues that multilateralism has been influenced by a liberal conception of ethical politics. However, we suggest that, because international liberalism is a divided tradition, with one strand emphasizing procedural constraints and the other substantive ends, what the multilateral obligation entails ethically is contested politically. Multilateralism may be obligatory, but states nominally committed to a liberal world order differ on the extent to which imperfect, archaic institutional procedures licence select (groups of) states to substitute their own judgments for that of the United Nations.

### **Francois, Petry and Collette, Benoit**

#### *Estimating the Policy Positions of Canadian Political Parties from Legislative Election Manifestos 1980-2008*

This article illustrates how the content of their platforms can be used to estimate the policy positions of the main political parties from the 1980 general election up to and including the general election of 2008. We first measure the location of political parties using a computerized version of the traditional Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) method which consists of coding sentences into pre-established issue categories. One advantage of this method is that it allows comparison with a prior study by Irvine who used the method. We use a revised method that makes computer-coding compatible with the CMP hand-coding technique. The method associate a list of words with each issue categories found in the initial CMP scheme, and counts how frequently each word in the dictionary is found in each party platform. We also locate the positions of political parties using the Wordscore computer program recently developed by Michael Laver and his collaborators. Unlike the CMP technique which treats texts as discourse to be interpreted for meaning, the Wordscore technique treats texts as data containing information about the position of the texts' authors on predefined policy dimensions. Starting from a set of "reference" texts the technique extracts data from these reference texts in the form of word frequencies and uses this information to estimate the policy positions of "virgin" texts about which nothing is known. The advantage of the Wordscore method is that it produces a statistical measure of how different texts are from one another in their vocabulary.

### **Freeman-Maloy, Dan**

#### *Decolonization and the UIAFC:*

#### *Addressing the Basic Tension*

In recent years, various scholars and civil society groups within Israel/Palestine have subjected the ethno-national character of Israeli statehood to critical scrutiny. The call to transform the Israeli polity into "a state of all its citizens" gained appreciable support amongst Arab citizens of Israel during the 1990s, and has been further detailed since in what are sometimes collectively dubbed "the Future Vision documents". This political trend is ably represented within the Jewish Israeli scholarly literature by Oren Yiftachel's *Ethnocracy* (2006), which emphasizes the need to assess the social system in historic (Mandatory) Palestine holistically and with an eye to the ethno-national determinants of resource allocation and political rights.

This paper explores the relevance of these discussions to Canadian ethno-politics, and in particular to the politics of the organized Jewish community. A strong parallel exists between the recent criticisms of Israeli state institutions by Palestinian citizens of Israel (alongside such scholars as Yiftachel) and those expressed by leading American Jewish organizations in the early decades of Israeli statehood. One notable point of convergence is the controversy surrounding the quasi-state standing of North American Jewish organizations in relation to the Israeli polity. Within Canada, the organizations operating since 1998 within the framework of the United Israel Appeal Federations Canada (UIAFC) are directly linked to a Jewish ethno-nationalism which is legally and effectively embedded within the Israeli state system.



Such inclusion of Jewish non-residents in the Israeli state system meshes with exclusionary policies directed against indigenous non-Jews.

### **Friesen, Elizabeth**

*The World Economic Forum and social justice: How the Washington Consensus was undermined at Davos*

This paper addresses the question of through what processes and on what authority are the rules and norms governing the international economy constructed, reconstructed, and reproduced? This paper argues that the nature of this contestation is changing. While state actors continue to play an important role, an unprecedented number of non-state, public, as well as private, actors and organizations now seek a voice in shaping those rules.

This paper takes the case of the World Economic Forum (WEF). It looks at the apparent shift away from the enthusiastic embrace of the norms and values of the Washington Consensus (WC) which characterized the discourse of the WEF annual meetings in the early 1990s. It examines the origins and strategies of the multitude of actors and organizations, both within and outside the WEF, which challenged the dominance of the WC. This paper examines the role of ideas and values in this contestation and considers its impact on the rules and norms governing the international financial system, in general, and attitudes to debt cancellation in particular.

Finally, this paper argues that the case of the WEF provides an example of the tension between the outcomes of capitalist market dynamics and the social reaction to these outcomes and concludes that this ongoing process of contestation makes an important contribution to the resilience and adaptive capacity of capitalist systems.

### **Fritz, Melissa**

*Mom, Apple Pie and Policy: Investigating child care policy and debates in the Canadian Media - Federal Elections 2006 & 2008*

This paper sheds light on one facet of the current Federal Child Care debates in Canada. Using Dorothy Smith's ideological construct of the Standard North American Family (SNAF), this analysis will contribute to the ongoing debate around child care policy by examining how traditional discourses of motherhood can be observed, and concurrently, how these discourses contribute to a wider discussion of what constitutes normalcy with family structures. This paper in particular will examine how the media (print, internet, and televised) was used throughout the two electoral campaigns, and during the time between, to keep the debates alive. Furthermore, it will consider how the ideological construct of the Standard North American Family can be seen in these debates. Emphasis is placed in this paper on the political economy of labour and child care as one method by which to clearly observe how the concept of the Standard North American Family does in fact dominate policy decisions and debates.

### **Froese, Marc**

*Ideas, Interests and Institutions: Privileging Explanatory Variables in the Trade Narrative*

In areas of research that are well established such as trade, war, or democracy, social scientists tend to privilege a certain number of explanatory variables. For example, there is a general consensus that ideas, interests and institutions are the basis for a robust theory of international trade (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2006). This set of variables survives intact even as it travels across methodological and theoretical divides. Both neoclassical economic and Marxian approaches privilege the role of interests in the growth of global trade, while acknowledging the importance of ideas and institutions (Irwin, 1996). Liberal political theorists stress the role of ideas, placing economic activity within a discourse that emphasizes the benefits of cooperation and the significance of human rationality as a bulwark against the Hobbesian war of all against all (Fukuyama, 2007). In a recent turn, political economists in the Varieties of Capitalism school dissent from a narrow understanding of human rationality by privileging institutions as the dominant variable in the trade narrative (Hall and Soskice, 2001). By dissecting a number of theoretical approaches, this paper develops a constructivist frame for understanding trade and forwards an argument about the contingent nature of explanation and the centrality of narrative in the human sciences.

### **Gagné, Gilbert**

*Strong Investor Protection and the US-Korea Free Trade Agreement*

Under the provisions of the 1992 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), an investor from a member country is entitled to international arbitration in case of a complaint on the treatment of foreign investment in another signatory nation. Contrary to anticipations, most of the investor-state cases filed under NAFTA Chapter 11 have not involved Mexico's treatment of foreign investment, but US and Canada's investors complaining against the other's government and, thus, all such suits against the US government have been filed by Canadian investors. Since, many central and state government agencies as well as non-governmental organizations in the United States have complained about undue rights being extended to foreign corporations. These institutions have been particularly worried of "over-litigation", when investment or trade agreements are concluded with other developed capital-exporting countries. Apparently echoing these concerns, the 2003 US-Australia Free Trade Agreement did not include an investor-state dispute settlement mechanism. Although the US-Korea FTA negotiations revealed similar preoccupations and consideration was given to do away with such a mechanism, the agreement concluded provides for one. While, for a period, the United States seemed to be

moving away from an overall approach on investment protection to a differentiated strategy with respect to industrial countries, the provisions of the 2007 US-Korea FTA dispel this idea. The paper proposes to look, first, at the details of the investment provisions in the latter FTA, second, at the reasons why the imperatives for strong investor protection have trumped other serious public policy concerns, and, third, why an across-the-board US investment protection policy has prevailed and continues to apply, treating both developed and developing countries alike.

### **Gagnon, Frédéric**

*(Un)Patriotic Imagery: Hollywood, The War in Iraq and the Politics of Soldier Representation in the United States*

The United States is at war, a war to fix the contours of what it means to be a soldier in Iraq. Michael Moore saw which side was winning this war when he released his documentary film *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004). In a time when "Support Our Troops" bumper stickers were the norm, Moore displayed his patriotism by portraying U.S. soldiers in a heroic light. Studying Winkler's *Home of the Brave* (2006), Furie's *The Four Horsemen* (2008), Peirce's *Stop-Loss* (2008), Haggis' *In the Valley of Elah* (2007) and Strouse's *Grace is Gone* (2007), this paper shows that the "heroic narrative" still dominates the "battlefield" of Hollywood's soldier representation. While these films also project the idea that there should be a strict limit on women's participation in wars, I argue that they (re)write the militarist and paternalist traits of American identity. The political controversy raised by De Palma's *Redacted* (2007) further illustrates the connection between cultural construction of soldiering and national identity, hence the sentiment shared by many that by portraying U.S. soldiers in a negative light, De Palma had "denigrated" and "bashed" America itself.

### **Galleguillos, Nibaldo**

*Latin American Armies, the War On Terrorism, and the Redefinition of the Concept of 'Enemy'.*

This paper examines the shifting meaning of the concept of "enemy" held by the Latin American armed forces and the reasons given in order to justify their continued existence. It discusses how governments wrestle with the dilemma of maintaining or eliminating them, and how a long-standing dependency on the United States serves the useful purpose of ensuring their survival.

The collapse of Communism, and of the alleged threat it presented to ruling sectors, has created a unique opportunity to re-assess the role of the armed forces. What is their mission in the democratic transition? Who is the 'new' enemy that would justify the enormous amounts of monies spent in maintaining relatively large armies? Is the existence of an international terrorist threat sufficient enough to justify having military institutions trained to fight external aggression and/or internal enemies in the past? Is it possible to construe elected left-of-center governments as "enemies", if they were to negatively effect the capitalist accumulation process supported by neoliberal economies and globalization? Is the U.S.-led War Against Drugs, with its diffuse sense of who is the "enemy", a legitimate justification for existence? Is poverty another "enemy" against which the armed forces' support could be enlisted? The answers to these questions are all of great relevance to comparative politics/developing as well as the more specific field of civil-military relations. The author has published extensively on this field and will examine primary sources for this research.

### **Garon, Lise**

*ISLAM AND THE WEST FROM THE MIDDLE AGE TO THE XXIST CENTURY. THEORETICAL INFERENCES FROM MOMENTS (BIOPSIES) OF A DIALOGUE*

THE CONCEPT OF CIVILISATION – Among the several dimensions of the complex concept of civilisation, we coined as most useful its subjective aspect of an "imagined identity" (Benedict Anderson), the broadest as possible beyond its member nations. DIALOGUE is an interaction process whose actors (individual or collective) try to get along on a given subject. To reach such an agreement, the interlocutors must comply with the hermeneutical method (Gadamer-Zaidi). From the Middle Ages to the Third Millennium, The dialogue of civilisations process has kept unfolding AROUND HOW-TO-LIVE-TOGETHER ISSUES. COMMON REFERENCE FRAMES, either religious, legal or philosophical, come across the opposing points of view and thus help solve divergences and conflicts. Why, then, does the dialogue between Islam and the West perform so badly? OBSTACLES WITH THE DIALOGUE – As a matter of fact, diplomats, sociologists, entrepreneurs, religious leaders, refugees and other travellers do have a dialogue in private, but for purposes irrelevant to the dialogue of civilisations. It is on the public scene, on the other hand, that the human Imaginary, the State actors and the media set up the most significant hindrance to dialogue. 1. The human Imaginary has sketched throughout the centuries, the images of a primarily predatory West and an Islam to civilize to slow down its instinctive violence and cruelty. Hence a climate of mistrust very unfavourable with the dialogue in Islam and the West as well. 2. The requirements of realpolitik have led the greater powers to make their international policy. For marketing purposes, the media reproduce the phenomena of hegemony and exclusion between the Western Self and the Muslim Other: In the West, this structural exclusion from the public scene has favoured mistrust, extremism and the refusal of dialogue.

### **Gaucher, Megan**

*Everytime I Fall in Love, I Fall in Love With You: Monogamous Citizenship and Canadian Immigration Policy*

Monogamy is the foundational basis for state-recognized relationships. This belief in two person intimacy is evident in numerous areas of Canadian policy, one example being immigration. Family sponsorship is strictly defined by monogamous kinship ties, establishing guidelines for which relationships are legitimate and in turn, granted access. This promotes a very specific form of sexual citizenship; the good sexual citizen is the monogamous one. Therefore not only is

sexuality regulated through the specification of who one should love, but by how one should love as well. The purpose of this thesis is to ask the following question: what is the role of governing that monogamy performs for the Canadian state? I argue that monogamy becomes a means for the state to regulate (and reproduce) marriage-like relationships, thereby reinforcing heteronormativity. Three theoretical approaches are used to explain why the state has a vested interest in privileging monogamous relationships: a political economy interpretation of using sexual responsibility to guarantee economic self-sufficiency, a feminist explanation which defines sexuality as a tool used in nation-building, and an approach which explores the role of political membership in state definition. Finally, the relationship between monogamy and heteronormativity is addressed. Ultimately, this paper questions whether queering monogamy is possible and if so, whether its deconstruction challenges the overarching heteronormative framework.

### **Gazibo, Mamoudou**

#### *Le néopatrimonialisme est-il soluble dans la démocratie ?*

Exégèse sélective de textes portant soit sur les concepts, soit sur la nature des «nouvelles démocraties». La thèse courante de l'exclusion mutuelle entre néo-patrimonialisme et démocratie qui s'est imposée n'est pas étrangère à une lecture particulière de l'histoire de l'État et de la démocratie dont les prémisses figurent dans l'œuvre fondatrice de Weber, mais aussi dans la sociologie historique. Les pratiques patrimoniales relèvent historiquement et empiriquement de la règle plus que de la déviance en politique. Leur prévalence ou non varie selon qu'il y a une institutionnalisation des normes formelles qui organisent la vie politique, ou la domination de conduites informelles potentiellement présentes dans tous les systèmes politiques. A partir des travaux comparatifs sur les démocratisations de la troisième vague -notamment l'idée d'hybridation et de régimes partiels de démocratie- nous verrons comment, à maints égards, le néo-patrimonialisme structure nombre de nouvelles démocraties au point d'en définir l'identité.

### **Gecelovsky, Paul**

#### *The Values of a Christian Civilization': Religion and Canadian Foreign Policy*

In the 1947 Gray Lecture, then Secretary of State for External Affairs Louis St. Laurent outlined the 'foundations' of Canada's foreign policy, including the 'values of a Christian civilization'. The proposed paper will assess the role played by religion in the foreign policy of the current Harper government. The paper will argue that religion plays a minor, yet significant, role in shaping CFP. Some of the factors limiting religion's influence on CFP are the increasing secular character of the Canadian population, the plurality of religions in Canada, the lack of a coherent, consolidated and connected religious group in Canadian politics (e.g. right-wing Christian movement in US), and the parliamentary system and its limited access points with respect to lobbying (i.e. the structural characteristics of the Canadian state limit the access points to outside influences and the continued centralisation of power in the PMO under Harper's leadership). In the US, religion and its influence on politics and foreign policy has been the subject of much debate. The same can not be said of Canada. The role of religion in Canadian politics has had some recent attention (Malloy), while its affect on Canadian foreign policy (CFP) has for the most part escaped scrutiny. The purpose of this paper is to examine religion and its influence on CFP. The paper will be broken down into four parts: (1) look at religious affiliation in Canada; (2) a brief discussion of religion and CFP; (3) a look at the policies of the Harper government ; and (4) conclusion/analysis

### **Ghobadzadeh, Naser**

#### *Multiculturalism and Muslim women in political realm: Australia and Canada*

Muslim women are under-represented in both Australia and Canada. However, there is a significant difference in Muslim women's engagement in the electoral politics of the two countries. Currently among the 226 members of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, there are no Muslim women: None of the main political parties in the last four elections nominated a Muslim woman.

In contrast, Muslim women's engagement in Canadian federal elections has been noticeably higher. In 1993 the first Muslim woman was nominated to run for general election. Seventeen Muslim candidates participated in the 2004 general election, from which four were women and one, Yasmin Ratansi, was elected to the House of Commons. Moreover, one Muslim woman, Mobina Jaffer, was appointed to the Senate in 2001. The reviewing parties' internal recruitment process reveals the expanded participation of Muslim women within the parties to run for election.

Therefore, compared with Australian Muslim women, their Canadian counterparts can claim better status in terms of their contribution to electoral politics. In a comparative framework, my paper will use Mill's method of differences and will focus on the potential explanations for the aforesaid difference. The paper will argue that multiculturalism and the two countries' respective political cultures provide an explanation for the differences. Although both Canada and Australia have officially accepted Multiculturalism as their policy, multiculturalism has a strong tradition in Canada and makes a difference in the way that minority groups such as Muslims integrate and contribute to the social realm including political sphere.

### **Giasson, Thierry, Darisse, Cyntia and Raynauld, Vincent**

#### *The Viral Constitution of Representative and Reliable Web-based Research Samples: The Study of Online Socio-political Networks*

The increasingly mainstream use of Web-based social media channels such as weblogs and social network platforms like Facebook and MySpace in Canada (CEFRIO, 2008) has contributed in recent years to the reconfiguration of potentially "parapolitical" (Dahlgren, 2005: 153; Bode, 2008: 7) mix-media information flows and social relations. While many mass

media researchers have avoided the study of the Web due to the incompatibility of their investigation approaches (Morris and Ogan, 1996), a growing number of political communication scholars are tailoring their quantitative and qualitative research strategies to address the specificities of this constantly-evolving “socio-political” environment (Bennett and Iyengar, forthcoming: 2). Based on an exhaustive study of Quebec-based “A-list” political bloggers, also defined as “opinion leaders”, conducted through Web-based secure surveys in April 2008, this paper will address concerns associated with the constitution of representative research samples through viral and decentralized strategies. Indeed, the highly networked and transient nature of Web-based communities requires the use of flexible strategies that are adapted to the characteristics of the online research environment. Secondly, this paper will question the relevance of methodological approaches used in previous studies of the U.S. blogosphere and argue for the development of progressively more flexible research strategies because of the constantly-evolving structure of the World Wide Web.

### **Gidengil, Elisabeth, Everitt, Joanna, Fournier, Patrick and Nevitte, Neil**

#### *Anatomy of a Liberal Defeat*

This paper will draw on data from the 2008 Canadian Election Study to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the outcome of the 2008 election. Who switched parties and who remained loyal? Did partisan defections contribute to the Liberals’ stunning defeat? What role did strategic calculations play? And just how much did the leaders matter? The paper will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the findings for the future of the party system and an assessment of the strategic challenges facing each of the political parties.

### **Gizewski, Peter**

#### *The Future Security Environment*

As the 21st century begins to unfold, Canada finds itself in an international environment marked by considerable uncertainty, volatility and increasingly rapid change. Many analysts now claim that today’s world is more chaotic and unpredictable than at any other period in history. Nowhere are the challenges more evident than in the spheres of national security and defence policy. While the threat of global war has seemingly disappeared, many dangers linger and new challenges are fast emerging.

Whether the present environment represents an anomaly or in fact “the shape of things to come,” is unclear. Still, attempts to understand and, if possible, anticipate future challenges are essential for effective military planning. This is especially true in the case of Land Forces – which continue to represent the most direct military means of controlling territory and those that inhabit it and who generally incur the majority of risk in doing so. Indeed, given the demands and inherent dangers that land operations frequently confront, informed security assessments are a must.

This paper identifies key trends now evident in the international system; their potential impact on the future security environment; and the nature of the potential threats and challenges they pose. It contends that while a range of measures will clearly be needed to address the challenges of tomorrow the most crucial component for ensuring effective responses will lie in the conceptual realm.

### **Godbout, Jean-Francois and Hoyland, Bjorn**

#### *Legislative Voting in the Canadian Parliament*

The paper applies a Bayesian Markov Chain Monte Carlo estimation methodology to scale division votes in the 35th and 38th Canadian Parliaments over a multidimensional policy space. The results clearly demonstrate that policy debates are two-dimensional in Canada. The first dimension represents the classical division between the governing and the opposition parties that has been found in similar Parliamentary systems (Hix and Noury 2007). We also find a relevant second dimension which captures the opposition between Quebec and the Western provinces of Canada. Our results show that there is a clear separation between the Reform Party (and later the Conservatives) and the Bloc Quebecois in both Parliaments; whereas the Liberals and the NDP occupy the center on this regional division issue. We also note that the newly created Conservative Party has moved closer to the center and the governing Liberals in the 38th Parliament. This results is explained by the recent party merger between the right wing political formations in Canada.

### **Goldstein, Joshua D.**

#### *The Problem of Marriage in New Natural Law Theory*

Recent attempts to theorize the importance of marriage within the secular West have led some to argue that no coherent account of marriage is possible, and that the disestablishment of marriage is the only just response. In searching for theoretical resources to address the question of the moral value of marriage, we might think to turn to the so-called new natural law (NNL) theorists since they provide a philosophically robust, contemporary, secular defense of marriage as good. This paper suggests that such a turn is problematic.

By examining the NNL in light of a problem raised by the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides, I show that the NNL is forced to theorize marriage’s importance either (i) as a mere by-product of a more essential biological and volitional commitment that ironically cannot account for the moral significance of the institution or marriage, or (ii) as a morally transformational institution that, ironically, cannot sustain the exclusionary sexual ethic that the NNL theorists posit as arising from marriage.

Although not their intent, the NNL can furnish a justification for marriage, not as something in addition to the subjective feelings and commitments that individuals can have for one another apart from institutions, but understood as the

precondition for the actualization of those commitments in a way that frees them from either the particularities of the biological capacities for union or from the inconstancy of volitional commitment.

### **Goodwin, Adam**

Kropotkin and International Relations

Overcoming the 'competitive nature' of humans to cooperate has been a core issue of International Relations—this project will utilize Peter Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid to reconsider ontology in IR. Mutual Aid Theory holds that the long-term evolution of organisms is shaped by cooperation within a group of species against a variable ecology. Kropotkin posited that humans, along with numerous other animals, have evolved a sociability instinct to draw them together into groups where intraspecific cooperative behaviour favors adaptation against harsh environmental conditions (Kropotkin 1902). This is in stark contrast to the commonly-held assumption that long-term evolution takes place in the individual according to their intraspecific fitness—the competition over cooperation paradigm.

Mutual Aid Theory, applied to the realm of politics, overturns orthodox theories which hold that the egoistic (individualistic) and competitive drive of humans must be overcome to promote cooperation. Thayer (2004) applied the orthodox individual-fitness interpretation of evolution to shore up Realist arguments. This study will respond to Thayer's approach by juxtaposing it against Mutual Aid Theory, and augmenting this with empirical evidence accumulated in the fields of primatology, anthropology, ethology and sociobiology.

Questions of ontology are crucial in politics and epistemological/methodological assumptions must be cast after ontological investigations have been carried out (Wight 2006). Re-conceptualizing political and social ontology prompts doubts about the validity of the core assumptions underlying Rational Choice Theory/Game Theory, and the nature of the approaches to the agent-structure debate and levels-of-analysis debates within IR.

### **Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth and Croskill, Julie**

*Gender Affinity Effects in Vote Choice? Evidence from Independents, Leaners, and Partisan Defectors*

Recent work suggests that women are more likely than men to vote for women candidates, a phenomenon referred to as a "gender affinity effect" (Dolan 2008). The causal mechanisms thought to undergird the effect range from women voters' gender consciousness and/or support of the welfare state to gender as a cognitive shortcut to vote choice.

Partisanship tends to complicate examinations of gender affinity effects. In every election, some women vote for women candidates simply because of partisanship. In jurisdictions where women candidates tend to run disproportionately for liberal parties and where women are more likely than men to vote for the same parties, apparent gender affinity effects may be artificially magnified or even spurious. Thus, we propose that analyses of non-partisans, leaners, and defectors may offer purchase in sorting out where, when, and why gender affinity effects occur.

Our paper analyzes voting in the 1997 and 2000 Canadian federal elections using CES data combined with candidate data. We focus on independents, leaners, and defectors because their votes are more sensitive, by definition, to candidate considerations. As such, when these voters select women candidates, it is easier to determine if the sex of the candidate was a significant factor. On a broader level, crossover voting – among both defectors and leaners – may present strong evidence of gender affinity effects, and will allow us to determine if there are partisan asymmetries in crossovers, with women from particular partisan backgrounds more likely to defect because of affinity with women candidates.

### **Gore, Christopher**

*Public sector reform and political change in Africa: The case of electricity in Uganda*

Since the late 1980s, the World Bank has enthusiastically promoted 'governance reforms' in sub-Saharan Africa. The Bank's 'governance agenda' has typically focused on improved public sector management, accountability, and transparency, suggesting that improved governance will lead to improved development outcomes. The promotion of these 'second generation reforms', however, increasingly confront numerous implementation challenges. This paper argues that these challenges are due to an overemphasis on reform outcomes and an underestimation of the direct and indirect political effects of the process of reform itself. The case of electricity sector reform in Uganda and East Africa more widely is used to emphasize this argument. While Uganda is recognized as a leader in first generation reforms, such as those relating to macroeconomic matters, it continues to struggle to find success in more complicated institutional changes that are promoted for the electricity sector. Indeed, Uganda continues to have one of the lowest levels of access to electricity in the world. In turn, the paper considers the implications of these problems for institutional and political consolidation in Uganda, and what this also means for future World Bank operations in Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa generally.

### **Gosselin, Tania and Henjak, Andrija**

*Welfare Systems in Central and Eastern Europe Before and After 1989: Intra and Interregional Comparisons*

Since 1989, Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have received increasing attention from observers of welfare systems. Works related to an intraregional comparative perspective examine social reforms (most frequently in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland). They are mostly concerned with the impact of international organisations and policy diffusion or the influence of communist successor parties on post-1989 national trajectories.

Interregional comparisons on the other hand tend to treat post-communist countries as a single block. The handful of studies involving CEE often assess the effects of economic factors such as globalization and the constraints associated with the transition to a market economy on welfare spending. Comparisons with developing countries, notably Latin America, also consider regime type.

Both bodies of literature are useful to better understand social policies and institutions established in post-communist countries. We seek to widen the scope of comparative analysis of welfare systems in CEE by taking stock of divergences highlighted by the first type of studies in an analysis that will include a larger number of CEE countries than has been considered before. We also find valuable insights in interregional comparisons and add democracy and quality of governance to economic and political factors to our analysis. Finally, we also draw from studies pertaining notably to Western Europe to explore more systematically the impact of historical legacies (types of communist regime, strength of civil society, pre-communist level of socio-economic development) on spending and the structure of social programs in more than 15 post-communist countries since 1990.

### **Grace, Joan**

#### *Gendering Multilevel Governance: Lessons from Scotland*

In Canada, debate about the outcomes of federalism runs deep. Although there have been significant contributions (Chappell 2002; Vickers 1994) the interrogation of federalism through a gender lens remains understudied. Scrutinizing women's political place within a federal system is important. Federal systems tend to be "welfare laggards" and are oriented toward conservative policy outcomes (Chappell 2001). Federal structures also "...organize issues and conflicts of territoriality into politics, while organizing out issues and conflicts that are social" (Hueglin and Fenna 2006, 38). For women, this means public policies which facilitate citizenship rights to improve their overall standard of living are often difficult to achieve. As Jill Vickers argues, the institutions of federal-provincial relations have meant that federalism is one of the structural barriers women push up against in their efforts to shift the political agenda.

Within this theoretical context, this paper has two main objectives: to contribute a feminist understanding of federalism (particularly apt during the current era of so-called "open federalism") by gleaning from the Scottish post-devolution experience of power-sharing in the UK. I will look to legislative, institutional and political processes put in place in Scotland to advance women's participation in policy making and hence outcomes that benefit women to analyse how they fit within the Canadian federal scheme. I propose to build on the seminal work of Chappell and Vickers by applying a feminist-institutional framework marrying the theoretical tenets of historical-institutionalism with the transformational aims of feminism to critique the idea and practice of federalism.

### **Graefe, Peter and Eves, Carol-Anne**

#### *Social Policy Renewal in Ontario: Narrowly Inclusive Liberalism?*

With very few exceptions (e.g. Hackworth 2008; Vosko 2006), the political analysis of social policy in Ontario does not extend beyond the first term of Mike Harris' Conservative government (1995-1999). The analyses of the early Harris years were in many cases written with an eye to advocacy, so while they do a very good job of capturing the details of policy change and the impact of these changes on specific groups (social assistance recipients, women), the relation of these changes to the broader political economy is established through an invocation of "neoliberalism." As social policy discourses have changed towards a paradigm of "social investment" or of "inclusive liberalism", and interventions serve to flank neoliberalism rather than roll-it out further, there is a need to take stock of Ontario social policy, the big ideas being debated, and the major actors setting out the parameters of the possible.

This paper provides a sketch of social policy in Ontario since 2000. This is difficult due to the breadth of the field (social assistance, housing, childcare etc.), as well as the degree of decentralization to municipalities, which means that many new departures are localized. Nevertheless, the paper remarks that the ideological policy prescriptions of the mid-1990s have been replaced with concerns for more pragmatic reforms that might effectively address poverty, although these remain highly constrained within the bounds of neoliberal budgetary and labour market nostrums. This constraint in part reflects the revival of the liberal reform coalition from the 1980s, but in a context where the left is too weak to require inclusion.

### **Graham, Katherine**

#### *Researching Local Participation in China and Canada: Impressions and Experiences*

The University of Western Ontario and Xiamen University are engaged in a research partnership to study local public participation in Canada and China. About ten researchers are involved from each country. In this session researchers from Canada and one from China will report on their experiences so far, including a conference in Xiamen in May 2009 at which draft papers were presented. Examples of cases of participation being studied in each country are: newcomers to cities; vulnerable groups who are long-time city residents; rural residents in the context of urbanization; and social housing issues. The project also includes the writing of general papers on systems of local government and patterns of participation in each country. Comparative Chinese-Canadian local research on this subject presents obvious challenges and opportunities that will be discussed in this session.

### **Gray, Gwendolyn**

#### *Federalism and the Elusive Search for Theory*

The impact of federal institutions on government and public policy has been a central issue in federalism studies for more than two centuries. Supporters of federalism claim that great benefits flow from the system. Others take an opposing view, arguing that dividing the power to govern undermines the power of the state and produces weak, conservative government. More recently, a revisionist position has been developed that posits that federalism can create opportunities for policy innovation and expansion. While perspectives differ, analysts are in broad agreement that the impact of federal institutions can be known and predicted. However, despite a proliferation of writing in the field of theory-building, efforts to date are disappointing. In the first place, insufficient evidence is brought together to support the claims that are made. When practice is compared with theory, the fit is often poor. Second, the vast bulk of the literature is without a gendered dimension. Third, in assessing the operation of federalism there are methodological obstacles that are not easy to overcome. Many of the same problems appear to pertain to theory-building efforts in relation to multilevel governance. This study examines the main theoretical propositions that have been developed in the light of evidence from operating federations. The main argument is that theories are more often ideological rather than empirical and, to date, are disappointing.

### **Greene, Jonathan**

*Warehousing Misery?: Managing Urban Dystopia in the City of Toronto*

On January 9, 2008 the City of Toronto announced that its Streets to Homes Program had been chosen as a finalist for the 2007-08 World Habitat Awards. In response to this achievement Mayor David Miller trumpeted the success of the program: 'Streets to Homes is helping us to end street homelessness. It is making Toronto a more inclusive city, and the world is taking notice.' Although Toronto did not win an award, the nomination provided city officials with another opportunity to advertise the city and to legitimize its handling of the homeless crisis. In the late 1990s Toronto had earned the distinction of being one of North America's homeless hotspots. Now the City was proclaiming that its Streets to Homes Program was a model that could be replicated around the world. To detractors, however, 'there is a glaring contradiction between the 'Streets to Homes' initiative as it is presented by its boosters in Toronto City Hall and the quiet, hidden misery that plays out in the lives of its 'success stories' (Clarke 2008). Indeed, rather than being a 'made-in-Toronto' solution, Streets to Homes may be an American import, manufactured in New York City, the leading edge of neoliberal urbanism. This paper traces the origins and development of Streets to Homes and critically examines the effects of the program on the lives of homeless people in the context of a larger agenda of urban renewal and gentrification that has become a central plank in global strategies of urban competition.

### **Gronau, Jennifer**

*Metaphorical Concepts of Legitimation: The Labeling of National, Intergovernmental and Supranational Political Orders in Public Communication*

This contribution introduces an empirical study, which focuses on the use and impact of metaphorical concepts in political communication, and more specifically in mass media discourses. The study assumes that mass media functions as a vehicle and discursive "battle field", not only dispatching information, but rather creating a space for either positive or negative evaluations e.g. of policies, political authorities or whole political orders (David Easton). Following Max Weber's and Rodney Barker's theoretical conception of legitimation, those observable evaluations can be regarded as acts of ascriptions of legitimacy – or illegitimacy. One fundament of these legitimations is the use of metaphorical concepts, called labels, which can be found in public circumscriptions of political orders. The impact and sources of different connotations, e.g. labeling the Group of Eight as "summit of the world's most powerful leaders" or "rich men's club annual jamboree" will be examined comparatively. The paper is thus based on a critical analysis of metaphorical concepts used in four national media discourses, each examined consulting two high quality newspapers for a period of ten years. This analysis aims at detecting patterns of labels and their impact on and between three political levels: the national level (the case of GB, USA, Swiss and Germany), the intergovernmental level (the case of the Group of Eight) and the supranational level (the case of the European Union). The empirical results, e.g. the sources of metaphors, similarities or contradictions between the political levels, will then be discussed, reflecting upon the theoretical input.

### **Grondin, David**

*Realizing the "Iron Man"-Soldier: US Technowar in "Action!"*

More than their representational power, what makes films appealing is their capacity to produce political meanings and to inform past, present and future foreign policy actions and events. In effect, in trying to imagine the future of war, science fiction movies are crucial for defense planners in their visual and technical representation of how technology could change war-making capabilities, while war movies are useful portrayal of wars of the past that account for how US soldiering is being thought of with the present in mind. Hence, following a rich body of knowledge linking film and geopolitics, this paper studies the transformation of US soldiering, from the Vietnam War to the War on Terror, in light of movies that (in)form current American popular geopolitics in the post-September 11 context: Randall Wallace's *We Were Soldiers* (2002), Sam Mendes' *Jarhead* (2005), Kimberly Peirce's *Stop-Loss* (2008) and Jon Favreau's *Iron Man* (2008). Ultimately, the paper seeks both to illustrate how the "US Hollywood war machine" has been working with the Pentagon to redesign US warfare and to explore how the impact of information technology in the ongoing defense transformation and how new technologies – and now especially robotics – have changed the ways the US wages war.

**Gupta, Madhvi***Does Diversity Come in the Way of Struggles for Citizenship? The Case of India*

Studies on diversity and democracy have thrown up two opposite set of conclusions. The conventional view is that ethnic differences divide society in a manner that makes compromise and consensus difficult. Where ethnicity is the primary organizing device in politics, political instability or even civil conflict becomes routine. Others contend that diversity has little or no impact on democracy. The goal of this paper is to explore whether diversity determines the nature of popular struggles. The expansion of citizenship is often achieved through political struggles by subaltern groups. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the relationship between diversity and political struggles carried out by subaltern actors. Diverse societies appear less likely to experience broad and inclusive struggles for the expansion of citizenship. The experience of multiethnic societies suggests distinct social groups mobilize for particularistic rather than universal ends. It is particularly problematic to build multiethnic coalitions that seek the same goals. However, a variety of popular struggles—whether independence movements in former colonies or popular struggles for political, social and economic rights—have transcended ethnic differences. While diversity may be divisive, it can be transcended. Based on extensive research in low-income communities in the city of New Delhi, and drawing on other studies on India, this paper seeks to understand the impact of diversity on popular struggles. Do ethnic and other differences—whether based on caste, religion or language—impede collective action? Are ethnic cleavages the primary axis for the emergence of popular movements?

**Haddow, Rodney***Varieties of Capitalism in Canada? Comparing Ontario and Quebec Responses to Globalization*

The proposed paper will examine the extent to which the VOC literature, whose categories have been developed for application at the national level, can be applied to a study of public policy in Canadian provinces. The selected cases are Ontario and Quebec. The paper will examine policy regarding tax and spending levels and their incidence since 1990 in these two provinces. In my previous research I have argued that Quebec's political economy is less liberal than Ontario's, in terms of the categories developed by David Soskice. Consistent with the VOC literature's hypotheses in this respect, the paper will therefore test the hypothesis that Quebec policy-making regarding taxing and spending has therefore involved more formal bargaining among the state, business and labour, that it has witnesses less of a neo-liberal 'race to the bottom' in tax and spending levels, and that the incidence of provincial taxes and tax expenditures is more egalitarian than in Ontario, and has become more so over time.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used in the paper. The former will be based on an extensive review of the available media and public document record, and on confidential interviews. The latter will be based on cross-sectional time-series data on provincial spending and tax levels, available from CANSIM, and on micro-level data from the SLID on the tax levels and on the incidence of taxes across income classes.

**Haderer, Margarete***Good Homes Make Good Citizens: On the Ideological Production Space through the Example of Public Housing in "Red Vienna" in the 1920s*

Knowing that space can be an effective tool for entrenching norms of citizenship, political elites have reified their political visions through monuments, but also through public housing. As a way to take direct influence on the everyday life of citizens, politics of dwelling have been of particular importance to the consolidation of new political regimes. As part of my dissertation on the ideological production of space, this paper illustrates the link between dwelling and politics through the example of Vienna's spatial make-over after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. In the 1920s, Vienna's Social Democrats built 400 communal housing blocks, equipped with public gardens, theatres, libraries, kindergartens, and sport facilities, hoping that they would pave the way for a gradual transformation towards socialism. Through the lens of Henri Lefebvre's dialectical account of the production of space, this paper explores the interplay between the Social Democrats' theoretical commitments (Austro-Marxism), actual spatial practices, and the everyday life of tenants (related through oral histories). The goal of this analysis is to address the question of how socialist space was produced as well as challenged by its users. Whereas recent literature on Red Vienna uses Michel Foucault's concept of panopticism to stress the disciplining character of the Social Democratic housing program, this paper demonstrates how dismissing the housing projects as problematic reformatories misses the most important legacy of Vienna's municipal socialism: the decommodification of housing, which allowed disenfranchised workers to move from the poverty-stricken fringes of the city to its wealthy centre.

**Haji-Yousefi, Amir***Is There an Iranian Perspective on International Relations?*

There are two views of social science: the majority one is that it is possible to have a "value-free" social science concerned with capturing the realities of the world around us; and the minority view which says that any effort to produce a body of knowledge is informed by normative and political interests. The former view i.e., the positivist one, has informed much of scholarship in International Relations (IR). The latter is admittedly well-recognized now among many non-American scholars of IR, especially in Canada and Europe (Neufeld, 1995). Accordingly, as Robert Cox says, "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose" (Cox, 1996: 87). It is this second view that forms the starting point for my argument in this paper that we can speak about an "Iranian perspective" on international relations. This paper is divided into two sections. The first surveys the IR literature to see the main debates about nationality and theoretical perspectives.



The second section of the paper then draws upon the example of Iran as a case study to assess and test the hypothesis that nationality and theorizing are substantially related.

### **Hamilton, Paul**

#### *'Reasonable Accommodation' in Comparative Perspective*

This paper examines the 'reasonable accommodation' debate in Quebec from a comparative perspective. The debate about the expectations for immigrants is not confined to Quebec. In a number of democratic states with large numbers of immigrants concerns about incompatible values have led states to adopt symbolic and substantive measures to try to ensure that migrants respect local norms and customs. In the Netherlands this is manifested in obligatory questionnaires and a film extolling the virtues of Dutch democracy. Increasingly, immigration is seen as a potential problem for social cohesion leading to greater attention to integrative policies over multicultural ones. In this paper I examine such policies in a number of contexts : Canada, the Netherlands, and the UK. My primary question is: What constellation of events and variables brought these policies to the top of the public agenda? What social actors pushed these measures and what, if any, opposition exists? What implications do these policies have on contemporary notions of citizenship?

### **Handley, Antoinette**

#### *The AIDS epidemic as a social welfare crisis: Unpacking public and private sector responses in South Africa*

Under what circumstances do elites respond to social crises? This has long been a topic of urgent and compelling interest to political scientists. And does it matter whether those elites are situated in the public or the private sector, i.e. whether they are principally political or economic elites? There can be little question that the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa constitutes a social crisis of the severest order. The epidemic therefore provides us with an opportunity to review this longstanding question. South Africa is probably one of very few Sub-Saharan African countries where the state is considered to have some ability to provide social welfare services to its citizens. Yet, for at least a decade, the response by the South African government to the epidemic has been curiously limited. For its part, sections of the South Africa private sector (hardly renowned for their benign labour practices) have adopted more constructive and wide-reaching responses to the epidemic, at least with respect to their own workforces. What do these responses tell us about how public and private elites in South Africa see their role and responsibility in reacting to social welfare crises? How have the political and moral economy dimensions of the epidemic shaped these responses? And what can we say about how responsibility for the social welfare of South Africa's citizens is being apportioned? This paper reviews the nature of public and private sector responses to the epidemic, considering these in relation to responses elsewhere on the continent.

### **Hannah, Erin**

#### *Embedded NGOs and the Collapse of the Doha Development Round*

The multilateral trade regime has changed dramatically in character, scope, and intensity since the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in 1995. Trade negotiations have become infinitely more complex and effective participation requires sophisticated technical and legal expertise. These developments are accompanied by the emergence of new actors who are mobilizing, not to ensure particular sectors are protected or insulated from the costs of trade liberalization, but to demand that trade-related decisions-making processes involve broader civil society. "Embedded" non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are working to ensure trade rules reflect broader social values and purposes of entire communities. They are also responding to dramatic knowledge and power asymmetries in the multilateral trade regime by providing legal and technical trade-related assistance to developing and least developed countries vis-à-vis their national trade delegations in Geneva. This paper will assess the potential for embedded NGOs to alter the power dynamics in the multilateral trade regime by increasing the capacity of developing countries to articulate autonomous policy choices in multilateral trade negotiations. It also explores the tensions that emerge between demands for public access to the trade policymaking process and effective policymaking by questioning whether the recent collapse of the Doha Development Round can be accurately attributed to the role played by embedded NGOs in developing and least developed country trade delegations. The answers to these important questions will have significant implications for the future trajectory of international economic governance.

### **Hanvelt, Marc**

#### *The Road Not Taken: Moral Sense Judgment in Contemporary Liberalism*

The influence of Immanuel Kant pervades the contemporary literature on public reason and deliberation. This literature is central to contemporary liberalism because it responds to inescapable questions about the resolution of moral and political disputes in pluralist societies. However, the reliance on Kantian rationalism has introduced a one-sidedness into the literature that has occluded other traditions of political theory that hold the potential to contribute very meaningfully to the challenges of pluralism. This paper argues for the contemporary relevance of David Hume and Adam Smith's moral sense philosophy to the debate about public reason and deliberation. These two thinkers deserve greater attention because they offer a richer and more authentic description of how citizens do and ought to make moral and political judgments than is allowed by the contemporary normative emphasis on Kantian rationalism. Smith and Hume's moral sense philosophy rests on two key premises. Firstly, the passions are heavily implicated in moral judgments. Secondly, moral judgments require that our individual sentiments be regulated through the adoption of a general perspective. Hume argues that our reason and our passions mutually assist one another when we make moral

judgments. This conception of the relationship between reason and the passions contrasts markedly with Kant's one-sided conception of that relationship. By turning back to the models of judgment that arise from Hume and Smith's moral sense philosophy, contemporary liberals will find a rich source for adding greater depth and breadth to the central debates in contemporary liberal theory that seek to respond to the deliberative challenges of pluralist societies.

### **Harder, Lois**

#### *National Belonging and the Lost Canadians*

This paper explores the workings of kinship, nation and political membership/citizenship through the figures of the 'Lost Canadians.' The phrase 'Lost Canadians' refers to people who were born in Canada, and/or have a Canadian parent, but who lack or have lost citizenship due to the allegedly 'arcane' provisions of Canadian citizenship legislation.

The paper argues that the popular incredulity and indignation surrounding the plight of the Lost Canadians represents an embarrassed recognition and simultaneous ignoring of two deceptions at the core of liberal democracies: that liberal polities are founded on consent rather than criteria of birth and that rationality rather than culture is the prevailing characteristic of liberal political interaction. As Jacqueline Stevens has argued, and as the Lost Canadians illustrate, it is kinship rules rather than consent that determine state membership (1999). And while the political subjects of liberal democracies are understood as freely deliberating individuals whose interaction with culture is a matter of choice, the Lost Canadians invoke an organic connection to the nation – a blood tie – that is akin to the conception of culture that western thought presumes to inhere in illiberal political orders (Brown 2006, 153).

After elaborating this framework, I examine the discourse surrounding the Lost Canadians in the media, Parliament and the courts. I argue that appeals to ethnicity and kinship rules represent political choices – that all nationalisms are, in fact, civic, (rather than ethnic) and thus that the terms of membership might be rendered otherwise. My central concern is to consider what radical future might be imagined if kinship was fully interrogated as the basis of political membership – and whether non-exclusive forms of membership, or at least more democratic modes of kinship, might be possible.

### **Harmes, Adam**

#### *The Rise of Neoliberal Nationalism*

Throughout the literature on international political economy, neoliberalism and nationalism have generally been portrayed as being antithetical to one another. More recently, scholars have sought to challenge this binary view by examining the way that nationalists have employed neoliberal policies for nationalist reasons. However, while showing how neoliberal policies can be compatible with nationalist values, these approaches have not examined whether the reverse might also be true; whether certain nationalist policies (and discourses) might be genuinely compatible with neoliberal values. In doing so, it argues that certain nationalist policies are not only compatible with neoliberal values, but that these values may actually be dependent on certain nationalist policies. To demonstrate this point, the paper challenges the equation of neoliberalism with globalization by examining the normative work of neoliberal intellectuals such as Friedrich Hayek, James Buchanan and Barry Weingast. Here it is shown that neoliberals favour economic but not political globalization in order to promote the inter-jurisdictional competition which they believe will lock-in neoliberal policies at the domestic level. As a result, neoliberals are shown to advocate national fiscal and regulatory sovereignty and to employ nationalist discourses when opposing more interventionist forms of global and regional governance such as the European Social Charter, the Kyoto Protocol, and the OECD's Harmful Tax Competition Initiative.

### **Haslip, Susan and Edwards, Victoria**

#### *Theory, Policy and Power: Towards Meaningful Recognition and Protection of Aboriginal Cultural Expression*

Canada's intellectual property regime and in particular, trade-mark legislation, directly impacts upon the vibrancy of the diverse people living in Canada. Attempts by Aboriginal people to utilize the existing intellectual property regime to protect Aboriginal cultural expression have often resulted in dissatisfaction and frustration. The research will consider, in part, the potential for administrative law arguments to be used as a basis for building a foundation for the meaningful protection of Aboriginal cultural expression. The paper will raise important issues and provide a new vantage point from which to view the issues and is written with the intention of providing a foundation upon which to build protection that addresses the perspectives and interests, particularly collective interests, of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

The research considers, the potential for legal and customary interpretations and protections of trade-marks in cultural heritage, and how these might be reconciled with current theoretical approaches to research and policy. The intention is to provide a foundation upon which to build protection that addresses the perspectives and interests, particularly collective interests, of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Canada's intellectual property regime and, in particular, cultural appropriation that occurs within the context of that regime, is used as the backdrop for this exploration. The subject area explored is 'leading edge' and the subject of Susan's doctoral research. Research tools used include Access to Information and Privacy requests, scholarly literature and case law. Conflict arising over the appropriation of such symbols can adversely affect Aboriginal peoples' rights in Canada and abroad.

### **Hauf, Felix**

#### *Labor, Gender, and Desire: Towards Queering Global Political Economy*

The paper examines how the gendered division of labor is linked to the heterosexual regulation of desire and how this linkage can be conceptualized within Global Political Economy (GPE).

It is argued that (a) feminist approaches to GPE have successfully integrated concepts of the gendered division of labor and notions of social reproduction into GPE (Bakker/Gill 2003, Peterson 2003), but so far failed to account for the heteronormative regulation of sexuality. It is also argued that (b) such an account is necessary if we are to understand the shifting gender regimes in post-neoliberal capitalism.

In regard to (a) it is shown how feminist GPE has conceptualized hierarchical gender regimes as related to the separation of production and reproduction along gendered demarcations, but has largely focused the gendered division of labor in heterosexual families. Intersectional analyses have investigated the interrelations between race, class and gender, but accounts for sexuality have been few and far between.

In regard to (b) it is argued that sexual regulation affects the gendered division of labor fundamentally through the construction of hegemonic family forms and corresponding models of femininity and masculinity. Critical analyses of hierarchical gender regimes have to account for the social construction of heterosexuality and the two-gender-system as cultural norms, because they are preconditions for the gendered division of labor.

Drawing on attempts to connect Marxist, feminist and queer theories (Hennessy 2006, Gibson-Graham 2006, Butler 1997), a new way to employ the incipient dialogue between Marxism and poststructuralism within GPE is proposed in order to explore the interrelations between labor, gender and desire.

### **Hausman, Melissa**

*Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality*

Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism.

This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

### **He, Yicong**

*The Construction of Globalization: Re-examing the Asian Economic Crisis, the Cases of Malaysia and Singapore, 1997-1998*

Causation is perhaps the most vexing issue that any analyst faces. The present study looks at the explanatory capacity of globalization in terms of one of its alleged outcomes: the Asian economic crisis of 1997. Many efforts to explain the crisis have been done by academics, others by relevant government officials. It is not difficult to see, given the wealth of information that they have brought to the discussion, a causal chain between globalization and the crisis. Yet absent an explanation of the officials' motives, we, together with those analysts as "detached observers" of the event, are left with a real possibility that people are starting the causation, not reporting one. This study, an examination of government representation of globalization during the economic crisis of 1997 in Malaysia and Singapore, is an attempt to shed some light on that possibility. It shows that it is the political process through which the power of globalization has been produced and represented, not globalization per se, that directly shapes how the empirical event may be explained. Following this, globalization may best be understood as a discourse rather than a given reality, with possibly a political purpose reflected in the hegemonic power structures approached from a Gramscian political perspective. The discourse of globalization then, is not neutral but a lasting struggle for power, including the authority to articulate new conceptions and priorities of globalization. It is through this discursive practice that globalization has denied thinking space for alternative options of world order.

### **Hendershot, Chris**

*Competing Masculinities? A Comparison of the Canadian Forces and Private Military Corporations*

This paper will perform an intertextual reading of various pop-cultural instantiations (e.g. video-games, movies, YouTube) in order to develop an understanding of how images and imaginaries of the Canadian Forces (CF) and Private Military Corporations (PMC) shape, define and legitimate masculinity. Of particular interest will be instances in which images and imaginaries of the CF and PMC produce competitive forms of masculinity whereby a struggle can be said to be occurring between ideologies of hetero-nationalist militarism and neo-liberal militarism over the shaping, defining and legitimating of masculinity. I maintain that an understanding of this competition between masculinized ideologies is key to understanding the significant changes in global relations of conflict and security brought on by the increased prominence of PMC in waging conflict and guaranteeing security. This expanded purview also works to deepen how international relations (IR), as an academic practice, understands how conflicts are waged and security is guaranteed insofar as to demonstrate that understandings of conflict and security not only shape, define and legitimate masculinized ideologies but are also shaped, defined and legitimated by them. In this way my paper not only draws heavily on feminist concerns with IR scholarship, it also provides a new feature of analysis, PMC, by and through which to advance such concerns.

**Henderson, Ailsa and McEwen, Nicola***Individual-level Predictors of Turnout in Sub-state Elections*

Much of the literature on voter turnout focuses primarily on identifying the predictors of turnout for state elections. The small sub-set of researchers focussing on sub-state elections have typically emphasized one of two possible explanations for sub-state turnout rates, first, that turnout will be lower in regional elections because there is less at stake (the 2nd order thesis) or, paradoxically, that turnout will be higher in regional elections where those regions serve as the primary political community for voters (the identity thesis). In a previous paper we employed aggregate-level data to test these theses, noting that the standard variables employed to explain turnout at the state level cannot help us to understand turnout at the sub-state level. Instead, higher aggregate levels of regional attachment and greater regional institutional autonomy serve to elevate turnout in regional elections. This paper explores the individual-level data to determine whether these effects hold for individuals, and whether we can see variations in individual effects across regions. The hierarchical analysis allows us to confirm the role that identity, institutional autonomy and typical predictors play in explaining why some citizens cast ballots and others do not.

**Hendrix, Burke***"Time, Culture, and Social Change: What Future (If Any) For Indigenous Tradition?"*

All human cultures change over time, particularly in conditions of rapidly transforming technology. In these circumstances, what might it mean for groups to hold onto the core of a culture, and how possible might this be? This essay will consider the long-term future of Aboriginal nations in Canada and elsewhere, to try to determine both the prospects for preservation and the methods by which this might be pursued. To evaluate these possibilities, one needs to answer a harder and more theoretical question: what does it mean to say that one set of cultural practices has been "preserved", and why might this be valuable? Would it constitute success, for example, if populations continue to refer to themselves by an Aboriginal name and to perform some Aboriginal aesthetic practices? Or is something else entirely required, that involves basic values and foundational methods of social organization? If one looks a century or more into the future, what would a successful example of preservation look like? (Or is this kind of imaginative inquiry simply mistaken, because it surpasses our plausible predictive powers?) This paper will argue that there do seem to be real prospects for the preservation of core elements of indigenous traditions over the long term, but that the possible forms of this survival are more subtle than we often imagine, and do not always inform the visions either of indigenous activists or the opponents of indigenous rights.

**Hennigar, Matthew and Kelly, James***Is it Time to Split the Attorney General of Canada and the Minister of Justice?*

Canada is unusual in assigning responsibility over three important roles in the government's legal bureaucracy - conduct of government litigation, provision of legal advice to the executive (and legislature), and administration of the justice system - to a single official, who is moreover an elected member of the legislature and a partisan member of executive. This situation exists because, since Confederation, the federal Attorney General is simultaneously the Minister of Justice. Some have argued that the first two functions - conducting litigation and providing advice - which are assigned by statute to the Attorney General, should be formally split off from the Minister of Justice, preferably into a semi-autonomous office. The Government of Canada recently did this to a limited extent with respect to criminal prosecutions, when it created the Public Prosecution Service of Canada and Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), which operate at arm's length from the elected branches of government. Our presentation will assess the case, first, for expanding the insulation of government litigation from Cabinet into the areas of civil and constitutional law, and second, for creating a legal advisor on constitutional matters who sits outside of Cabinet.

**Henripin, Olivier***Domestic Politics and Bargaining Power in International Disputes*

Almost all models of domestic-international linkages in IR treat the domestically-induced incentives and constraints on state leaders as exogenous and take them for granted once the analysis moves "upward" to consider their consequences for interstate-level interactions. State leaders, however, as actors in the domestic political game, sometimes have both the incentives and ability to influence the way that domestic politics shape and constrain their own preferences and behaviour internationally. My presentation will address the conditions under which leaders (1) have an interest in influencing the incentives and constraints imposed by domestic politics upon their international behaviour and (2) possess the capacity to do so, and (3) the implications of such strategic behaviour at the domestic level for international relations, in particular with respect to issues of war and peace. I argue that state leaders in authoritarian regimes can, through domestic propaganda, manipulate their audience costs and reduce the domestic political costs of war, thus increasing their bargaining leverage in international disputes. Given their uncertainty about the reservation value of their opponent, however, leaders may miscalculate and eliminate entirely the possibility of reaching a negotiated settlement, thus creating the conditions for dispute intractability and war. I support my argument with quantitative data from the Issue Correlates of War project and a case study of the Taiwan Strait dispute. I show that the Chinese Communist Party compensated for its military weakness relative to Taiwan and its American ally and successfully deterred Taiwan from declaring independence by mobilizing public opinion through nationalist propaganda.

**Heritz, Joanne**

*The Failure of Cultural Recognition for the Urban Transition of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada and Travellers in the Republic of Ireland*

My research interest is the development of recognition as a theoretical tool to compare the absence of federal involvement in the urban transition of two groups, Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Travellers in the Republic of Ireland. To what extent has the failure of cultural recognition contributed to the marginalization of these two groups that place them at the lowest indicators of wellbeing, when compared to other residents of Canada and Ireland?

Both urban Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Travellers, a nomadic people of Irish descent, are significant in that they comprise approximately one percent of their national populations, are at the lower end of socioeconomic indicators, place higher for suicide and addictions and higher birth rates. Their transition to urban centres accentuates the marginalization of both groups. This is due to discrimination and the inability to pursue traditional lifestyles for Aboriginal peoples in Canada and nomadic traditions for Irish Travellers. Both governments are under international pressure for their lack of recognition of these groups: Canada refuses to sign the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and the Government of Ireland refuses to recognize Travellers as an ethnic minority, in defiance of recommendations by the United Nations (CERD). Government services in Canada and Ireland are delegated away from the national government to local governments that prioritize scarce resources away from these groups.

This paper proposes to compare the points of negotiation for these groups to assess how recognition in the form of culturally appropriate policy implementation fails to be achieved. To what degree does marginalization 'other' these people to prevent policy implementation?

**Hersey, Angela**

*The Role of Environmental Commissioner of Ontario: Who Benefits More, Environmental Groups or Individual Citizens?*

The purpose of this research is to examine the role of the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario (ECO), an independent legislative officer. This office, established in 1994, works to uphold the Environmental Bill of Rights. Has this office and its activities influenced public policy? How does this office interact with environmental interest associations and individual citizens? Does this office and its activities stimulate individual civic engagement or does it primarily react to the agendas of environmental interest associations? This research will build on previous writings on this topic. The information to be used includes Hansard records, the annual reports of the ECO since 1994, interviews with the commissioner and his staff, the minister of the environment and the opposition environmental critics, and other MPPs with strong environmental interests.

**Hibbert, Neil**

*Responsibility in Theories of Social Justice*

This paper examines different conceptions of individual and institutional responsibility in theories of social justice. Based on the idea of responsibility, it identifies significant differences in the ways social justice is theorized, which break along moral and political lines. In a moral conception, social justice is taken to concern the responsibilities we have towards our fellow persons and citizens, while in a political conception social justice concerns what is owed to us, as persons and citizens, by our shared institutions as reasonable grounds for our acceptance of them. Drawing on Rawls, it argues in favour of theorizing social justice as the unique responsibility of states, and other forms of governance, as the basic condition of their legitimacy. Whereas in the moral conception, institutions are treated as mechanisms of social justice, for which we have the responsibility to create and support, in the political conception institutions are taken as the subject of social justice, limiting the requirements for individuals to formal compliance. It is further shown how endorsing the political conception addresses some of the problems of associative obligations and the scope of justice. In the political conception, social cooperation triggers the requirement of social justice and generates the reciprocal political obligations of individuals. Nevertheless, the problems of individual motivation and social solidarity persist in the political conception, and any plausible theory of social justice must account for the stability of its institutional requirements, and for individuals' willingness to accept the responsibilities of upholding a pattern of social justice.

**Hiebert, Janet**

*Governing Like Judges: Judicial Influence on legislation in Canada and the United Kingdom*

This paper will focus on how the Canadian Charter of Rights and the United Kingdom Human Rights Act affect legislation decision-making. The paper will argue that notwithstanding the significant pressure that a judicial ruling of unconstitutionality or incompatibility exerts on government to revise or abandon an earlier legislative decision, the more substantial way judicial decisions influence legislation is actually indirect. This influence arises from reliance on case law in the complex interplay of bureaucratic and political ruminations on the policy proposals that eventually emerge as legislative bills requiring parliament's approval.

**Hiemstra, John**

*Creating and Solving 'the World's Most Unsustainable Development': Government's Role in the Oil Sands Boom*

This paper addresses the government's role and responsibility in Alberta's oil sands boom. World-renown Professor of Ecology, (University of Alberta) Dr. David W. Schindler, recently said of the tar sands: "I would nominate this for the

world's most unsustainable development." Indeed, recent events have exposed a vast range of economic, social, environmental and political problems associated with, or resulting from, the oil sands boom.

While it was difficult to anticipate the current oil sands boom, both provincial and federal governments had been facilitating, and preparing for, the exploitation of the oil sands for decades. They tackled a variety of technical exploitation problems, but did not adequately exercise the government's role in caring for environmental, social and economic needs. This paper asks: what views of the nature and responsibility of government were at play historically in creating this situation? What views of the human-nature relations undergird these views? The paper examines the government's role from two angles: first, what was the (provincial and federal) government's role in "pre-care," or preventative care, relative to setting the ground work for various stages of the oil sands boom? Did the nature of the government's role contribute to, or open up possibilities for, the types of problems and breakdown that have occurred with the oil sands boom? Second, what was/is the government's approach to "post-care," that is, the government's role in alleviating and repairing problems that have already occurred during oil sands developments? The paper concludes by proposing we re-conceptualize the pre-care and post-care roles of government relative to the environmental, social and economic sides of "resource" development?

### **Hill, Tony**

#### *Change & Consistency in the Canadian General Election of 2008*

This presentation uses maps and graphs to show changes in party support in Canada at the riding level between the 2006 and 2008 general elections. Overall, the election brought a tremendous decline for the Liberal Party, but there was some good news and some bad news for all parties in the regional patterns of change.

### **Hill, Tony**

#### *Redistricting and Compactness in Canada and the United States*

Redistricting in Canada is different from that of the United States in numerous respects. One of the key developments in U.S. redistricting since 1962 has been the introduction of more equal population standards for districts, which has been followed by aggressive partisan and racial redistricting. This has led to a decline of electoral boundaries based on natural boundaries and traditional political boundaries and an increase in oddly-shaped and formed districts, or what one jurist calls "ugly districts." This paper looks at districts in the U.S. and Canada comparatively and across time to illustrate that although population standards both interprovincially and intraprovincially are not equalized, Canada has seen an increase in aggressive districting practices, as evinced by compactness measures.

### **Hirji, Sukaina**

#### *Justice is not Fairness: Rethinking Luck, Desert and Responsibility*

In my paper I will argue that we can only reconcile the tension between luck, desert and responsibility by re-conceptualizing our notion of desert: what is at issue in moral assessment is not the degree to which an action or outcome is within an individual's control or a result of her efforts, but the extent to which one's character is expressed therein. Desert is to be understood in terms of choices or actions to which praise or blame can be attached rather than what we have earned, or can take credit for. Re-conceptualizing desert and responsibility in terms of their relationship to one's character avoids the impossible problem faced by current liberal egalitarian theorists of identifying and measuring how much of an individual's situation is a result of her choices or efforts rather than factors beyond her control. I deviate from current scholarship in arguing that moral judgment cannot be separated from the effects of luck in so far as our character, the proper basis of desert, is partly shaped by factors beyond our control. My paper will involve a survey and analytic assessment of the existing literature with a focus on current liberal egalitarian theorists. My conception of desert, influenced by the work of Williams, Sher and Aristotle, will be supported by several thought experiments that appeal to our intuitions and common sense judgments about desert and responsibility. I will conclude by exploring specific implications for distributive justice. In future scholarship, I want to apply new concepts of desert and equality to emerging debates about global justice.

### **Hoffman, Matthew**

#### *Governance Experiments in Complex Adaptive Systems*

The global governance literature details the variety of actors now participating in governance without government and the consequent erosion of states' authority. However, the erosion mechanism is unclear. The process of complex adaptation has the potential to fill this gap by providing insight into the emergence of institutional innovations that challenge states' traditional monopoly on managing transnational problems. I demonstrate how a complex adaptive systems perspective provides a framework that captures how adaptive actors come to consider state-centric governance as insufficient, how actors self-organize at different levels of political organization (above, below, and between states) to experiment with governance arrangements, and how this self-organization comes to shape new understandings of authoritative actors eroding states' authority. I illustrate the utility of this approach with examples from global environmental governance and conclude that a complex systems approach offers a unique and important perspective on the trajectory and significance of governance dynamics.

**Hokan, Kim***Businesspersons as Legislators: The Impact of Integrity Acts on their Personal Finances*

Effective democracy requires oversight to ensure that elected representatives do not use their position to reap undue personal gain. In Ontario The Members' Integrity Act (1994) regulates conflict of interest and heavy oversight and restrictions are placed on members' financial activity. This regime affects all members but it seems to fall especially hard on members from the business community. These rules may reduce an individual's income to a level far below that of their pre-parliamentary career. It may also deter businesspersons from entering legislative life altogether. This research will be based partially on interviews from MPPs of diverse economic careers as well as with the Integrity Commissioner. Ultimately this research will shed light on how the legislative members and officials view the financial advantages and disadvantages of being an MPP and how this may effect legislative recruitment.

**Hoogenboom, David and Vieille, Stéphanie***Transitional Justice and the Neoliberal Discourse*

This paper will examine the neoliberal discourse and its influence on the processes involved in transitional justice. The premise upon which neoliberalism is grounded is the belief that complex social relations can be distilled to reveal how societies are embodied by a basic 'market-like' essence. We will ask the question: In what way has the neoliberal discourse shaped the direction of transitional justice in states emerging from mass atrocities?

**Howe, Louis***POSITIVE POWER, NETWORK GOVERNANCE, AND CANADIAN ABORIGINAL ADMINISTRATIVE LAW*

This paper is a theoretically engaged study of Canadian indigenous administrative law and procedures, as they are unfolding under neo-liberal positive power and network governance, with a view to the ways that public administration does and does not open avenues for fostering aboriginal power and self-determination. Increasingly in recent years public administration has turned to networked governance. Network governance refers to the positive amassing of democratic political capacity among participants enmeshed in regimes of governmentality. Governmentality, in turn, is defined as a form of positive power by which practices of individuality become invested by relations of power such that individuals, families, or groups come to enact socially prescribed duties as their own concern. Thus, network governance is not a spontaneous, but an instigated development; the administration of self-administration. Aboriginal people, seeking self-determination, have become deeply involved in network governance regimes in areas such as environment, natural resources regulation, economic development, wildlife management, and social services. Many post-liberal and indigenous democratic theorists have criticized this move to networked, co-governance and administrative schemes, arguing that bureaucracy is inherently colonial. While appreciating these critiques, my wager is that under neoliberal conditions, and in the presence of deep ontological and cultural differences, proponents of indigenous self-determination might productively encourage opportunities for network governance, and that important openings for a generous post-liberal politics of becoming can be teased from a review of major administrative law cases and commentaries decided and written over the last fifteen years.

**Howlett, Cathy***Indigenous Agency and Mineral Development: A Cautionary Note.*

There is a tendency in recent literature to emphasise the transformative power of Indigenous agency, particularly in relation to development projects on Indigenous lands. This paper, utilising a case study of mineral development in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Australia, argues that while Indigenous agency proved a critical factor in determining the outcomes for Indigenous people, given the findings from this case study, it is perilous to overstate the capacity for Indigenous agency in the face of the fundamental structural realities of mineral development in a capitalist economy, particularly the structural power of the state. The analysis of the structural power of the state in this paper also focuses upon the discursive forces that can undermine Indigenous agency, and therefore reinforce the structural power of the state. The paper calls for caution in overstating the transformative power of Indigenous agency in the face of such structural impediments.

**Hyson, Stewart***Specialty Ombudsman Offices: The New Breed of Structural Heretics*

The federal government has never seen fit to establish an Ombudsman Office for the whole public service; nevertheless, Ottawa has established in recent years specialty ombuds offices including the Military Ombudsman, Veterans Ombudsman, and Penitentiary Ombudsman. In addition, there are offices like the Official Languages Commission that fulfill ombuds-like duties. We also find that the term "ombudsman" is widely used in both the private sector and public sector as a moniker for executive customer-service desks or a synonym for dispute resolution. Purists have bemoaned this spread in the use of the term seeing it as a watering-down of the concept.

J. E. Hodgetts used the term "structural heretics" in his 1973 classic, *The Canadian Public Service*, to refer to the myriad of non-departmental administrative entities. Today's specialty ombuds offices constitute a new breed of structural heretics and, in doing so, pose an interesting research question as to whether they meet the defining attributes of the classical ombuds ideal. The proposed paper will identify, describe, and assess the mandates, structures, procedures, and performance of several specialty ombuds offices as to whether or not they meet expectations.

As a backdrop, it should be noted that I have recently completed coordinating and editing a study of the ten provincial and territorial ombudsman offices in Canada. Other research has included a commissioned study on a proposed RCMP Ombudsman, and conference papers on e-government and ombuds web sites.

### **Iqbal, Waqas**

#### *Selection to the Cabinet at Queen's Park: The Impact of Physical Attractiveness*

There is ample literature in American political science that draws correlations between the physical characteristics of a candidate for political office and their electability. Despite the prevalent view in society that in free and fair contested elections, the best and the brightest candidates will be successful, many academic studies conclude that physical and vocal attractiveness affects electoral success. Does this apply in Canada? And going beyond elections themselves, are cabinet ministers at the provincial level selected from the ranks of legislators on the basis, at least in part, because of their attractiveness. Ontario MPPs will be asked to rank the physical and vocal attractiveness of provincial cabinet ministers compared to the government caucus as a whole.

Specific characteristics will be examined such as height, body mass, vocal tone, eye colour, dental alignment and brightness.

### **Isaac, Annette**

Here to stay- women of colour in electoral politics in Canada

This study investigates the unexplored factors and circumstances that influence the entry and success of some women of colour in the Canadian Parliament and provincial legislatures, given the under-representation of both minorities and women in recent elections (Black, 2003). Recent studies have addressed many of the gendered and systemic barriers ethno-racial minorities and women of colour face at the polls. However, there has been less systematic inquiry on how and why the women of colour who have been elected were successful. Between 1993 and 2006, Canadian women held 21 percent of seats in the House of Commons (Cool, 2006), with similar figures for provincial legislatures. People of colour accounted for approximately 5 percent of elected representatives, and women of colour alone accounted for approximately 2 percent (Parliament of Canada, 2007; Black 2003). Considering that the people of colour population is expected to rise to 20 percent in Canada by 2017, it will become increasingly important for them to have significant representation in Parliament and provincial legislatures. This research draws on the narratives of women of colour in the corridors of power, including descriptive and substantive issues relating to culture and identity, survival strategies, and their reflections on the impact of their success on political policy and decision making. The findings are meant to inform policies to attract and retain more women of colour especially in legislative politics and to contribute to a more inclusive literature on gender and participation in Canadian democracy.

### **James, Matt**

#### *Uncomfortable Comparisons: The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission in International Context*

The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools is widely seen as a ground-breaking novelty. As the Commission's own website puts it, the Commission is the "first mandated truth commission in a G8 country." The main argument of this paper is that the circumstances surrounding Canada's truth commission are not quite as novel as they might appear. The commission is taking place while the basic regime that committed the wrongs is still in power; there was considerable societal complicity in the wrongs; the country's major faith groups were involved; the wrongs took place over an extremely long period of time; the commission has been given a weak mandate, with little investigative or fault-finding power. Several of these basic background factors put Canada in the company of countries like Uganda and Zimbabwe: countries where there was little or no appetite on the part of power-holders for a thorough accounting of wrongs done, where the commission was established primarily for reasons of image and expediency, and where the commission largely failed to promote democratization. This paper will explain these comparisons, offer a broader interpretation of what they appear to mean, and suggest, in this light, what the doings of the Canadian commission appear to suggest for Canadian democratization thus far.

### **Johns, Michael**

#### *Europe's Self-inflicted Problem: Minority Rights Issues in a Schengen Europe*

While the European Union continues to struggle to determine what role it should play in the protection of traditional ethnic minorities, it is now faced with a new type of minority problem. Throughout the economically thriving pockets of the EU large scale migration is occurring. These newcomers are unlike any migrant group that have come before. This group have European citizenship rights as they come from fellow EU countries. With the creation of Schengen Space and the free movement of goods and people, the EU has in fact created a new class of immigrant. These new migrants have all the protections they would enjoy in their home country but require special services in their new one. Much of the rise of radical right-wing parties in Western Europe is based on the influx of new migrants who they claim are changing the culture and economic structure of society. The states of the EU with incoming migration are responsible for providing services such as language training but cannot control the number of EU citizens coming into their state.

This paper will outline and compare the migration issues facing various EU states and the results of Schengen space on European society. It will then provide recommendations as to what options are available for the EU to prevent the



possibility of conflict between this new class of minority group and the pre-existing majorities. As the EU created this problem it must fall to it to begin to address it.

### **Johnson, Candace**

#### *Intersectionality, Inequality and Maternal Health*

This paper will examine theoretical and methodological possibilities for the combination of two distinct literatures: intersectionality, which has its roots in feminist and critical theories, and the social determinants of health, an interdisciplinary approach to examining the relationship between inequality and health status. The two literatures or approaches seem to share philosophical predicates as well as political goals. Both consider inequality (unequal political power, unequal social positions, unequal distribution of resources) to be foundational, and focus analytical attention on multiple sources of disadvantage (although for intersectionality, race tends to figure prominently, as does socio-economic status for the social determinants approach). In addition, both approaches emphasize the relevance of distributional inequity for complex, practical realities, such as access to health or other social services. I will consider the collaborative potential of intersectionality and the social determinants of health by applying the central tenets of each approach to policy concerning maternal health. In particular, I will examine key health indicators such as maternal mortality ratios and infant mortality rates, and various policy initiatives concerning a) general trends in maternal and reproductive health; and b) the epidemiological disparities that are revealed by disaggregation of the indicators. Women who are marginalized or vulnerable by virtue of their socio-economic status, race, sexual orientation, or disability, tend not to be well served by broadly-targeted public policy orientations for maternal health. Rather, the consequences of disadvantage are often masked by seemingly progressive public health policy and protocols. This paper addresses these obscurities and explores new analytical avenues through the combination of intersectional and social determinants of health approaches.

### **Johnson, Heather**

#### *Ir-Regularizing Identity: Migrant Narratives and Reframing International Forced Migration*

This paper examines the mobilization of identity and rights narratives by refugees and “irregular migrants” during cross border migrations. I argue that the performances of certain identities should be understood not merely as reactive survival strategies, but as conscious political acts that constitute participation in the politics of asylum.

Using interviews and participant observations with refugees, migrants, asylum workers and officials conducted in Tanzania and Spain in 2007-2008, I conduct a discourse analysis of migrant narratives as compared to those put forward by official asylum organizations. Importantly, I begin from the assumption that there is an international system of power, management and control that has structural and discursive commonalities across contexts and which forms an international migration regime. I argue that despite differences in experience and status, the mobilization of migrant narratives and identities are striking in their similarity across contexts when understood as political acts. These narratives are regularly challenged by demands for “authenticity” and “legitimacy” as understood in the mainstream and official discourse of the international migration regime. This conflict demands a reframing of how the constitution of migrant identities is understood, and of the role of narratives as political participation in the politics of asylum. The conclusions I draw have important implications for refugee and migration studies in assessing how international structures and discourses impact the grassroots, individual and local contexts and experiences of migrants. In this, I engage works that reconceptualize political agency and citizenship in the context of mobility as a manifestation of international relations.

### **Johnson, Kristen and Hutchison, Marc**

#### *Capacity to Trust? Institutional Capacity, Conflict, and Political Trust in Africa, 1993-2007*

Trust in government is often identified as the fundamental component in the government's ability to mitigate differences between competing groups within the state. Unfortunately, this theoretical assumption remains largely untested within the extant literature. We believe that institutional capacity and trust in government are inextricably linked and argue that poor institutional performance decreases the degree to which individuals trust in their government and motivates, in part, a willingness to rebel. Using 57 Afrobarometer surveys collected from 18 different countries from 1993 to 2007, we empirically examine this relationship with cross-sectional models. We rely on several statistical techniques to test our hypotheses. Given the multilevel structure of the cross-national data, we use Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) to estimate the effects of temporal-specific, state-level variables on levels of individual trust. We also employ two-stage models to examine the relationship between trust and rebellion. Our findings confirm that higher institutional capacity is associated with increased levels of individual trust in government across African countries. In this paper, we further our understanding of the complex relationships between institutional capacity, conflict, and trust as well as confirm a previously untested assumption in the larger literature.

### **Joshi-Koop, Sima**

#### *Canadian federal public servants in policy networks: challenges, opportunities and coping strategies*

This paper begins with an overview of the concept of a policy network to demonstrate that while network studies have focused on mapping out the structural linkages between participants within a policy network, the behaviours of particular policy actors as they exist across collaborative arrangements and their relation to other aspects of networks is found wanting. Attention to actors within networks is warranted because as others have noted, behaviour within networks is

likely to vary and with significance for network functioning. This paper seeks to address actor behaviour by investigating the challenges, opportunities, and coping strategies of public servants operating within policy delivery networks. Interviews were conducted with forty-five Canadian federal public servants across four horizontal initiatives: the Mackenzie Gas Pipeline Project, the Sector Council Program, Team Canada Inc, and the Federal Initiative to Address HIV/AIDS in Canada. Together with organizational documents and reports, these interviews highlight as challenges the limited ability of networks to support long-term policy development, to translate political ambiguity into program delivery, to generate effective leadership, and to fit with existing organizational and interorganizational cultures. From the perspective of federal public servants, high levels of political support, the elimination of zero-sum outcomes, the establishment of 'lead' structures, and development of new organizational cultures, would allow public servants to overcome the challenges of operating within networks and better attain their personal, professional, and organizational goals.

### **Jourde, Cédric**

*Militaires, Présidents, Partis hégémoniques, Réseaux néopatrimoniaux: Ghana, Mali, Mauritanie et Mali en perspective comparée*

Cette communication analyse la reproduction des tendances autoritaires à l'intérieur des régimes formellement démocratisés de quatre États d'Afrique de l'Ouest. La comparaison des cas permet de révéler et d'expliquer une certaine variation quant à l'institution dominante dans la reproduction de ces dynamiques autoritaires enchâssées dans des cadres officiels démocratiques.

### **Juillet, Luc and Koji, Junichiro**

*Between Street Reality and Constitutional Order: Municipalities and the Discursive Politics of Canada's Emergency Management Policy*

This paper seeks to shed light on discursive politics of Canada's recent emergency management policy and explain why one discourse overcomes the other. Facing different major emergencies during the last decade, such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. in 2001, the 2003 SARS epidemic, and the 2003 blackout in Ontario, the federal government has elaborated a new emergency management regime allowing more seamless coordination between federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal governments. An important issue was the place to be given to municipalities in the new policy regime. Our research shows that the issue has been discursively constructed by two opposing frames. First, advocates of "street-level effectiveness frame" have argued the full inclusion of municipalities into the conventional federal-provincial-territorial regime as means to improve the performance of Canada's emergency management systems. Second, in contrast, defenders of "constitutional order frame" have perceived the arguments of the others as unconstitutional practices and the violation of provincial/territorial autonomy. These two frames had struggled for discursive hegemony during parliamentary debates on two bills regarding emergency management - Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Act (C-6) and Emergency Management Act (C-12), adopted in 2005 and 2007 respectively – and the constitutional order frame succeeded in defending the conventional federal-provincial-territorial regime. This paper argues that the dominance of the constitutional order frame came largely from the political dynamics of a minority Parliament.

### **Juneau, Thomas**

*A Neoclassical Realist Analysis of Iranian Foreign Policy*

Iran's relative power has increased since 2003, which, according to classical realists, should lead Tehran to seek to expand its interests abroad. Neoclassical realism, a relatively new strand within the Realist tradition, agrees with this basic proposition, but argues that to gain a better understanding of Iran's foreign policy, one must incorporate intervening, domestic-level variables to the equation. In this context, this paper will seek to explore how neoclassical realist tools may shed light on the determinants and consequences of Iran's external behaviour. It will propose that three unit-level variables, when combined to systemic forces, may provide a more comprehensive framework for the study of Iranian foreign policy: perceptions, identity, and factional politics.

Some have argued that neoclassical realism is a 'theory of mistakes'; that is, when states do not behave according to structural constraints – when domestic politics intervene – their behavior is not 'ideal', which may lead to severe consequences. This paper will, therefore, attempt to sketch an understanding of these consequences. It will argue, for example, that both structural and domestic imperatives push Iran towards the adoption of asymmetric tactics and spoiler policies, that consolidate its isolation, help perpetuate regional conflicts, and heighten the risk of conflict escalation with the US. The paper will, finally, initiate a reflection on the validity of a neoclassical realist framework for the task at hand.

### **Jung, Joo-Youn**

*China and the WTO: Economic Reform in the Age of Globalization*

China's WTO entrance in 2001 was a strong and clear signal to the world that the Chinese economy will be even more closely tied with the world economy, and China might not be able to muddle through the era of economic globalization with lukewarm and partial economic reform. My paper will evaluate how WTO entrance has affected China's economic reform policies. It will focus on SOE restructuring in recent years and analyzes how the central state has redefined its economic role in general and relationship with the corporate sector in particular. My paper attempts to shed light on the

future path of the Chinese economic reform and its implications for China's political changes and relationship with the outside world.

### **Kalie, Merom**

*Regulating Individualistic Aspirations in a Collectivistic Society through literature: an Example from Hassidic Culture*

My paper will examine the legendary figure of the Hidden Zaddik ("Hidden Righteous Person") found in tales of the Jewish Hassidic communities since the early nineteenth century, as a means for social and political regulation.

The Hidden Zaddik is a person who lives two lives: to the external world he appears to be a simple man who often lives on the margins of his community. Yet, the Hidden Zaddik is a holy person who is exceptionally devoted to moral virtues and has an intimate relationship with God. Usually, once his true identity is revealed, the Hidden Zaddik feels that he must leave the community, or die.

My argument is that alongside the traditional interpretation of this legendary figure as a symbol of modesty and piety, it also serves as a way for the Hassidic community- known for its collectivistic character - to recognize in some measure its members' need for privacy, autonomy, and even to question the authority of its leadership. At the same time, the symbol of the Hidden Zaddik and the description of his way of life, serve as a tool to restrain these needs by keeping them in a restricted, imaginary realm.

The study of the Hidden Zaddik therefore enables us to examine how concepts such as privacy and autonomy, which are major values in liberal thought, have been acknowledged and dealt with in a non-liberal culture, and the way by which literary symbols can be used to regulate social and political behavior.

### **Katchanovski, Ivan**

*U.S. TV Coverage of Post-Communist Countries: Politics and Virtual Reality*

This paper analyzes the coverage of post-communist countries, particularly their politics, by major television networks in the United States. The question is whether there are significant differences in representation of East Central European and post-Soviet countries on U.S. television. The related question is whether political factors, such as relations with the United States and national phobias, affect the television coverage of various East Central European and post-Soviet countries. This study uses quantitative and content analyses of transcripts of news programs from the most watched U.S. TV networks: ABC, CBS, and NBC in 1998-2008. A keyword search of transcripts in the Lexis-Nexis database is employed to identify specific programs and news stories that focused on these post-Communist countries.

The analysis shows significant differences in quantity, content, and quality of American television coverage of East Central European and post-Soviet countries. Such political events as the war between Georgia and Russia over South Ossetia, major terrorist acts in Russia, the poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko (a former Russian secret service employee) in London, the poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko (the future president of Ukraine), the "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine, and the deployment of the US missile system in Poland and the Czech Republic, were among top stories dealing with the post-communist countries. The study presents results of the analysis concerning the effect of such political factors as relations of countries with the United States and national phobias on U.S. TV coverage of East Central European and post-Soviet countries.

### **Kellogg, Paul**

*Panic Capitalism, the Impasse of Neo-Liberalism, and the Rise of the Global South*

The "crash of 2008" has starkly revealed the impasse of neo-liberal globalization. This paper will assess this impasse through the notion of panic capitalism, offered as an alternative to the voluntarist or idealist theorizations of neo-liberalism, framed in an exemplary fashion in Duménil and Lévy's influential *Capital Resurgent*. This voluntarist approach situates the neo-liberal transformation at the level of conscious actions by the capitalist class to "recoup class power". By contrast, this paper will argue that neo-liberalism in the advanced capitalist world was an ad-hoc and pragmatic policy response to crisis conditions at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s. The current disarray of neo-liberalism and a sudden return to Keynesianism is similarly pragmatic and ad hoc, a response to a largely unexpected global crisis. The voluntarist approach gives too much agency to the actions of the capitalist class in the Global North, which is linked to an absencing of agency of actors in the Global South. Neo-liberalism can be understood more clearly by bringing the Global South into focus. At the very least, this involves integrating into the story: 1) The rise and fall of the Allende government in Chile; 2) The agrarian reforms of Deng Xiaoping; and 3) The political challenge to neo-liberalism in the 21st century, centred largely in Latin America. All have contributed both to the creation of the neo-liberal era, and its current disarray, and provide a context with which to understand the panic capitalism of 2008.

### **Kellow, Geoffrey**

*Changing Priorities: Sources of the Self at Twenty*

Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self* remains, twenty years after its initial publication, one of the most ambitious and careful recent studies of liberal modernity. From Aristotle to Jurgen Habermas and from the *Illiad* to the poetry of Rainier Maria Rilke, Taylor charts the course of the Western Tradition's fundamental informing triumvirate of identity, culture and community. Taylor's political enterprise, in *Sources of the Self* as well as the shorter works that followed it, is to re-introduce a more culturally robust conception of community into liberal political discourse. This concern, in the initial wake of the publication of *Sources of the Self*, placed Taylor at the heart of the most recent incarnation of the liberal-

communitarian debate. This paper seeks to move beyond that debate, as it concerns Taylor at least, and examine the explicitly political ways that his conception of the complex relationship between individual, identity, cultural context, has evolved over the past two decades. In pursuit of this development, this paper proposes to consider a number of Taylor's shorter essays as well as his two most recent volumes, *Modern Social Imaginaries* and most recently *A Secular Age*. In particular, this paper will ask whether, over the last two decades, Taylor has substantially reconsidered his earlier critique of liberalism's political prioritizing of individual over and often against community and culture.

**Kempa, Michael**

*The Politics of International Policing Reform Assistance*

This paper critically reviews the contribution made by the "established" Western democratic societies to supporting policing reform abroad and the connection of such programs to foundational questions for the future of Western liberal capitalist political economy. Dominant approaches have focused upon exporting Western policing systems all over the planet: professional public policing bodies that work (in theory) in partnership with communities to impartially promote order in everybody's interest under watchful systems for civilian governance. The fact that exporting Western policing models lays the foundation for the growth of capitalist free markets abroad -- and is thereby not politically or economically "neutral" -- is increasingly recognized by the major Western powers and those public policing agencies that are working on the ground overseas. In this light, the paper moves to outlining six essential questions that public policing agents and other security sector reformers must ask and answer if the liberal capitalist societies they seek to promote are to live up to their own standards. These questions are part and parcel of "whole of government" issues that center upon debates about the "right relationships" that ought to exist between the politic, the social, and the economic that are currently white hot in our context of economic volatility, climate change, and the polarization of political extremes globally.

**Kenig, Ofer**

*The Democratization of Party Leaders' Selection Methods: Canada in Comparative Perspective*

The office of party leader is among the most important political positions in modern democracies. Often, in order to become prime minister one must first assume the position of party leader. Recently, many parties, including the main Canadian parties, have changed their leadership selection methods, opening the process to wider selectorates. Such a step was expected to reduce the parties' elitist and oligarchic tendencies by attracting more leadership aspirants and producing more competitive contests. The democratization in party leadership procedures also represents an aspect of a more general intra-party democratization. Although it was described in the literature (Courtney, 1995; LeDuc, 2001; Caul-Kittilson and Scarrow, 2003) little effort has been made to present it in a comprehensive quantitative way. This paper aims in addressing this gap by answering two main questions:

- What is the scope of the democratization of party leaders' selection methods?
- What are the theoretical and political implications of this phenomenon?

I will address these questions by using a comparative method. Based on a universe of over 50 parties in 20 liberal democracies since the 1960s, I look into the various methods through which parties selected their leaders. I develop several measures for assessing and analyzing the degree of democratization. In addition I discuss and elaborate a few dilemmas with regard to how to treat this important phenomenon.

**Kerby, Matthew**

*Calls of the Wild: Resignation Requests in the Canadian House of Commons - 1957-2008*

This research focuses on a particular class of parliamentary question: the call for a minister's resignation. First, attention is first paid to creating a typology of calls for a minister's resignation by identifying the question's context, source and object in order to identify patterns and interruptions over time. The second objective of this research is to examine the real effect of a call for resignation. Do ministers actually resign when they called to. The answer is "yes, ministers do resign when called to ... sometimes." However, a closer examination is required to establish the true cause and effect in this relationship. Data drawn from an original dataset which records every call for resignation in the Canadian federal House of Commons for the period 1957-2008 is used to provide a clearer picture of the nature and relevance of parliamentary questions not only in Canada but other Westminster parliamentary democracies as well.

**Kershaw, Paul**

*Welfare Policy and Child Development: New Lessons from Population-Level Child Data and Qualitative Data from Lone Mothers on Social Assistance*

Since the US government enacted the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, numerous studies have queried how workfare policy influences child development. No consensus has emerged in the literature. In response, the authors use population-level data for BC kindergarten children (n= 40,772) to examine correlations between neighbourhood rates of welfare and neighbourhood rates of child vulnerability. After controlling for local SES, hierarchical regression analyses reveal a significant association between welfare rates at year of birth and subsequent rates of vulnerability in kindergarten, one that is sometimes moderated by neighbourhood child care services. However, no significant association is found between neighbourhood child vulnerability levels and the reduction in neighbourhood welfare caseloads between the years of birth and school entry.

The authors enrich the neighbourhood effects literature by interpreting these quantitative findings in the light of qualitative data provided by lone mothers. This evidence indicates there is a correlation between neighbourhood income assistance rates and child vulnerability levels for both compositional and policy reasons. Compositionally, recipients of welfare often compensate for dysfunctional male behaviour, including male violence and male neglect of child rearing. As a result, benefit recipients have less time and security to contribute to local rearing. Simultaneously, welfare regulations risk local stocks of social capital by requiring recipients to deplete personal social capital before turning to the state; some agents of the welfare system inflict psychological stress on recipients; and policy induces recipients to rely on unlicensed and/or “family child care” services, which contribute less to collective socialization processes.

### **Kiichiro, Arai, Mimura, Norihiro and Murakami, Go**

*Switching Voters' Identities: Effect of Conflict Between a Party and Social Identity on Voting.*

Social and political identities have been argued to be strong determinants of voting behavior, and the party identification has been a central concern in the political science literature. While political scientists have long studied voting patterns of socioeconomic groups, such as class, ethnic and religious groups, and often found that they influence members' political identity, they have long neglected the interaction of multiple identities of the same individuals. What would happen when having one social identity implies a self-contradiction in having other identity?

This paper explores the effect of identity interference of a party identity (PID) by a social identity (SID) on political perception and voting behavior. In our experimental survey, 1,000 Japanese office workers are randomly assigned to an “identity stimulus group” (ISG), a “policy stimulus group” (PSG) or a control group. Those in ISG receive information that implies their office worker SID interfering their PID, whereas those in PSG receive negative information about the policy of the party they identify. We find different patterns of the effects of identity interference between two partisan groups: the proportion of the stronger Liberal Democratic Party identifiers, who intend to vote for LDP is larger among ISG than the control group, while no such an effect is observed among Democratic Party Japan identifiers. We also find that voters' perceived ideological distance between self and their identified party is larger among the ISG participants. The overall results imply a resilient nature of PID to identity interference.

### **Kimball, Anessa and Alatassi, Alia**

*Previous commitments and future promises: The relationship between military capacity, alliance reliability and future alliance potential, 1950-2005*

In a recent article, Gibler examines how previous alliance violations affect future alliance potential among dyads (2008). Gibler shows reputation plays a role, however his models do not consider how power and democracy serve as mediating influences on alliance formation. Though he controls for major power dyads, joint democracy, and polity difference in the empirical treatment of the question, we argue his operationalization and theoretical conceptualization are insufficient as power and democracy interact to shape how previous violations shape future alliance potential. Institutionally constrained states may be more likely to involuntarily defect from security commitments. Involuntary defection arises from two different but endogenous sources: 1) a lack of tangible military resources and 2) a lack of sufficient policy resources to provide for both the invoked security commitment and other domestic demands. Though both sources of defection are endogenous, only the second source directly affects a leader's political tenure and can be addressed by the leader in the short term. Rationalists argue the effects involuntary defection on reputation should be treated differently when considering future cooperation (Chayes & Chayes 1995; Langlois & Langlois 2004). Thus, we pose the following question: How does the reputation to honor commitments affect the possibility of finding new alliance partners differently for minor/middle powers relative to major powers depending upon the nature of the political system? Though a fuzzy set analysis (Ragin 1987, 2000), we examine the effects of reputation, power, and democracy on future alliance commitments on a sample of states from 1950 until 2005.

### **Kiss, Simon**

*The Public Relations State in Alberta: Participatory or Post-Democracy*

F. H. Underhill once remarked that political parties and the press are the two main sets of institutions by which citizens are linked to – and can control – the state. However, recent developments in governments' public relations activities raise serious questions about the capacity of these institutions – and thereby citizens – to control the direction their governments take. Colin Crouch recently described changes in political parties and the news media as engendering a “post-democracy.”

This paper will show that Premier Klein made substantial changes to the government of Alberta's public relations activities – defined as the integrated use of news management tactics, advertising, public opinion research and manipulation of symbols. These changes were a response to a number of conditions, including anti-party sentiment and widespread demands for participation in decision-making. By presenting a detailed, empirical examination of how the Klein government used all the public relations activities mentioned above, the paper will argue that the net effect of these changes was to minimize meaningful citizen participation, supplant the role of political parties and influence the news media to the government's benefit. As a result, this paper will present a cautionary tale of the consequences of government public relations activities for citizen control of public policy.

### **Koji, Junichiro**

*Ideas, Policy Networks and Policy Change: Explaining Immigrant Integration Policy Evolution in Quebec, 1976-1991*

This paper attempts to explain the transformation of Quebec's immigrant integration policy between two major policy statements – Quebecers, Each and Everyone in 1981 and Let's Build Quebec Together in 1990 – through paying special attention to the role of ideas and policy networks. Canadian political science, especially political theory and policy analysis, has shown more and more interests in immigration and integration policy. However, there still exists few works analysing its policy-making process. At the same time, recent political science literature on immigration and integration policy in other countries demonstrates researchers' increasing interests in policy-making analysis. This paper tries to bring a modest contribution to this academic trend by exploring a Quebec case. We focus on three major changes between the two major provincial policy statements mentioned above. First, the conceptual framework of immigrant integration had shifted from "cultural convergence" to "moral contract". Second, the Quebec government had changed the priority of funding targets from monoethnic groups to multiethnic ones. Finally, the centre of policy implementation mechanism had moved from a provisional committee composed of major ethnic group representatives to a group of public servants from different departments and agencies. Based on archival research and interviews as well as referring to an ideational turn of policy network approach, this paper argues that Quebec's immigrant integration policy change has resulted from the transformation of policy ideas and actors' configurations.

**Konstantos, Dino**

*Charles Taylor and the Theistic Basis of Morality*

*Dino Konstantos*

The Anglo-American world is presently witnessing the return of a new wave of militantly anti-religious tracts. While atheists in the past tended to concentrate their explicit wrath on the influence of institutional religion, today's non-believers are more openly engaged in spiritual warfare against the belief in God itself. Among the more aggressive and provocative claims made by some contemporary critics, such as Richard Dawkins and Christopher Hitchens, is the idea that the West's religious heritage constitutes an unequivocal barrier to its own Enlightenment commitment to, and actualization of, universal benevolence and justice. Against this background, the following paper aims at exploring and developing the central insights in Charles Taylor's monumental study *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, as well as some of his more recent publications. It attempts the challenging task of trying to locate the function of the supernatural, or transcendent good, in Taylor's thought, and its relationship to upholding the more important tenets of a liberal egalitarian ethic. In the process, and against the voices of Dawkins and Hitchens, the argument here seeks to demonstrate that a Taylor like project of retrieving the deepest moral sources within the Western tradition, continues to be an urgent imperative for those hoping to safeguard the noblest aspirations that define our civilization.

**Kovacev, Mirko**

*Immigration and the British Identity: Re-imagining the British imagined community*

European societies have struggled to come to terms with the integration of migrants into their societies. In particular in cultural terms, migrants (or 'them') are often conceptualized as a threat in the eyes of the members of a national imagined community. Increasingly however, the national imagined community is being re-conceptualized where "us" versus "them" become increasingly blurred as a result of immigrant integration policies. The United Kingdom, like other European societies is engaged in an ongoing reformulation of its national imagined community as it tries to integrate and accommodate immigrants who are calling the UK their home. Taking "The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain," published in 2001, as a starting point, this paper argues that the historical narrow understanding of what it meant to be British no longer holds. Instead, the idea and understanding of what it means to be British has become increasingly broader and complex as one, immigrants want to be recognized as being different, and two, the successful integration of immigrants (including visible minorities) into the British society has become a top priority for the British government. To substantiate this argument this paper will utilize biographical-narrative interviews conducted with immigrants over a two year period for an international research project, *Cultural Capital During Migration*, which examines the integration of skilled migrants into the British, Canadian, German and Turkish labour markets and societies. Preliminary findings indicate that the British imagined community has indeed being transformed along more inclusive lines.

**Kow, Simon**

*Barbarism and Empire in Scottish Enlightenment History*

Many early modern writers have been associated with the discourse of imperialism. In particular, the distinctions made between barbarism and civilized society in Scottish Enlightenment accounts of the history of civilization have been linked not only to British oppression of Scottish Highlands culture, but also to overseas European imperialism in general. I wish to complicate this characterization by examining the treatment of barbarism and the so-called states of rudeness relative to modern society in the historical works (all published from 1752-1771) of three Scottish thinkers: David Hume, William Robertson, and Adam Ferguson. While all three authors emphasize the refinement of manners in modern European life and especially the dramatic changes in the political and cultural history of Britain from ancient to modern times, the assumption that their historical accounts endorse a linear account of progress that unambiguously champions the modern would be inaccurate. In differing ways, their accounts of the history of civilization combine often negative treatments of &#8220;savage&#8221; and &#8220;barbaric&#8221; ages of human history with extensions of the concept of barbarism

to modern times. These historians were not critics of empire, but neither were they simply apologists for imperial domination. Thinking about empire in relation to these thinkers suggests that contemporary efforts to locate the origins of modern imperialism in Enlightenment thought or to employ Enlightenment ideas as critiques of empire are problematic endeavours at best.

### **Kpessa, Michael**

#### *The Politics of Pension Reforms in English-Speaking Sub-Saharan Africa*

Can theories used in explaining recent pension reform in the emerging economies of Latin America, and Central and Eastern Europe explain social policy transformation in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)? Political economists studying the spread of private pension plans in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe argue that such plans were imposed on pension reforming countries in the emerging economies by a World Bank-led coalition of transnational policy actors. They argue further that similar reforms were delayed in SSA countries due to a lack of global politics of attention in which the Bank and other actors focused their attention and resources on the emerging economies and ignored pension reforms in Africa. I argue that because political economists adopt a top-bottom approach that emphasizes the World Bank as the main unit of analysis, their assessment of pension reforms ignored important explanatory variables in the domestic environment of pension reforming countries. Tracing pension reforms efforts in Ghana within the interface of domestic and global campaigns for pension reforms (bottom-up), I provide an alternative explanation that points to domestic politics—labour mobilization and electoral politics—as key explanatory variable for pension reforms.

### **Krebs, Andreas**

#### *"Did you hear the one about...": Exclusionary Humour and Micropolitics*

Humour plays a central role in our daily lives, yet is rarely the object of research within political science. There has been a recent upsurge in humour that deals with controversial issues, such as race, gender, and sexual preference, mostly using irony in its approach. Comics such as Sarah Silverman, Dave Chappelle and Russell Peters participate in this resurgence. Much of the literature on the political ramifications of the use of 'exclusionary humour' – humour which has a racial, gendered, or other group as its target – claims that its use is by definition negative and against the political goals of equality for the groups targeted. According to these arguments, the use of such humour constitutes a micropolitical threat to state policies that work towards incorporation of minorities into the fabric of society, such as multiculturalism. However, I contend that certain forms of exclusionary humour have a far more ambivalent role in politics, and may work to subtly undermine inequality through making light of racism, sexism, and homophobia. This paper is an analysis of a series of interviews exploring how the dominant group of White, Anglophone males in Canada view and mobilize exclusionary humour in their daily lives. Focusing exclusively on members of the Charter Generation, i.e. those who have grown up with multiculturalism as official policy, the paper will evaluate the use of exclusionary humour for political goals of equality, and attempt to determine the effect that multicultural socialization has had on the way exclusionary humour manifests itself.

### **Kuhonta, Erik**

#### *Party System Institutionalization and Social Cleavages in Thailand*

The Thai party system is one of the least institutionalized in Asia. I argue in this paper that the reason for this low level of institutionalization is the lack of social cleavages being articulated into the party system. Where social cleavages do not get represented in the party system, parties will not be characterized by organizational depth, institutional continuity, and ideological consistency. The failure of social cleavages to become articulated in the party system can be traced to the post-war period where there was significant social polarization across ideological groups. With the Cold War on the rise, military and monarchical forces repressed left-leaning groups, thereby eliminating parties with ideological concerns. The military dominance over the polity since the 1950's then had an indelible impact on the party system. Recent turmoil in Thailand indicates that the party system remains extremely riven and factionalized.

### **Kuhonta, Erik**

#### *Was Thaksin Shinawatra a Populist? A Comparison of Populist Regimes in Thailand and Latin America*

The undoing of the Thaksin Shinawatra government in Thailand has many causes, but one of the central ones has to do with the middle class and elite's rejection of his pro-poor populist programs. Thaksin advanced several pro-poor programs, including health care reform, a debt moratorium for farmers, and village outlays, that challenged Thailand's traditional hierarchical social structure. The thrust of these programs in effect argued that any Thai could become an entrepreneur as long as he possessed the needed skills and capital. These programs encountered deep opposition and have led to a fissure between the urban elite and the rural sector. The rejection of Thaksin's populist agenda through a coup instigated by middle class protests raises a number of questions about populism more generally. Were these populist programs dangerous because they would likely destabilize Thailand's economy through profligate spending and rising inflation? Or was opposition to these programs based less on their likely economic results as much as a social distrust of the rising masses?

This paper will thus address what populism means; it will categorize different types of populism by comparing Thailand's version to the classic version in Latin America; and it will ultimately ask if populist pro-poor programs are unsustainable from an economic and political perspective.

### **Kukucha, Chris**

#### *Don't Blame Harper: International Trade and the Ongoing Irrelevance of Sub-Federal Civil Society in Canada*

The theme of democratic governance has received considerable attention in Canada's foreign policy during the last two decades. Canadian backed initiatives continually stress the need for citizen involvement, especially amongst disenfranchised groups in other states. Unfortunately, the same is not necessarily true within Canada, especially regarding matters of foreign trade and to date, however, minimal attention has focused on the relevance of civil society in Canadian provinces. Although different dynamics exist in individual provinces, it is possible to identify a number of commonalities. First, contact, when it does occur, is typically targeted at specific ministries, as opposed to departments responsible for trade policy. Due to limited bureaucratic resources, several provinces also limit societal engagement to periods of federal consultation. This interaction, however, has limited resonance with officials due to a bias within government that these groups are uninformed on trade issues. There are also dynamics within these groups that further marginalize their presence. Most societal groups, for example, suffer from similar limitations of funding and resources. In other cases, it is also fair to question the working knowledge of these interests in this complex policy area. Finally, in addition to normative concerns related to transparency and access, there is the added difficulty of evaluating societal "influence" especially in cases where non-governmental goals are consistent with existing provincial policy preferences. Regardless, at this time it does not appear that sub-federal domestic pressures significantly contribute to Canada's provincial foreign trade policy. Stephen Harper's Conservative government is arguably not facilitating a greater role for civil society, but at the sub-federal level, democratic deficits related to trade policy are a long-term problem preceding the Harper era.

### **Kuntzsch, Felix**

#### *Drawing Boundaries: The Politics of Ethnic Violence and the Case of Nagorno-Karabakh*

In the 1990s various approaches seeking to explain the strategic logic underlying large scale ethnic violence flourished in the academy but without being compared in view of their respective explanatory power. This theoretical solipsism has come to an end. The academic debate on ethnic violence has recently witnessed vigorous attacks on rational choice-based theories derived from the neo-realist IR school (e.g. Posen 1993, Fearon 1998). Scholars like Chaim Kaufmann (2005) and Stuart J. Kaufman (2006, 2001) have criticized this strand of reasoning for failing to account for the salience of emotional appeals and nationalist feelings. However I content that their understanding of rational choice explanations of ethnic violence appears not only a) under-theorized and unduly limited but also b) neglects alternative individual-level mechanisms at work.

Starting from a theoretical critique of Kaufmann and Kaufman my paper reviews the Nagorno-Karabakh case questioning their arguments. Using additional empirical material I propose a refined test of strategic choice explanations of ethnic violence. Comparing interactions on inter-group and intra-group levels of analysis I thereby find that structural level rational choice explanations drawing on the security dilemma have to be supplemented by an analysis of intra-group politics aimed at the consolidation of power positions through ethno-national radicalization (Köhler 2001, Gagnon 1995). Hence, the case of Nagorno-Karabakh highlights how strategic choice approaches trump collectivist emotion-based structural explanations although psychology cannot be discarded. Emotions however prove to be more of an epiphenomenon of the escalation of violence amidst intra-group struggles over the drawing of boundaries.

### **Kuokkanen, Rauna**

#### *The Politics of Form and Alternative Autonomies: Indigenous Feminist Critiques of Self-Determination Structures*

In recent years, indigenous women around the world have mounted timely and legitimate criticisms toward existing self-government structures. They increasingly criticize the current indigenous self-determination models as mere copies of the mainstream structures that fail women and further reproduce inequality. These women maintain that the only appropriate way to establish viable autonomous frameworks for indigenous peoples is to ground the models in the values of indigenous worldviews and philosophies such as mutuality, reciprocity and interdependence. This paper considers indigenous women's critiques and expressions of autonomy and sovereignty. It critiques the logic of the global capitalist market economy often embedded in and driving the current self-determination models and structures, and considers 'alternative autonomies' based on the notions of relational autonomy and the gift.

### **Labrecque, Charles-Louis**

#### *The promotion of human rights in Canada's China policy*

As much there is a lot of different issues that appear on the Canadian relation with China's agenda, the promotion of human rights is surely one of the most striking one. During the liberals party last three mandates, wich occurred from 1993 to 2005, the promotion of human rights in China took a back seat, the main consideration having been put on the various commercial intests in Canada's China policy. But with Stephen Harper taking office as Prime minister in early 2006, the Conservative party appeared to be willing to reversed that course of action. So the question is : how can we account for such a turn around in Canada's China policy ? Foreign policy making is not a straight forward process and to understand the recent change in Canada's China policy I will argue in this paper that we need need to not only take into account a few variables taken seperatly, but to emphasize more onto their interaction with one another.



**Lacassagne, Aurelie***The Established and the Outsiders: A Relational Analysis of Political Representations in the Trilogy Shrek*

The movie trilogy Shrek has been one of the most successful entertainment features over the past decade. It has attracted the attention of various social groups because of the radicalism and non-mainstream discourses the movies convey. In that respect, Shrek is very similar to the Harry Potter series. The Shrek trilogy has departed to a large extent from the original book on which it is based. In particular, the movie directors have developed a more politically and socially engaged discourse, for instance on transgender identity. One could quite easily read Shrek in terms of class analysis and political conflicts. This paper will investigate how certain aspects of the political are represented in the Shrek movies. In particular, it will examine the trilogy's portrayal of different political regimes. The movie series depicts a number of regime types: totalitarianism, as instantiated by the Kingdom of Farquhar; a liberal capitalist monarchy, in the form of Far Far Away; and finally, an individualist anarchist space - Shrek's swamp. All of these regimes are disrupted by rebellions led by excluded groups from the established order. This paper will use an Eliasian perspective to explore both how these outsiders have been defined, and how they managed to transcend their exclusion to form rebellious groups and challenged the established. In conclusion, the paper will underline the importance of studying these particular types of discourses as they do represent an important way in which children are politically socialized.

**Lachapelle, Erick***What Price Carbon? Theory and Practice of Carbon Taxation in the OECD*

Over the past two decades, economic instruments, such as carbon taxes, have played an increasingly important role in the environmental policies of OECD member countries (OECD, 2001; 2006). To be sure, prominent economists and International Organizations have long advocated the use of tax policy as an instrument to address such environmental issues as climate change, but actual policies to date have been mixed. While a handful of countries have implemented some form of a carbon tax, the majority of OECD countries haven't. Moreover, of those countries with a carbon tax, rebates and exemptions for industry severely undermine their effectiveness. The purpose of this paper will be to "take stock" of the current state of carbon taxation in the OECD, identify patterns, differences, and best practices. The analysis will proceed in three steps. First, the paper will examine the theory of environmental taxation. Second, the paper will describe the current state of carbon taxes in the OECD, in terms of how carbon is taxed (whether directly or indirectly), who pays the tax, incidence, tax base (coal vs. oil vs. natural gas) and how the revenues are used. Apart from identifying gaps between carbon tax theory and practice, and highlighting patterns and key differences among OECD member countries, the ultimate goal of the paper will be to highlight empirical puzzles in need of further investigation, and work toward the construction of a carbon tax index for use in quantitative empirical (explanatory) analysis.

**Ladner, Kiera***Decolonizing the Discipline: Respecting Indigenous Knowledge & Using Indigenist Methodologies*

Since Columbus was discovered, knowledge of the Americas and the peoples who lived there captured the minds and imaginations of some of Europe's greatest political philosophers: More, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx, Spencer, and Engels, to name but a few. Despite the fact that Indians of the Americas have occupied the imaginations of the world since the time of 'discovery', Indians have not occupied the imaginations of modern political scientists. Political science has ignored Indigenous political traditions and studied contemporary Indigenous politics only from the vantage point of the western-eurocentric tradition. Simply put, most have been unable to escape their paradigm paralysis to understand the politics of the 'other' on its own terms or as separate from the western-eurocentric experience. In so doing, political science has perpetuated a western-eurocentric understanding that virtually denies 'others' a voice within the discipline. This paper draws on the theoretical undertaking of my dissertation and updates the uncirculated paper presented at UofA (the abstract of which led to a heated exchange at CPSA). It engages the discipline's construction of the Indigenous and argues that it is necessary to understand the 'other' not from the vantage of the western-eurocentric intellectual tradition as this readily perpetuates misunderstanding but from the vantage of their own intellectual and political traditions. It argues that proceeding as such enables a trustworthy post-colonial/decolonizing understanding of Indigenous politics within political science and that the effect of such a paradigm shift has the potential to be of great benefit to the discipline as a whole not just the study of Indigenous politics.

**Ladner, Kiera***(RE)creating Good Governance: renewing Indigenous constitutional orders*

Canada bases its jurisdictional claims over Indigenous nations and their lands on an act of 'legal magic' or the incantation of European explorers that proclaimed the sovereignty of the Crown. But Indigenous nations never ceded their sovereignty nor their right to govern themselves. Decolonization and reconciliation are required if Canadians and their governments are to come to terms with these competing constitutional orders and if these contested sovereignties are to be resolved peacefully. Decolonizing, rebuilding and recreating communities and their systems of governance is required if Indigenous nations are to operationalize their constitutional orders and good governance.

My paper will address the task of recreating good governance in a contemporary context defined by the continued realities of colonialism, human rights, legal pluralism and Canadian constitutionalism. It will do so both from the vantage of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and that of treaty constitutionalism. Arguing that even though RCAP accepted ideas of treaty constitutionalism as the foundation for Indigenous self-government, its final report

omits both treaty constitutionalism and Indigenous constitutional orders as the foundation for renewing and rebuilding Indigenous governance and for resolving the jurisdictional quagmire. Because of RCAP's omissions (not to mention Canada's lack of engagement and/or commitment) we are still left searching for answers and solutions. This paper is an attempt to escape the paradigm paralysis or path dependency that has defined government policy, RCAP recommendations and much of the political science scholarship on Indigenous governance and to address matters of decolonization and reconciliation.

### **Lagassé, Philippe**

*A Mixed Legacy: General Hillier and Canadian Defence, 2005-2008*

In July 2008, General Rick Hillier retired as Canada's Chief of Defence Staff (CDS). Under his leadership, Canadian defence policy and the Canadian Forces (CF) underwent substantial changes. To date, most commentators and analysts have judged these changes, and Hillier's efforts in bringing them about, to be largely positive. Hillier has been applauded for his critical role in rebuilding the CF, strengthening Canada's contributions to international security, raising the morale of the Canadian military, and refashioning Canadian defence policy. The aim of this paper is to undertake a more critical evaluation of Hillier's impact on Canadian defence policy and the CF. The argument here is that Hillier's record was not wholly positive. While Hillier did succeed in boosting military morale and securing additional funds for the CF, he also saddled the armed forces with unnecessary new commands and was partially responsible for the continuing overstretch of the military's land forces. In addition, it will be argued that Hillier contributed to the souring of Canadian civil-military relations and the neglect of Canada's homeland defences.

### **Lagassé, Philippe**

*Field Marshall Wannabes? The Role of the Deputy Minister in Canadian Civil-Military Relations*

In his last speech as Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), General Rick Hillier stated: "Civil control of the armed forces is not civil service control of the armed forces. So, I simply caution 'field marshal wannabes' that civil control of the armed forces has never been stronger." A direct criticism of the Deputy Minister (DM) of National Defence, Hillier's comments have revived questions about the DM's role in the defence department, and about the proper relationship between the DM and the senior leadership of the Canadian Forces (CF), in particular. Hillier's critique echoed long-standing concerns found in the Canadian civil-military literature about the role of the DM. Scholars have doubted the legal legitimacy of the DM's authority over the formulation of defence policy, the DM's purported intrusion into the military chain of command, and the efforts of past DM's to act as buffer between the CDS and the Minister of National Defence (MND). The aim of this paper is to offer an alternative explanation of the DM's role and functions. It will be shown that the DM plays an important and legitimate role in a) ensuring that the MND is fully informed about his defence policy and military options; b) keeping the CF accountable to the MND and Cabinet. Contra Hillier, the argument here is that the civil service, via the DM, should play a vital and legitimate part in strengthening civil control of the military in Canada.

### **Lam, Carla and Scobie, Willow**

*Between the Feminine Mystique and Nobody's Mother: Women, Work and Childlessness*

Throughout the history of western political thought reproduction is considered the biological justification for women's exclusion from the life of politics. Reproduction is, perhaps, more accurately understood as a complex biosocial process, and increasingly one from which many (professional) women are excluded. This roundtable explores the paradox reproduction presents for women's social and political status in western cultures as manifested in the demographic of late age first birth mothers in Canada.

The discourse around this demographic of women who are delaying or foregoing childbirth begs the questions: who are the women being spoken of, and what is its significance for women and politics? Is there a socio-economic base to the shift as many suggest? and is it premature to suggest that reproductive rights now mean the right to reproduce for a larger segment of the population, rather than the choice not to in contrast to the second wave of feminist body politics? The work ultimately revisits issues raised by Friedan's groundbreaking second wave feminist work, *The Feminine Mystique*, in light of the globalization of labor, the relationship of education and child birth, and technological developments in reproduction. It reconsiders the grounds of women's political participation and provides a neglected analysis of the biosocial character of reproduction inseparable from issues of women's equality. The papers examine the demographic with reference to other instantiations of the paradox including the tension between increased biological predictability intersecting with increased social uncertainty; and pro and anti-natalism in feminist and orthodox political theory.

### **Lawlor, Andrea**

*"All learning is local"*

*The effect of the local campaign on political knowledge in Canada*

Election campaigns provide the necessary political information to help voters make decisions. Intensely competitive elections should therefore increase both the incentive and the opportunity to learn. Both the intensity and volume of information distributed during a campaign is said to "enlighten" voters, allowing them to arrive at their preferred electoral decision with only six weeks of schooling on the issues, the players and the process.

Using the Canada Election Studies from 1997 to 2008, this paper tests the hypothesis that closely fought local campaigns enlighten voters with specific reference to three types of campaign learning: policy learning, ability to correctly identify party leaders, and perceptions of a party's chances of winning, commonly known as the "horserace" aspect of the campaign. This hypothesis implies that there will be an observable link between the intensity of the local contest and the amount of campaign learning that takes place. An additional test will be performed on the wave of participants common to the 2004, 2006 and 2008 CES to determine whether longitudinal variations in the competitiveness of their local ridings impact knowledge scores over time.

Important implications arise from the analysis of campaign learning and its relationship to local competition. If competitive campaigns are indeed enlightening voters, national parties may have more reason to concentrate information distribution or obfuscate depending on whether the interaction of competition and learning may injure or help their chances at winning votes.

### **Lawson, James**

#### *Aboriginal Dispossession in the Emergence of a Capitalist Resource Extractive Region: The Ottawa Valley, 1800-1830s*

This paper considers the legacy of indigenous dispossession in the deep structures of Canadian capital accumulation by natural resource exploitation. It considers a crucial case, the transition to capitalism based on timber exploitation in Ottawa Valley. With a state able to choose freely between high royalties on little land or low royalties on much land, the dispossession of the Algonquin people left the Ottawa without an effective "landlord interest" apart from the interests of timber capitalism. This dispossession deserves more attention in the analysis of this regional transition to capitalism. Timber operations first came to the Ottawa Valley following the Napoleonic blockades of the early 19th century. But only a complex subsequent set of transformations in the 1830s remade logging and driving on a capitalist basis. This second phase triggered capitalist growth on an explosive, unchecked basis. Its capitalist character and "cyclonic" qualities set the timber-dominated Ottawa Valley apart from the more diversified pioneer agriculture of Upper Canada, the urban industrial centre of Montréal, and the less dynamic agriculture of old Lower Canada.

The elements of this transition included: 1) official commercialization of the timber trade; 2) rudimentary, stable, and unevenly applied stumpage charges at Bytown; 3) deepening capital investment in river-based log transportation; 4) turbulent emergence of a distinctive labour market and wage norms; and 5) the extinguishment of direct Algonquin charges on "squatters" who used river islands (the latter a potential impediment to new strategic investments in log transportation infrastructure).

The conclusion surveys the contemporary consequences.

### **Lazar, Nomi Claire**

#### *The Temporal as Political: The Flow of Time in the History of Political Thought*

The flow of time structures political events and political aims, and a thinker's conception of how time flows is often critical to her approach to politics. This paper argues that contemporary commentators have systematically ignored important complexities of this factor, failing to notice that how we understand time is not a 'cultural given' but rather a foundational intellectual choice. This casts new light not only on certain episodes in the history of political thought, but on habits of contemporary commentary as well.

Time, in our readings of political thought has typically meant clichéd notions of cyclicity for the Ancients, apocalyptic endpoints for the Mediaevals, and an endless march of progress for the Moderns. The Postmoderns "know better", that time and history are a mess, a Benjaminian chaos of endless moments of potential apocalypse, hurtling nowhere and meaning nothing.

This perspective on the history of the idea of time is driven by a long disproved tradition of anthropological relativism, stressing that fundamental categories of understanding and experience could vary radically across cultures and eras. However, this paper will show continuities in a range of overlapping and available conceptions of the flow of time. The key modes of time arguably grow from aspects of universal human experience. Hence, the choice of how time will structure political thinking is just that: a choice. As rhetorical device or *Weltanschauung*, this important piece of the critical puzzle should not be taken as a conceptual given. And a thinker must take responsibility for the real and serious political consequences of their choice.

### **Lecours, André and Béland, Daniel**

#### *Equalization and Canadian Federalism*

Canada's equalization program has generated serious intergovernmental conflict since 2004. For example, in 2007, several provincial Premiers publicly denounced the Harper government for having 'broken a promise' to not take revenues from natural resources into account when calculating provincial fiscal capacity. Premier Danny Williams of Newfoundland even took a full page add in the *Globe & Mail* to attack the Prime Minister and promised electoral problems for the federal Conservative party in the province at the next elections. Then Saskatchewan Premier Lorne Calvert threatened to sue the federal government for failing to implement equalization in a fair and equitable manner. In 2008, when published reports suggested that Ontario would soon qualify for equalization payments although it was at the time a contributing province, Premier Dalton MacGinty challenged the federal government to do something about this 'perverse' program.'

Why has equalization generating such serious intergovernmental conflict in Canada over the last 5 years or so? This paper tackles this question by looking at the politics of equalization in Canada as opposed to its better studied

technical and economic aspect. After having presented an analytical narrative of the recent intergovernmental conflicts around equalization, the paper makes the argument that four factors explain these conflicts: executive discretion over the design of the program; the 'intra-state' nature of Canadian federalism that features provinces with strong identities engage in competitive relations with the federal government; the problem of natural resources, which are viewed by provinces that have them as a distinct source of revenue that should be excluded from the calculation of their fiscal capacity; and the perceptions (and misperceptions) surrounding the equalization program. In the conclusion, the paper reflects on the future of equalization in Canada.

### **Leduc Browne, Paul**

Thinking through the significance of class in the context of neo-liberalism

The era of neo-liberalism has coincided with a steep decline in the deployment of class in the conceptualization of collective action and social change (Dubar, Dubet, Boltanski). Although class identities have not disappeared (Lamont, Sayer), traditional class cultures have been eroded by the twin forces of individualism and identity politics, in the context of the re-territorialization of class relations at an international scale. In the 'society of individuals' (Houle & Thériault) of 'reflexive modernity' (Giddens), class and class conflict have in many eyes been replaced by the politics of exclusion and social movements. To be sure, it is possible to challenge the idea that the concept of class is obsolete, by suggesting (as Harvey, Jessop, Peck, and Brenner have done in their respective ways, for example) that the situation just described is the outcome of neo-liberalism as a successful strategy of class struggle mediated by transformations of the state and accumulation processes. Similarly, one may regard the current global financial and environmental crises as the product of the dialectic of neo-liberalism. It remains that the successful redeployment of the concept of class in the context of neo-liberalism requires rethinking its theoretical status. Drawing on the work of Georg Lukács (*History and Class Consciousness and the Ontology of Social Being*) and István Mészáros (*Beyond Capital, The Challenge and Burden of Historical Time*), this paper will outline some of the issues and aspects of the problem.

### **Lee Nichols, Robert**

*Foucault and Anti-Imperialism*

Foucaultian inspired genealogy has come to serve as a general tool of analysis within much of postcolonial theory. In this mode of analysis the supposedly neutral, value-free and necessary categories of thought and action within a given discursive domain are revealed to have their origins in a host of conflicting and contingent power configurations whose value commitments are often antithetical to the resulting naturalized regime. Edward Said's work in demonstrating the function of 'Orientalist' discourse in the constitution of central features of western cultural production is paradigmatic in this regard. Without discounting the importance of this work, this paper seeks to demonstrate certain limitations to genealogy when one moves beyond postcolonial theory and towards anti-imperial praxis. I argue that genealogical work without corresponding practices of ethical-spiritual self-transformation risks constituting itself in the guise of a declarative act, implicitly conflating the naming of previously hidden power relations with their overcoming. This conflation serves to not only efface the differential placement of subjects within a given domain of knowledge/power, but also conceals the latent possibilities for creative alternatives. The paper concludes by pointing to Foucault's later work on ethics and spiritual self-transformation as an important, indeed necessary, compliment to genealogical work and comments on how this might serve current anti-imperial praxis.

### **Léger, Rémi and Iacovino, Rafaele**

*The Ideal of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Francophone Minority Communities and Immigrant Integration*

The ideal of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework (MBF) rests on the adoption of official bilingualism and multiculturalism as structuring principles of Canadian society. It posits that Canada is a single, bilingual host society in which newcomers choose to integrate through either French or English while maintaining their cultures of origin.

In recent years, this ideal has led to the adoption of a governmental strategy that seeks to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants to Francophone minority communities. More precisely, in March 2002, the Federal government established a Steering Committee whose mandate was "to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants in Francophone minority communities and to facilitate their reception and integration".

We argue that this governmental strategy represents a false promise for both these communities and immigrants. More specifically, the paper shows that MBF as an ideal obscures the realities confronting Francophone minority communities and thus their capacity to integrate newcomers. First, we situate these tangled questions by examining the broader Canadian discourse on diversity management. Second, we argue that the project to carve out a single, bilingual host society leads to a strategy that neglects the well-being of immigrants. Third, we argue that public language is an integral component of a 'societal culture' (Kymlicka) or a 'community of communication' (Ipperciel), which we argue is necessary for immigrant integration, regardless of commitments to cultural pluralism. Finally, we propose a way out that goes beyond a linear response based on the proportional devolution of selection and integration.

### **Lemay, Lina**

*Co-operative hegemony and cyberspace: the challenge of multilateral cooperation*

This paper is based on the assumption that the development of cyberspace, just like the processes of regional integration, has taken a growing importance in our societies. As such, this paper analyses the role of the European Union in the

formulation and implementation of a regional policy of cybersecurity in Europe. The prime objective of this paper aims at refining the bond between the nature of the regional institutions and the possibilities of development of a regional policy as regards to cybersecurity. The second objective consists in taking part in the theoretical debates in international relations as for the role played by these processes of regional integration in the securization of cyberspace. Finally, the third objective is to understand the role of a hegemon (or the absence of thereof) in the development and the implementation of a regional policy of cybersecurity. We wish, through the case study of this paper, to further verify the promises of the theory of co-operative hegemony developed by Pedersen (Pedersen, 1998 and 2002 ; Mace and Loiseau, 2005). This theory proposes an explanation of the major advantages of the presence of large powers in a process of regional integration. The presence of several large powers (Germany, France, UK...) in the EU makes that case interesting for our study.

### **Leone, Roberto**

*Liberal Party Succession Planning and Ministerial Resignations: Bridging political reality with administrative cleansing.* Walter Bagehot wrote in the 19th century about using ministerial resignations as a tool for cabinet rotation and ridding the cabinet of incapable members. Throughout the 20th century, more definition was given to the instances in which ministers should resign. Many of these reasons focused on the policy and administrative conduct of ministers. For the most part, governments would abide by the policy and administrative rules when deciding who should be removed from cabinet. This paper will explain how such decisions are "rational." In examining the Canadian cases of ministerial resignations since 1968, there are several decisions for ministerial resignations that fall outside these rational decisions. One such trend is that of Liberal Party leadership hopefuls who seem more prone to resign not for policy or administrative lapses, but because they have been groomed to take over the leadership of the party. Over the 40 year period of this study, resignation decisions for Liberal Party leadership hopefuls have effectively become rational reasons for ministers to resign. This paper will use organizational theory to explain the phenomenon.

### **L'Espérance, Audrey**

Access to assisted reproductive technologies in the Canadian provinces: what can the appeal to courts of justice and the choice of fiscal instruments tell us about State-Society relations in Canada? Last June, a public consultation on Quebec's Bill 23 made the debate revolve on the ruling of fertility clinics practices toward a debate more centred on the "economic" relationship between patients and doctors. In Ontario quite as in Quebec, the State helps financially the couples by offering them a tax credit when they appeal to assisted reproductive technologies (ART). In Ontario on the other hand, only some types of infertility can lead to this tax credit, whereas in Quebec the conditions are less restrictive, but less nominal is the credit. Some years ago, a Nova Scotia couple even tried to modify their province law on health insurance to add fertility treatments to the list of services paid by the State in the Canadian public health system context. Courts of justice have again had to express themselves about ART last June in the decision of the Court of Appeal of Quebec determining that certain privileges bound to the practices surrounding fertility treatments were a provincial prerogative. It is thus clear that the Canadian provinces recently had to act in this domain and set up policies, but what can the ART policy choice of the provincial governments tell us about State-Society relation today in Canada? Who influences the governments' decisions and what are the effects of these policies? How can we interpret the appeal to the courts in this context? This presentation will try to answer these questions using an approach in terms of instrumentation of public action in a context of judicialized political decision-making.

### **Leuprecht, Christian**

*The Limitations and Opportunities of Demographic Change for Canada's Land Force*

Canada accepts more immigrants per capita than any other industrialized country. They tend to settle in the Greater Toronto Area and, to a lesser extent, Vancouver and Montreal. Their fertility rates are four times the Canadian average. Only Aboriginal peoples have higher fertility rates. According to the 2006 census the rise of the Canadian population that was not born in Canada has risen precipitously and is approaching 20%. Yet, Canada's army continues to recruit predominantly from Caucasian and rural communities which are in demographic decline. These cleavages present unprecedented challenges for recruitment, retention, and training. There are good arguments for making the army more diverse but also good argument for limits on diversity to safeguard the mandate of the institution. This paper discusses the challenges the army faces as a result of demographic change and the pros and cons of the different options for adaptation that are at its disposal.

### **Levesque, Mario**

*In the game but on the sidelines: Municipalities in polycentric water governance processes*

Municipalities and, by extension, city regions have increasingly been singled out as important entities in polycentric policy processes (e.g. Thomas, 2003). While perhaps important for economic growth and innovation, such importance and influence is questioned in relation to other issues such as water policy. Yet water policy is multifaceted. At its core are a bundle of property rights which include rights of access, withdrawal, management, exclusion and transfer (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992; Sproule-Jones, 2002). While the role and influence of municipalities in access and withdrawal issues (water permitting) may be minimal (Levesque, 2008), does such a position hold for water management issues? This is important given the fact water management efforts often entail placing restrictions on land activities—a standard municipal

responsibility. One would assume significant municipal influence in such efforts yet this is far from clear given the multi-level multi-lateral processes typically involved. This paper draws on the common pool resource literature to examine the role and influence of municipalities in source water protection planning activities. It is a comparative case study of Ontario, New York and Nebraska for the time period 1980-2006. The analysis is then related to a core debate on property rights in the resources literature, that is, how changes in the nature of a good affect its governance as applied to municipalities. The results are part of my larger project probing the effect of nested institutional arrangements on policy changes.

**Lewis, J.P.**

*Progressive Posturing, Reluctant Reform: Civic Education in Ontario in the Twenty-First Century*

Education has consistently been considered a major socializing tool for the state. The connection between education and political participation has recently come into question, as concerns have emerged in the last fifteen years in most Western democracies over the decline of political activity and engagement of individuals (Franklin, 2004; Inglehart, 1990). Henry Milner (2005) argued that "it becomes evident that, more than ever, addressing the decline in turnout means enhancing political knowledge." Others have debated the cause and effects of youth political apathy, citing factors such as alternative political activities, generational effects and the poor reputation of modern politics (Gidengil et al., 2003; O'Neill, 2001; Howe, 2003; O'Neill, 2007). Regardless of the academic discourse, something was clearly amiss with the political engagement of young Canadians. With the public problem of youth political apathy accepted in both popular and academic circles we can look to governments for possible policy responses. One can suggest that political apathy appears to have precipitated the Progressive Conservative government's introduction of a new civics course in Ontario (2000). With support from primary and secondary literature and interviews, this analysis questions the new citizenship education policy direction in Ontario. In this paper it is found that while it may appear the Ontario government was responding to public problems, in fact, they were simply following an education policy that is both arbitrary and ambiguous.

**Lier, Tiago**

*Leo Strauss and Plato's 'Phaedrus'*

Leo Strauss is generally regarded as a scholar of political philosophy, rather than a scholar of philosophy simply. This is borne out by the fact that he only published studies on overtly political works, as opposed to those of "epistemology" and natural philosophy. Interestingly, he never published a study or extensive comments specifically on Plato's Phaedrus, which seems to be Plato's statement par excellence on how philosophy is to be conveyed in writing, that is, in public or politically. However, fragments of Strauss' thoughts on Phaedrus are scattered throughout his works, and this paper attempts to bring these pieces together into a more cohesive presentation of Strauss' reading of this important dialogue. In particular, what, from Strauss' remarks, can be gleaned about the dialogue as a whole, such as its presentations of love and rhetoric? How has Strauss' reading of Phaedrus impacted his own work? In addressing these questions, it will be possible to expand on key themes in Strauss' writings: the role that the philosopher, as a seeker of wisdom, is to play in the political community, the realm of opinion; the role played by Plato, as opposed to Maimonides and Al-Farabi, in the formulation of Strauss' well-known distinction between esoteric and exoteric writing (i.e., why use these two later philosophers to explicate Plato's teachings?); and, insofar as Strauss imitated Plato (as understood by Strauss), whether the selective use of references to Phaedrus arose from political or moral concerns.

**Liu, Andrew**

*Human Rights and Sino-Canadian Relations in the 'New' Conservative Government*

China's human rights record has been the subject of intense international scrutiny. Especially given the heightened media attention surrounding the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident and the Beijing 2008 Olympics Games, Canada has been far from shy in voicing its condemnation of China on past occasions. Yet the Chrétien government was criticized nonetheless for failing to balance its strong rhetorical support for human rights with meaningful political action. Chrétien's policies would ensure, in other words, that denunciation of the Chinese government would not interfere with otherwise strong Sino-Canadian relations and the promotion of international trade. Although the 'new' Conservative government under Stephen Harper has governed only since February 2006, Sino-Canadian relations have experienced such marked deterioration that many observers are lamenting the frostiest period in bilateral diplomacy since the international recognition of the People's Republic of China. This paper will analyze the 'new' Conservative policy towards China using both rationalist and constructivist approaches. It will highlight that although material factors such as economic and strategic concerns usually help to mask discrepancies over non-material issues, Canadian and Chinese perspectives on international human rights will continue to be a source of antagonism insofar as the Harper government's has abandoned a basic internationalist orientation in the absence of a new "white paper" or formal foreign policy review.

**Loewen, Peter John**

*Soda, Salamanders, and the Supremes: Measuring the Influence of Supreme Court Justices with a Bradley-Terry Model*

The Supreme Court of Canada plays a fundamental role in public and political life in Canada. Despite the centrality of the Court, we know little about its political functioning, especially in comparison to work on the Supreme Court of the United

States. This paper aims to fill part of this gap by identifying Canada's most influential or powerful Supreme Court justices and then determining the sources of their influence. Influence is defined as the ability to convince other justices to concur with a decision or a dissension.

Identifying influence or power is a potentially vexing empirical problem. However, a certain class of models, the Bradley-Terry model, is particularly well-suited to this task. Bradley-Terry models have found wide usage in biology – eg, in identifying what makes some salamanders more powerful than others -- and in consumer research – eg, in blind taste tests of soda. They have found less use in political science, save Spirling (2008) and Loewen et al (2008).

Unstructured models allow a comparison of the influence of judges who have never served on the court together. The model allows us to answer a counterfactual such as "If McLachlin wrote a decision, what are the odds that Laskin would concur?" This allows for a global scoring of influence across all justices. Structured models allow us to understand the characteristics of justices which make them influential, such as their legal background, education, expertise, and personal characteristics.

The paper relies on an original dataset of all SCC decisions since 1982.

### **Loewen, Peter John**

#### *The Behavioural Foundations and Consequences of Partisanship*

This paper demonstrates fundamental differences between partisans, namely in their altruism, trust, and perceptions of fairness. I show that partisanship is more than a simple identification with a party and its platforms. Instead, it often involves a concern for other partisans and a willingness to undertake costly action to make them better off. Partisanship is also reflected in different levels of trust and perceptions of fairness among different partisans.

The paper relies on two behavioural economics experiments. First, a series of dictator games were embedded in a large online survey of 5000 Canadians in May 2007. Behaviour in these games is taken as a measure of altruism. By observing differences in allocations, I can ascertain how partisanship affects altruism. The second experiment will embed a series of ultimatum and trust games in a survey in February 2009. By observing how fairness and trust differ according to the participants' partisanship, I ascertain how partisanship has an impact upon perceptions of fairness and readiness to trust.

These partisan differences can explain important political behaviours and opinions. For example, differing levels of altruism between partisans has been shown to predict the decision to vote. Similarly, differences in trust and fairness will be shown to explain differences in political participation, as well as preferences for various public spending programs and public policies. Taken together, these results show that partisanship is much more deeply-seated than normally presumed. As such, it has important implications for our understanding of politics which go far beyond vote choice.

### **Loewen, Peter and Rubenson, Daniel**

#### *Both Sides Now: A Field Experiment With Competing Messages*

Does direct mail work? Prior field experiments have examined the mobilization capacity and, less so, the persuasive capacity of direct mail. Since most studies have tested only one campaign's message, very little is known about the conditionality of direct mail effects. This paper answers questions about whether the persuasion and mobilization capacities of direct mail are conditional on the opposing side of a message also being received. We present results from a direct mail experiment conducted during a province-wide referendum on major electoral reform held in the province of Ontario, Canada in October 2007. Using a treatment group of approximately 6000 households and a control group of more than four million, our experiment randomized the reception of direct mail from both the Yes and No sides of the referendum. We randomly assigned precincts to receive a message from one campaign, others to receive a message from both and the vast majority to receive no messages. By comparing turnout and referendum results in treated and untreated polling precincts, we determine the mobilization and persuasion capacities of direct mail. We are also able to ascertain how competitive messages cancel one another out, and whether they increase or decrease turnout.

### **Loiseau, Hugo**

#### *Co-operative hegemony and cyberspace: the challenge of multilateral cooperation*

This paper is based on the assumption that the development of cyberspace, just like the processes of regional integration, has taken a growing importance in our societies. As such, this paper analyses the role of the European Union in the formulation and implementation of a regional policy of cybersecurity in Europe. The prime objective of this paper aims at refining the bond between the nature of the regional institutions and the possibilities of development of a regional policy as regards to cybersecurity. The second objective consists in taking part in the theoretical debates in international relations as for the role played by these processes of regional integration in the securization of cyberspace. Finally, the third objective is to understand the role of a hegemon (or the absence of thereof) in the development and the implementation of a regional policy of cybersecurity. We wish, through the case study of this paper, to further verify the promises of the theory of co-operative hegemony developed by Pedersen (Pedersen, 1998 and 2002 ; Mace and Loiseau, 2005). This theory proposes an explanation of the major advantages of the presence of large powers in a process of regional integration. The presence of several large powers (Germany, France, UK...) in the EU makes that case interesting for our study.

**Lorkovic, Edvard***Charles Taylor and the Sources of Responsibility: Authenticity as a Non-Subjective Moral Ideal*

In *Sources of the Self*, Charles Taylor argues that the self is historically contingent. The self, considered as a unique and private inner substance, is a modern invention. Though some language of self-understanding may be universal, the language of selfhood simply is not. Nonetheless, the self is the concept to which we actually and intelligibly appeal for self-understanding. Moreover, the concept of self brings with it an affective moral ideal: authenticity or the ideal of being true to one's self. As such, modern moral life is informed by the joint concepts of self and authenticity.

However, selfhood and authenticity present a problem. If my self is private and if my moral goal is to become authentic and true to my self, then the grounds of moral value are radically privatized. Only the self can pass judgment on the value of moral action. Put differently, selfhood and authenticity ostensibly incline towards moral subjectivism.

This paper argues that the moral ideal of authenticity can be saved from the charge subjectivism. Through a hermeneutic of "self" inspired by Taylor and Levinas, I show that the modern self is constituted in relation to others. That is to say that the shared moral world is the condition of possibility of the self; the other is ontologically prior to the self. It follows that authenticity is equally conditioned by the shared moral world. Moral subjectivism is not consistent with authenticity. Instead, true authenticity necessarily involves responsibility for others.

**Lougheed, Devon***It's funny because it's "true": the discursive value of jokes and comic rationality*

In this paper, I examine joking as a discursive political phenomenon. I attempt to find discursive rationality and critical value in the deliberately light-hearted world of jokes, and to draw humour and laughter out of the otherwise deadly serious domain of reflective thought. Despite the general disinterest of deliberative democratic theorists in humour, I argue that jokes are a unique type of truth-claim that must be evaluated in relation to (but in some ways, outside of) a "rational speech-act" framework. First, I ground my argument in Jurgen Habermas' (lack of) theoretical attention to jokes and laughter, outlining how his discourse ethics of the 'ideal speech situation' applies to – and departs from – the performative conditions of successful jokes. Second, I examine the role of jokes as "speech acts" within a world that is held in common, suggesting that a politico-social "sense of humour" is a form of *sensus communis*, *habitus*, or *lifeworld*. Thus, both professional and everyday joking generates validity claims that act either conservatively (returning us to a common, familiar domain) or transformatively (proposing an alternate *dissensus communis*). Finally, I suggest ways that a "political theorist of humour" might demarcate and appraise the discursive value of a joke.

**Ludwin, Ilana***Helping Hand or Hampering Hegemony? The Nature and Impact of Training and Support Mechanisms for New Canadian MPs*

This paper will use original data to explore the experience of new Members of Parliament (MPs) in the House of Commons. The data will be collected from surveys of freshmen MPs in the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament and interviews with officials involved in the orientation period. Historically, newly elected MPs received little training or support before or after their election. However, as the role of the MP evolved and grew more complex, the services available to rookie MPs have been enhanced. The nature, source and effect of these supports have received relatively little scholarly attention.

The paper will examine two main questions: one, whether these supports are necessary to allow MPs to fulfill their mandate; and two, whether these supports are sufficient and relevant. It will shed light on how such training reflects and shapes the role of MPs in the House of Commons, the barriers facing new MPs and the equality of freshman MPs relative to returning MPs as they adjust to their new positions.

**Ma, Michael C.K.***Attacks on Asian Anglers: Incidents of Racism in Peterborough and the Kawarthas*

This paper investigates the recent attacks on Asian recreational and sports anglers in southern Ontario during the summer-fall of 2007 and spring 2008. It is based in and through the author's participation in the Community and Race Relations Committee of Peterborough and their active campaign to raise awareness concerning thirteen attacks on Asian fishers reported to police services. This paper analyzes how local actors and residents have portrayed Asian anglers as outsiders having little knowledge of local fishing custom, laws, and regulations. As Asian anglers are framed as newcomers and outsiders—even if they may be local and long-time residents—racist practices such as "nippertipping" (i.e. to push a person of Asian descent into the water) begin to be condoned and understood as excusable acts meant to protect the fisheries. From the point of view of activist scholarship, this paper looks at how a local anti-racist and social justice community group attempt to bring various stakeholders together to remedy this problem. In so doing, it also focuses how Asian Anglers are framed as outsiders and interlopers, originating from urban centres (i.e. City of Toronto), who invade and take over local recreational fishing areas. By looking at the disconnect between a rhetoric of inclusion and



multiculturalism, immigrant integration and resettlement strategies and the local acts of racial hatred and violence the local practices of rural/urban governance, race relations and social inclusion are interrogated.

**Ma, Michael C.K.**

*Immigrant Integration and Multi-level governance in the City of Toronto*

This paper investigates immigrant resettlement policy and practice in the City of Toronto. It interrogates the premise of whether public participation makes for better policy in the context of three bodies of consultation created and lead by municipal government: (i) The Working Group on Immigration and Refugee Issues, (ii) The Toronto Social Development Network, and (iii) The Toronto City Summit Alliance. This paper investigates the manner by which the above mentioned mechanisms inter-operate within the context of immigrant integration strategies and municipal-federal-provincial negotiations and strategies (e.g. Local Immigrant Partnerships supported by CIC and MCI, jurisdictional alliances regarding access to trades and professions, and memorandum of understandings regarding immigrant settlement). This paper argues that these mechanisms operate in an Expanded Field of community and immigrant governance.

**Maas, Willem**

*Is a general theory of nationality law possible?*

Despite the strong literature on case studies explaining the nationality laws of various countries, only recently has the comparative study of nationality law emerged, starting with the influential work of the political sociologist Rogers Brubaker comparing Germany with France. Such works address the expectation that modern states should incorporate their people as individual citizens and recalls that the use of citizenship as a means to achieve political integration has a long history. Because of the wide variation in the ways nation-states developed, citizenship rights differ dramatically from country to country. Some authors posit that national citizenship has lost its importance as supranational and transnational rights have become more pronounced. But unless individuals possess citizenship, social rights can be withdrawn: national states, rather than supranational human rights, continue to provide the basic guarantees of rights. As political scientists have started to scrutinize the relationship between levels and sources of immigration, the scale of naturalization, and the nature of debates about citizenship and nationality laws and policies, it has become clear that “there is no causal link between national identity and nationality laws.” A more nuanced explanation for changes in nationality laws is that liberalization will occur as long as public mobilization is not “activated”: when public opinion becomes involved in the policymaking process, liberalization is blocked and restrictive features are inserted. Yet this kind of argument does not explain the variation between and among states. Is a general theory of nationality law possible?

**MacDermid, Robert**

*Ontario political parties in the neo-liberal age*

This paper looks at changes in Ontario political parties in the last 25 years following the end of the long Progressive Conservative reign. Since then, all three competitive parties have been in government and all three have been dealt setbacks by the electorate. The paper will focus on internal party organization, shifting policy positions and changes in campaigning as a way of explaining how parties have tried to adapt to the challenges presented by free trade, globalization and the province’s disappearing manufacturing sector.

**Macdonald, Douglas and Houle, David**

*Understanding the Selection of Policy Instruments in Canadian Climate-change Policy*

Since Canada ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992, the instruments selected by federal and provincial governments to address greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions by the industrial sector, have evolved from voluntarism to more coercive approaches, using more traditional command-and-control regulation. In 1995, those governments selected a voluntary instrument, the Voluntary Challenge and Registry (VCR—ÉcoGEstE in Québec), later combined with spending on technology research and development. Since then, Canada and Alberta have abandoned voluntarism and replaced it with law-based regulatory controls, while B.C. and Québec have selected taxation as a climate-change policy instrument. Other provinces have continued to rely on voluntarism and spending. Canadian climate change policy, accordingly, provides an excellent case study of the factors influencing environmental policy instrument selection, both in terms of evolution over time and of comparisons amongst jurisdictions.

In the proposed paper, we explore three questions: Why did Canadian governments initially select voluntarism to reduce industrial GHG emissions? Why did some later replace that instrument with more coercive instruments? How can we explain differences in instrument selection amongst jurisdictions? The hypothesis to be explored is that public opinion and the associated balance of power between business and environmentalists is the most important independent variable influencing instrument selection in the cases studied.

This case-study research will contribute to several bodies of literature—that on instrument choice and coerciveness, studies of voluntary agreements in environmental policy, and the literature on new environmental policy instruments.

**MacDonald, Eleanor**

*Property and Identity*

In this paper, I outline four theoretical approaches through which we might consider the relationship of property to identity. These are: 1) cultural/heritage approaches that associate particular territories or relationships to territories with the cultural

identities of individuals; 2) labour/action approaches which understand ownership as a product of an individual's labour and which consider the individual's identity as produced through their labour; 3) property as the realization/externalization of the self in a politics of recognition; and 4) psychoanalytic approaches to the production of the self in which identity is produced through mourning and loss as well as promise of future realization of desire.

Theorizations of both property and identity have largely failed to address their interrelationship. Consideration of these approaches is not merely abstract or formal; it has relevance to our ability to engage with real politics around such events and issues as indigenous land claims, local representation in environmental politics, labour demands in reorganized production and distribution chains, and the intersubjective politics of home, body, desire that have been central to much feminist and queer theorizing.

My argument is normatively grounded in a critique of capitalism. Capitalism derives much of its ideological appeal from its endorsement of and foundation in private property. I argue that this appeal should be understood, at least in part, through property's imbrication with identity. The challenge to socialist and environmental politics is to develop a counterhegemonic politics that yet attends to the emotional and rational bases of attachment to property.

### **Macdonald, Fiona**

#### *Indigenous Peoples and Neoliberal "Privatization": Opportunities, Cautions and Constraints*

This paper will critically address the impact of the current neoliberal political context for Indigenous governance in Canada. While some observers have argued correctly that the neoliberal context provides new opportunities or points of entry in the political opportunity structure for "self-government" initiatives (Slowey 2008), I will examine to what extent recent decentralizing initiatives, generally viewed as "concessions" made by the state to meet the demands of Indigenous peoples, must be evaluated as part of a broader governmental strategy of neoliberalism. This strategy is not simply about meeting the demands of Indigenous peoples but also about meeting the requirements of the contemporary governmental shift towards "privatization" within liberal democratic states. As such, I argue that certain manifestations of Indigenous self-government are vulnerable to criticisms launched against practices of privatization—practices which include a variety of policies designed to promote a shifting of contentious issues out of the public sphere and thereby limiting public debate and collective (i.e. state) responsibility.

### **MacDonald, Fiona**

#### *The Third Wave of Liberal Multiculturalism: Culture, Context and Democracy*

This paper sets out to identify and interrogate a newly emerged third wave in liberal multicultural political theory. Whereas the first wave of liberal multiculturalism set out to reconcile the principles of liberalism with the notion of "minority rights" or "group-differentiated citizenship" (see for example, Kymlicka's *Multicultural Citizenship*), the second wave points to some rather serious omissions in this reconciliation (see for example Okin's *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*). Recent scholarship on the topic, particularly Arneil et. al.'s *Sexual Justice/Cultural Justice*, Deveaux's *Gender and Justice in Multicultural Liberal States* and Song's *Justice, Gender, and the Politics of Multiculturalism* are, I suggest, distinct in their responses to these two waves and the impact of their contributions must be assessed collectively. When examined together, these works prove to be excellent representations of what can be characterized as the third wave of liberal multiculturalism literature. Alongside other distinguishing features, this wave is largely characterized by an emphasis on individual cultural meanings and practices as opposed to cultures as a whole. The democratic aspects of liberal multiculturalism as well as a particular emphasis on the importance of context for managing conflicts of deep difference are also emphasized in new and important ways. This paper will critically explore these principles and assess the potential this theoretical strategy has for the development of political practices that can truly move beyond the gender or culture justice impasse.

### **Macdonald, Laura and Mahon, Rianne**

#### *Travelling Ideas: "Early Child Development" and North American Welfare Regimes*

Globalization and regional integration pose challenges for traditional state-centric understandings of citizenship and welfare regimes not to mention Marshall's eurocentric and linear model of citizenship. Drawing upon our analysis of anti-poverty programs in North America, and upon neo-institutionalist, political economy, and critical geography theories, in this paper we develop a new approach to understanding welfare state development. The 1990s saw a reopening of space for social policy but not for a return to postwar patterns, which had focused on the risks faced by the male breadwinner. In the post-Washington Consensus era, "good" social policies are those that focus on human capital investment, with a particular emphasis on young children. Our paper looks at the way international organizations like UNICEF and the World Bank, drawing largely on American research, disseminated the idea of investment in early childhood development. We then compare the ways actors in Canada and Mexico sought to translate these ideas into practice, and how the resulting programs reflect these countries' distinct historical traditions, as well as their different positions in the global and regional political economies.

### **MacLean, Lee**

#### *Social Location and Intersectional Conceptions of Women's Subordination*

The theory that forms of subordination, such as sexism, racism, homophobia and class domination, intersect and shape one another is a major new development within feminist theory. It represents a breakthrough that promises more accurate

explanations of the challenges women face. It promises to transform gender studies and many other fields. Given the importance of the theory, a question arises about why it has taken so long to gain attention.

My paper hypothesizes that oppression can appear less "intersectional" from the standpoint of privilege and that this phenomenon impeded earlier and wider recognition of the power of the idea of intersecting forms of oppression. The paper explores how social locations of privilege and disadvantage can affect perceptions of oppression. After analyzing the concept of intersectionality, it examines a debate about whether sexism forms an "isolatable" form of oppression, that is, whether it is isolatable from other kinds of group-based forms of oppression such as those based on race, sexuality, class etc. Then it examines examples which suggest women's oppression appears (but merely appears) separable from these other kinds of oppression from the standpoint of women who experience social group privilege as regards these other oppressions. Finally, we analyze the meaning of this phenomenon, which I see as a kind of ethical illusion, and its implications for feminist theory and practice.

### **MacLeod, Jeffrey and Webb, Nick**

*Obama and World-Making: Art, Language, and Leadership - Imagery as Constitutive of Political Action*

Most of us would admit that the content of political thought and action may be affected to some extent by its form. In short, charisma, style, and rhetorical skills may act as allies to content. But this is a minimal claim, even if we assess political leaders from Kerry to Gore, Blair to Brown, or Harper to Dion using these measures. The stronger claim would be that form may constitute content rather than merely reflect or adorn it, and this is the claim that we shall defend. We shall argue further that political leadership is indeed an art - the art of imaging or world-making. But what kind of claim is this? What kind of evidence could be adduced to make the claim plausible? Our intent is for readers to conclude that this claim is not an intellectual romance but crucial to understanding how meaning is made and shared. And we wish to argue that the emergence of a particular sense of form or what we shall term imagery may be less a strategy than an ontological and epistemological condition. Imagery is no less than the process by which art works and in turn, the arbiter of political success.

### **Magnusson, Warren**

*Can the city be a privileged unit within a system of multilevel governance?*

Multilevel governance is supposed to make cities more robust politically, but there is scant evidence that it does. It is not even clear what the signs of robustness would be, or which of the many senses of the term, city, are being invoked. The argument of this presentation is that both concepts -- multilevel governance and the city -- need to be re-thought if we are to make sense of the shifts and changes that are now occurring in patterns of politics and government. The city as city is a system of multilevel governance that exceeds the capacity of the state to contain or regulate it. Because of that, the city ceases to be a unit, and becomes instead a mode of being that conditions all political possibilities. We can begin to make sense of that mode of being if we look at Canadian and American experience in a different way.

### **Mahdavi, Mojtaba**

*Post-Islamism: A Comparative Study of Egypt, Turkey and Iran*

New theories of secularization suggest that public religion is a fact of modern life. The emergence of Islamism in the Muslim world is a case in point where modernization contributed to the rise and revival of religion in modern societies. However, Islamism represents only one feature of public religion. The other feature is post-Islamism.

Many Muslim societies are currently on the verge of a post-Islamist turn. Post-Islamism has expressed itself in various socio-political and intellectual forms; but it has yet to transform socio-political and intellectual structure of Muslim societies. Post-Islamist Islam is a radical call for a critical dialogue between sacred and secular, tradition and modernity, religion and reason; but it has yet to reveal its potential for such a critical task. Post-Islamism is neither anti-Islamic nor un-Islamic. This paper examines/compares three forms of post-Islamist Islam in three distinct Middle Eastern countries: Centre Party (Hezb-al Wasat) in Egypt, Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, and the reformist discourse in Iran. Three distinct forms of post-Islamist Islam will be examined in terms of their contribution to the rise of a grassroots/authentic democratic discourse, how each discourse identifies the role, relevance and legitimacy of Islam in the public sphere, and how each contributes to a constructive and critical dialogue between sacred and secular, tradition and modernity, religion and reason. More specifically, the paper examines each discourse's potential to transform complex socio-political and intellectual structure of a Muslim country to the new area of post-Islamism.

### **Mahdavi, Mojtaba**

*Towards the "Dialogue among Civilizations": Implications for Conflict Resolution in the Middle East*

The central argument in this paper represents the fundamental quarrel that currently characterizes the relations between the West and the Rest. The paper's objective is to examine the impacts and implications of the most recent iteration of the Western-centric discourse represented in Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* and Fukuyama's *The End of History* theses. It proposes that neither thesis captures the complexity of the current conflict. Neither approach can address the plural and multilayered nature of the problem.

The paper will put forward the need for a third way, a counter-theory to the Western-centric theories of Huntington and Fukuyama. Such an alternative approach promotes "dialogue among civilizations" and acknowledges "the dignity of

difference.” Difference and diversity are the source of a cross-cultural dialogue among civilizations; they not the source of tension. Embedded in all cultures is a radical call to justice and truth so all civilizations have a significant potential role in conflict resolution.

More specifically, the paper examines what the “dialogue among civilizations” and “the dignity of difference” means in foreign policy terms, and what the implications are for conflict resolution in the Middle East. The findings suggest that there is a need for a radical shift in the West’s strategic thinking about its role in global affairs. It proposes that the current American policy is contributing to a self-fulfilling prophecy of “the clash of civilizations”. The alternative policy should abandon the Western-Centric discourse. It should even move beyond merely tolerating “the other” towards accommodating difference and celebrating diversity.

### **Mainwaring, Scott, Gervasoni, Carlos and Espana, Annabella**

#### *Extra System Electoral Volatility and the Vote Share of Young Parties*

What accounts for the remarkable differences in how successful new parties are electorally in different contexts? What explains the huge variance in how “frozen” or fluid party systems are? With this paper, we hope to make three contributions. First, we introduce the concept of extra-system volatility and the vote share of new parties. They are useful complements to the conventional focus on total volatility. Second, we compare extra-system volatility, within-system volatility, total volatility, and the vote share of young parties in 58 countries for a long period of time. Third, we attempt to explain cross-national and over-time differences in extra system volatility, total volatility, and the vote share of young parties, and to link these differences to an understanding of how party systems and democracies have changed, and how the relationship of party systems to democracy has changed, over a long sweep of time.

### **Makus, Ingrid**

#### *Beauvoir On Deliberation And Action In Politics*

In her novels *The Mandarins* and *Blood of Others*, Beauvoir shows characters grappling with difficult questions surrounding how they are to think about the particular historical and political situation they find themselves in. How can they justify to themselves and others acting in ways that might take away the freedom of others? The characters engage in a kind of deliberation that acknowledges and accepts uncertainty, complexity, and their own particular embedness in the conditions they are aiming to understand and act upon. In *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, furthermore, Beauvoir depicts a means of deliberating about particular situations with the aim of generating ethical action that resembles Aristotle’s notion of the use of deliberative practical reason or prudence as an intermediary of thought and action. My paper reads Beauvoir with and against Aristotle. The benefit of this project is that it can point to reformulating and rethinking an Aristotelian ethics and politics in a way that rescues it from its gender exclusive elements.

### **Makus, Ingrid**

#### *Simone de Beauvoir on Political Responsibility*

My paper proposes to show that the work of Simone de Beauvoir, especially as elaborated in her philosophical treatise *The Ethics of Ambiguity* and her novels *The Mandarins* and *Blood of Others*, provides a nuanced and contemporary account of the ambiguity of political engagement and responsibility. This is particularly salient to a world where lines between civilian and soldier, state and non-state are increasingly blurred and where calls for humanitarian intervention on universalist grounds are increasingly suspect. Scholars have recently begun to acknowledge de Beauvoir’s importance as a political theorist of the 20th century (Marso, Moynagh, Kruks, Stavro, Hutchings). Her intertwining of individual freedom, bodily situatedness and connectedness to others lends itself to a ‘situational ethics’ that is embedded in politics and eschews universalist and essentialist moral categories. My paper aims to extend this scholarship by addressing three key questions that emerge in de Beauvoir: (1) How are we responsible to deliberate, decide and act in conditions of uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity? (2) How do each of us have the responsibility to will the freedom of others without making freedom a universalist essentialist category? (3) How does one reconcile the imperative to be responsible for willing the freedom of others with the acceptance of engagement in violence causing the death of another? In showing us how to think about these matters, she offers a concrete ethics of political action and responsibility.

### **Maltseva, Elena**

#### *Policy Implementation in Post-Soviet States: A Comparison of Social Welfare Reform in Russia and Kazakhstan*

Concerned with the question of why competitive authoritarian regimes display varying degrees of success in implementing social reforms, (judged by their ability to arrive at coherent policy outcomes), this paper aims to identify the most important factors responsible for the stagnation of social benefits reform in Russia, as opposed to its successful implementation in Kazakhstan.

I argue that the effectiveness of policy implementation in competitive authoritarian states depends on the ability of policy implementers to act cohesively and form such a policy coalition that would advance the reform’s original objectives despite unstable institutional, socioeconomic and/or political conditions. In case of Kazakhstan, the successful implementation of the social benefits reform was the result of bold actions of the Kazakhstani authorities who skillfully framed the problem and used the existing conditions to advance the reform’s original objectives. By contrast, in Russia,

the reform was initially delayed due to political instability during Yeltsin's presidency. And when it was finally launched, the poor quality of its content and the failure of the government to properly frame the issue and organize the implementation process led to massive public protests against the reform and subsequent reform stagnation.

Based on an in-depth research in the archives of governmental and public libraries and significant interview data, this paper adds important details to the literature on the transformation of postcommunist welfare states. In addition, the research enhances our understandings of political processes in competitive authoritarian regimes.

### **Marland, Alex and Giasson, Thierry**

*The Opportunities and Fallibilities of Political Marketing: A Canadian Perspective*

Marketing is a widely misunderstood term. To most people it likely has a surreptitious meaning: somebody is selling something in a less than forthright manner. In commerce, marketing is actually a complex yet interwoven set of promotional activities and, most importantly, involves organizational changes in response to research intelligence. Likewise, political marketing, by definition, involves a political organization changing in response to research data. But while academics have been trying to establish the similarities between commercial and political marketing, there has been far less emphasis on the differences. The truth is that the application of commercial marketing theory to politics can leave something to be desired.

In this paper I seek to explain what political marketing is acknowledged to entail. In some ways, it is a growing field that encompasses all kinds of strategic political behaviours guided by research data, such as branding, policy platforms, and negative advertising. But it is also little more than relatively new terminology for longstanding promotional activities or else involves an awkward application of business practices to the public realm. Politics in Canada's parliamentary system are used to illustrate the usefulness, with a dose of caution, of academics applying business marketing principles to the political arena and across political jurisdictions.

### **Mason, Gabrielle**

*The Graying State: Elder Care Policy in Canada*

"The Graying State: Elder Care Policy in Canada," highlights how although the Canadian state remains committed to ensuring that veterans are provided with programs and services to meet their changing needs, the same cannot be said for the rest of Canada's elderly population who have also made significant contributions to Canadian society. The 'graying' state poses important policy challenges as it is occurring at the same time as adult earner families have replaced the male-breadwinner, female-caregiver model, producing a 'crisis of care'. Increased demand for public support for the provision of non-familial elder care occurs in a period when the Canadian state is grappling with rising health and social care costs. Central to my work are ideas of the public/private divide, social reproduction, the ethics of care and justice, Canada's increasingly disproportionate number of elderly and how this affects elder care recipients and informal caregivers, as well as the influence of the neo-liberal market on elder care social policy making in Canada. On this basis, I advance a social policy model based on a national home-care program called The Veterans Independence Program (VIP) that provides care for some of Canada's elderly so that they can remain independent, healthy and living in their own homes. I argue that in efforts to rectify the care imbalances and uncertainties experienced by many of Canada's elderly, VIP home care benefits should be extended to all elderly Canadians.

### **Matthews, Scott, Pickup, Mark and Cutler, Fred**

*The Mediated Horse Race: Towards a Theory of Poll Reporting during Elections*

The media's coverage of elections is dominated by 'horse race journalism'. Yet, in spite of this dominance, little theoretical progress has been made in explaining the dynamics of, what we might term, the mediated horse race. What determines, for example, the volume of a given poll report? Surprising results or those suggesting big changes in vote intention no doubt attract wider audiences—does media attentiveness vary accordingly? Volume aside, what drives the media's interpretation of the polls? Do the media seek to 'explain' movement in the polls in terms of the events of the campaign, or do they report results more clinically—as statistical fact, rather than political event? This paper specifies and evaluates a model of poll reporting during elections, building on John Zaller's and Thomas Patterson's separate contributions concerning political communications during elections. The empirical analysis rests on original, content-analytic data concerning media reporting of polls of vote intention during the Canadian general election of 2006. Apart from its intrinsic interest, building a model of poll reporting during elections is a critical first step in making sense of the larger role of polls in democratic politics. This paper arises from the authors' on-going research concerning the impact of polls on the quality of electoral democracy.

### **Mawhinney, Michelle**

*Kant, Ecology and Aesthetics*

This paper will investigate the relevance of Kant's aesthetic theory for contemporary ecological politics, arguing that the aesthetic dimension of ecologically-based critique is essential to a re-envisioning of nature that moves beyond the desire for nature as a thing which exists "for us." This desire can be found in both mainstream and many oppositional discourses – whether nature is conceived as something to be "saved" or "used," the vision remains one of appropriation to human ends. The agnosticism of Kant's moral theory and the "permanent critique of ourselves" enjoined by his epistemology have been cited as providing a useful "limit" to the pretensions of reason and human capacity to know and control the

world. Here, though, I will explore the potential found in his Third Critique for envisioning a desiring relation to nature that is at once material and aesthetic – involving quality of life rather than quantity of things, happiness as well as the overcoming of necessity. Although posited to preserve the veracity of reason and premised on a mechanistic understanding of nature, Kant's aesthetic reconciliation of the subjective faculties points to an illicit imaginary of human freedom which works on a dynamic principle of creativity, and draws on the sensual aspect of human existence as well as practical reason. This aesthetic rapprochement can aid in the cultivation of a non-dominative relation to nature – an ethos which is especially needed today, where our mediations with nature are marked by a willful demolition of limits.

### **Mawuko-Yevugah, Lord**

#### *Reproducing Development Hegemony: the New Architecture of Aid and (Re)construction of North-South Relations*

In apparent response to the widespread criticism of their structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in the developing world, the World Bank and the IMF have recently promoted what has been described as a 'new architecture of aid', premised on reconfiguring power relations between donors and aid recipient countries. This paper draws on critical theory, specifically neo-Gramscian theorizing of hegemony and Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality in order to think through the significance of this 'new' aid architecture. Drawing from the experience of a number of African countries, I interrogate discontinuities and continuities in the 'new' architecture of aid in order to show that what persists is, in fact, the hegemony of the International Financial Institutions despite the rhetoric of civil society participation and local ownership. More fundamental, I show that, as with SAPs before, the so-called new architecture of aid can be seen as a governing technology that reinscribes relations of power and dominance between the rich and the poor.

### **McBride, Stephen**

#### *State Functions and Global Economic Governance*

Theorists of globalisation have differed about the ways and extent to which globalisation has transformed the role of the state. Some argue that states use globalization to acquire greater power over, and autonomy from, their national economies and societies. Others emphasise the reorganisation of the state through internationalisation (transfer of functions to supra-national authority), privatisation (growing partnership of public institutions with private sector), and even depoliticisation (removal of issues to judicial or apparently technocratic fora for determination).

Notwithstanding intense debates amongst theorists of globalisation, states, informed by the ideology of neoliberalism and operating in an increasingly global economic context, albeit one partially of their own making, do exercise certain functions differently than they did even a few decades ago. It is also clear that globalisation has had a highly differentiated impact and an examination of the way states operate in the global economy needs to take into account their position in the international hierarchy. Canada and Mexico are at different levels of economic development, are both heavily dependent on the United States in their economic relationships and, of course, are members of the NAFTA regional economic agreement, as well as global economic governance organisations. After a brief review of the state and globalisation literature this paper, based on documentary evidence and supplemented by interviews with officials in both countries, applies the concepts of the internationalisation, privatisation and depoliticisation of state functions to the experience of Canada and Mexico in global economic governance.

### **McCrossan, Michael**

#### *Legal Knowledge, Aboriginal Rights and the Demarcation of Territorial and Social Space*

The literature surrounding the constitutionalization of Aboriginal rights has devoted insufficient attention to the manner in which the Supreme Court of Canada has contributed to the demarcation of legal, social and territorial spaces. Legal scholars continue to focus upon the directives issued by the Court and attempt to forecast possible future outcomes, rather than how the decisions themselves are effects of a hegemonic and pre-constituted juridical field. While Chief Justice McLachlin herself, in decisions such as *Mitchell v. M.N.R.* (2001) would have readers believe that 'geographic considerations' are merely secondary components to the Court's adjudicative process, it is clear that these considerations are deeply embedded at the level of legal reasoning. In this paper I will show that the decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada are inscribed with a view of territorial and social space that recognizes the prior occupation of Aboriginal peoples while simultaneously effacing and removing this history from the Court's legal reasoning. I argue that the Court has been able to complete this temporal manoeuvre by discursively enfolding Aboriginal people into a space that has no prior existence outside of the juridical field. In so doing, the decisions of the Court function as a continuation of the colonial project of Aboriginal dispossession by creating a unified vision of legal, social, and territorial space while at the same time remapping the identities of the very groups situated within and under these boundaries.

### **McDougall, Alex**

#### *Contextualizing Rebellion : State infrastructural power, civil war, and counterinsurgency in Colombia and Peru.*

Peru and Colombia both faced severe civil wars in which Marxist guerrilla groups mounted sustained, violent challenges to the sovereignty and legitimacy of their respective states. Although the context of rebellion, as well as the nature and structure of the insurgent groups was similar in both cases, the outcome was quite different. Indeed, both were inspired by revolutionary Marxism, grounded in Cold War geopolitics, and fueled by the drug trade. Each successfully capitalized upon the infrastructural weakness of their respective states in order to launch sustained armed rebellions. However, Peru

was able to end its insurgency and defeat the Shining Path (SL) while multiple, successive Colombian governments have proven unable to resolve the conflict through military force and negotiation with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN). The overarching puzzle that this paper seeks to address is: what factors explain why Peru's civil war ended, but Colombia's civil war continues? This paper argues that variations in levels of state infrastructural power explain why counterinsurgency was successful in Peru but not in Colombia. The Peruvian state was able to sufficiently strengthen its coercive institutions and create infrastructural power, while the state in Colombia remains weak in this respect. With stronger state institutions, Peru was able to wage a more effective counterinsurgency campaign against the SL; on the other hand, deficiencies and weaknesses in the power of Colombia's state institutions have consistently hampered its counterinsurgency and peacebuilding efforts.

### **McElligott, Greg**

#### *The Political Economy of Corrections: Is Canada Ready for Penal Mass Production?*

This paper will study the institutional echoes of 'law and order' politics. When tougher criminal sanctions demand more prisons, state authorities at many levels must decide how they will be provided. In doing so they influence the message that punishment sends to inmates and outsiders. State agencies are organized like other units of production, and have always been sensitive to private sector models. Prisons in particular have developed in close association with factories and other technologies of mass production – not only because they faced common organizational dilemmas, but also because they instilled similar and complementary notions of discipline.

These coincidences underline the importance (and weaknesses) of prisons as political tools. Buildings like Ontario's superjails may showcase new – and very expensive - technologies for purposes that are economic, ideological, or related to deterrence in some general way. Some critics argue that these institutions play a more specialized role, creating "spectacles of terror" directed primarily at the poor. But what mechanisms link the shifting order of industry with the 'modernization' of penal production? And how are their production lines meshed?

This paper will examine Ontario's program of prison restructuring, which was begun under the Harris Conservatives. Similar forces (and similar faces) are now advocating a move to 'common sense corrections' in the federal system, so a careful look at the Ontario model will help clarify what is at stake if Ottawa adopts the 'tough, no-frills' approach.

### **McGovern, Clare**

#### *The impact of political oversight on public attitudes towards the police.*

The public administration literature on bureaucratic accountability often focuses on direct effects - positing that political oversight affects performance to the extent that it succeeds or fails in altering the behaviour of the overseen. This paper examines the indirect impact of oversight, which flows from the public's reaction to the accountability process. I argue that observing this spectacle affects public expectations of the bureaucrats' likely reaction and the service delivered as a result. This is important because government agencies often rely on the co-operation of the people they serve in order to fulfill their mandate: taking the example on which this research focuses, the police need information from the community in order to detect crime, apprehend offenders and prevent disorder.

The paper uses large-N experimental data to test two hypotheses. Firstly, individuals who observe (in media reports) politicians making particularistic demands that prioritise the needs of a sub-section of the population will expect partial policing which favours a particular group. Conversely, those observing demands that the police serve the interests of the whole community will expect an impartial, balanced service. Secondly, the strength of these expectations will vary with the power of politicians to reward or punish the police for compliance/non-compliance with these demands.

### **McGregor, Michael and Parker, Jeffrey**

#### *Exploring Riding-level Volatility in Canadian Federal Elections*

A common feature of recent federal elections in Canada has been an obsession with polling and the "horserace" between political parties. While attention is focused on national or provincial polling results, it is contests in individual ridings which determine the composition of Parliament.

The goal of this paper is to explain variations in volatility in riding-level results, where volatility is to be defined as the degree of change in party support between elections. Variations in the riding-level volatility of each party's results, as well as the overall levels of volatility within individual ridings (an additive measure of the volatility of all major parties combined) are to be considered, in an attempt to identify both party specific, and general riding-level patterns.

Volatility values are to be derived from results of the 2004, 2006 and 2008 federal elections. A regression analysis will then be conducted in an attempt to identify riding-level demographic, geographic, economic and political variables which may account for variations in volatility. This paper will provide insight into potential patterns in riding-level variations in party support, as to increase our understanding of political competition in Canada.

### **McKeen-Edwards, Heather**

#### *Governing International Sport -- WADA and the international anti-doping regime*

International sport is a fruitful arena to study global governance although it has received little consistent attention. There are many international organizations from multi-sport bodies, like the International Olympic Committee, to sport-specific bodies, like FIFA, that influence elite sport in particular. This paper will examine one aspect of this arena, the development of the international anti-doping regime and its efforts to coordinate rules, detection practices, and penalties.

Anti-doping sentiments first emerged in international sport governance in the 1920s. The International Amateur Athletic Federation enacted the first international ban in 1928, but it was not until 1966 that testing methods emerged. Over the decades high profile scandals, including Ben Johnson's positive test in 1988 and the 1998 police raid during the Tour de France, have increased the calls for anti-doping governance but all efforts occurred in largely disconnected forums until the late 1990s.

Attempts to coordinate anti-doping policies and practices internationally lead to the establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999. The organization is mandated to promote, coordinate, and monitor efforts to fight all forms of doping. WADA is particularly interesting because its composition and financing are equally split between public authorities and Olympic Movement representatives. Moreover, the effectiveness of the organization requires interaction between states, sport bodies, athletes, and the scientific community that works on effective testing. Utilizing some of the theoretical insights from the private and public-private governance literature, this paper will evaluate how WADA's current structure creates potential benefits and challenges for the anti-doping regime.

### **McNeil, Calum**

*Emotion, Rationality and Foreign Policy Elites: Toward a New Understanding of the US Embargo of Cuba*

It has been 46 years since the United States imposed an embargo upon Cuba – an embargo which has been criticized for its impact upon the standard of living of Cubans and for its failure to bring down the Castro regime. With new leaders in Havana and Washington, it is appropriate to ask what impact these changes in political leadership will have upon the nature of US/Cuban relations with specific reference to the continuation – or cessation – of the embargo. To do this, I explore new ways of understanding the impact of political leadership on foreign policy by incorporating the role of emotion into the decision making process. Rational actor models of political decision making fail to adequately acknowledge the key role of emotional states and feelings in cognitive processes. Scholars require an approach illustrating how emotion is an essential component of the human capacity for rational deliberation and action based upon that deliberation. This approach stresses how the ontogenetic process of emotional development is an integral aspect of the social construction of individual and collective identities and is subsequently reflected in the capacity for inter state enmity and amity. Humans learn to associate emotional feelings with their perceptions of events; these internalized associations are then generalized such that individuals feel the emotion at the thought of similar events, with subsequent heuristic impacts upon the nature of rational deliberation and the scope of subsequent action. Any transformation in US/Cuba relations will be a reflection of this interplay between emotion, cognition and identities.

### **McQueen, Alison**

*Fear and Longing: Niccolo Machiavelli and the Apocalyptic Imaginary*

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, George W. Bush referred to the events as a "day of fire," while Tony Blair called them a "revelation." Both explicitly drew upon an apocalyptic imaginary that emerges from, but is not limited to, the Christian tradition. The apocalyptic imaginary is appealing, as it holds out an opportunity to create the world anew and offers to fulfill deep desires for political creativity. Yet, it is also dangerous, as apocalyptic scenarios are also fantasies of unimaginable violence and retribution. One finds an attempt to negotiate the appeal and dangers of the apocalyptic imaginary in an unlikely place: the work of Niccolo Machiavelli. In this paper, I argue that Machiavelli is drawn in by the apocalyptic imaginary in *The Prince*, particularly in the book's ultimate hope for a prophetic figure to usher in a new age for a suffering Florence. Yet, Machiavelli later rejects such apocalyptic solutions in *The Discourses* and in his poetry. This engagement with the apocalyptic imaginary makes Machiavelli uniquely relevant for critically assessing contemporary uses of apocalyptic rhetoric.

### **McRae, Heather**

*Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality*

Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism. This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

### **Meadows, David James**

*The Effects of Political-Culture on Macroeconomic Policy: A Comparison of Latvia and Belarus since 1991*

Since 1991, there has been wide divergence in the macroeconomic policies between the post-Soviet states of Latvia and Belarus. My study will analyze the politics of macroeconomic transformation in Latvia and Belarus, and show how differences in political-culture affect these countries' policies. My first hypothesis is that the divergence in macroeconomic policies between Latvia and Belarus is driven by these states' different political-cultures, which inform Latvians' and Belarusians' ideas about the proper role of the state in the economy. Latvia's reforms were driven by Latvians' liberal political-culture, which prefers a limited role for the state in the economy, where government follows rule of law, respects



individual rights, and protects private property. Belarus's complete lack of reform is attributable to Belarusians' illiberal political-culture, which favours collective interests, dislikes private property, and prefers a strong role for the state in the economy.

My second hypothesis is that Latvia's and Belarus's divergent political-cultures are conditioned by each state's differing historical legacies in religion, politics, and economics. Although both belonged to the Russian Empire, Latvia is historically connected to Western Europe. Religiously, most Latvians converted to Lutheranism, which encouraged individual equality and individualism, while Belarus remained under the Russian Orthodox Church, which was hierarchical and collectivist. Politically, Russian Tsars ruled Latvia in a hands-off manner, allowing more openness to receive liberal ideas, while Russian Tsars ruled Belarus in an absolutist fashion. Economically, Latvians had longer experience with private property, and had a tradition of private-freehold individual farmsteads, while Belarusians had a tradition of collectivist and communal control of land.

### **Mellon, James**

#### *Constructivism and Moral Argument in International Relations*

Constructivism as an approach to international relations may adopt any one of a number of forms but each seeks to situate the behaviour of agents, whether they be states or otherwise, in a social and cultural context, viewing decision-making as much in ideational as in material terms. From an analytical point of view, this approach reflects the influence of trends beyond international relations in the social sciences generally. From the perspective of moral or normative discussion, the most obvious approach from the constructivist perspective would be to raise questions of authenticity, that is of consistency with the values of a professed tradition, or hypocrisy, that is of inconsistency with the values of a professed tradition. On occasion, suggesting that an agent may be betraying ideals of a professed tradition may be an effective form of moral critique but, on other occasions, critique may be constrained by a lack of distance from the professed tradition. This paper addresses whether such a perspective can be genuinely compatible with an effort to discuss decisions in moral terms.

### **Merolli, Jessica**

#### *Beyond Words: Adult ESL Education and Social Integration*

Much of the research on immigrant integration in Canada to date focuses on labour markets and obstacles to gainful employment. Implicated in this framework is the assumption that labour market integration acts as a gateway to social and political integration. As a result, programs which assist immigrants upon arrival are often assessed based on their ability to aid newcomers in finding employment. Thus, the multiple functions of programs, including English as a Second Language (ESL) education for adults, are rarely acknowledged or evaluated. Indeed, the emphasis on labour market integration is reflected in the fact that ESL education was not initially available to dependents. While language knowledge is clearly an important skill with regards to employability, the function of ESL courses in terms of integration are more complex. By pushing the conceptualization of integration to include social integration, the opportunity that ESL courses provide for social network building becomes more apparent. However, there is little research on ESL programs in Canada in general and none which assess programs based on this dual function. This paper will explore two different federally funded models of ESL education, one based in classrooms and the other a peer to peer model available in Hamilton, Ontario. The central goal is to consider the advantages in regards to both labour market and social integration that a peer to peer model provides through tailored course material and networking opportunities with established members of the community. This will be contrasted with a classroom model which provides opportunities for social networking with other newcomers.

### **Meynell, Robert**

#### *Were the Loyalists Right? An Historical and Comparative Study of the Constitutions of Canada and the United States*

Were the Loyalists right? When the American Revolution was launched by mob riots, American Tories feared a tyranny of the masses and the loss of the British system, which was widely recognized as the freest in the world, offering not only the greatest political and religious freedoms but also the prosperity and stability that results from a reliable justice system. Where the traditional authority of the Crown represented stability and good government, the arbitrary power of the mob threatened to give rise to a Cromwellian dictatorship.

The outcome of the American Revolution was neither a dictatorship nor a Jacobin Terror, in part because British systems were already in place at the state level and the drafters of the constitution did their utmost to emulate the British system on the federal level minus the hereditary monarch; however, as Robert Dahl has argued in *How Democratic is the American Constitution?* (2002), their mistakes were many, and those errors continue to plague the United States. Looking at historical debates and the constitutions of Canada and the United States, I argue that the Loyalists were right; freedom and equality were better served by a constitutional monarchy than a republic, and in the long run the Canadian colonies enjoyed greater advancements in political freedom than those who joined the United States. The intention here is to develop an alternative perspective on current political differences between Canada and the US. Could a modernized Loyalist stance offer a persuasive argument for maintaining Canadian sovereignty and the Crown?

### **Michael, Rostek**

#### *The Future of the Canadian Land Force*

Historically, the conceptual development and doctrinal design of future forces in the Canadian Land Force usually occurred as a response to immediate threats to the collective defence of Canada and its allies. Since the end of the Cold War, however, not only have immediate threats been a concern for the Land Force, but also those threats that may appear from anywhere just over the horizon. Further, the rate at which change is taking place and being thrust upon the Land Force demands a flexible and robust response. As such, the Land Force must look beyond the next tactical bound and mitigate as much as possible the risks and challenges looming ahead. To this end, the complex web of scientific and technological, military, physical, legal, social (demographic) and political trends will be explored to investigate the requirements for a Future Land Force. This paper will attempt to highlight those areas that signal the greatest prospects for Land Force development in the 2040 time frame and thereby encourage debate and inquiry on how we may best transition to an effective force for the future.

### **Michaelis, Lorelea**

#### *Rosa Luxemburg on Revolution and Disappointment*

In this paper I explore the conceptual commitments underlying Rosa Luxemburg's repudiation of the discourse of disappointment that had overtaken the European socialist movement during the first World War. It is customary to interpret Luxemburg's admonitions "to be cheerful despite everything and anything" in light of her allegiance to a Marxist philosophy of history which decrees that socialism must inevitably prevail and so refuses to give way to disappointment. This paper offers a different interpretation. The philosophy of history Luxemburg absorbed from Marx, notably in the Eighteenth Brumaire, prophesies the ultimate victory of socialism but ordains that the actual events and experiences through which this victory is prepared will consist in catastrophes rather than conquests and suggests that this very quality of catastrophe distinguishes the course of socialist revolution from the bourgeois. In refining and texturing this account of the progress of socialist revolution for her own time Luxemburg develops an account of the temporal orientation of socialist politics which is not readily available from the Brumaire: the socialist does not give way to disappointment not because she expects ultimately to succeed but rather because she does not expect any immediate success, in fact quite the contrary; it is this sacrifice of personal satisfaction that distinguishes the socialist activist from the bourgeois, who engages in politics precisely to satisfy expectations which have assumed the status of entitlements; the socialist who lodges a claim of disappointment betrays sensibilities that have no place in socialist politics. This paper is part of a larger project on disappointment and the politics of expectation in which Luxemburg's understanding of socialism as a politics of commitment rather than a politics of expectation is contrasted to the prevailing tendency of modern thinking to locate the sources of political engagement in expectations of the future.

### **Michelakos, Jason**

#### *The Caribbean Plantation: Panoptic Slavery and Disciplinary Power*

The Caribbean plantation was not merely a mercantile enterprise which oppressed the slave subject through economic isolation, physical abuse and cultural dispossession. It was, in addition, an institution where the proliferation of two modalities of power, disciplinary and governmental, translated Eurocentric philosophy into a technique for shaping the colonized subject. This essay illustrates how the Caribbean plantation factory mobilized a panoptic project where disciplinary and governmental power re-constituted the slave body into a site for capital exploitation through the internalization of power, coercion, punishment, and contractual obligation which promised manumission. By analyzing how plantation power was exercised through a decentralized web of diverse, yet interrelated institutional forces of legal and political authority, this paper outlines how an imperialist epistemology which was shaping and constantly redefining a more efficient systematization of the slave subject, came to determine the economies of sexuality, race and class in the New World.

Of critical importance is how resistance was exercised on the plantation factory. This allows for a more succinct understanding of freedom and liberty, and an insight into how practices of colonial domination were adapted and intensified in order to pacify confrontation with the slave population. By applying a Foucauldian genealogical analysis, in an attempt to uncover how power was being exercised on the Caribbean slave plantation, this paper will undertake a detemporalized historiographical examination. This will be achieved by traversing a non-sequential and diachronic assessment of the colonial institutions, practices and technologies of force which molded the slave subject.

### **Milner, Henry**

#### *The Internet, Media Use, and Youth Political Participation and Political Knowledge*

The test facing our democracies is whether the clear majority of members of the emerging generations ? the generations which have grown up with the Internet - will participate politically as informed citizens. Clearly, those lacking the skills to make sense of what is happening in the political world cannot be counted on to participate meaningfully. For every observer persuaded that the unlimited information available through the Internet will foster an increase in political communication and political knowledge, and, therefore political participation, there is one who fears its effect will be to widen the ?digital divide? reinforcing the participation gap between the politically engaged and what I term the political dropouts. On the one side, the new information technologies (ICTs) provide new ways of paying attention and participating; on the other hand they require not only access to those networks, they require the skill to use them to become informed. This paper examines the diverse literature to try to identify the forces operating on both sides, and it will bring to bear data from a recent study linking indicators of media use ? including the Internet ? with the political

participation and political knowledge of young people in Canada and the United States. In its conclusion it attempts to use the data to weigh the advantages inherent in using ICTs to address the problem of political dropouts, versus the inherent drawbacks.

### **Mitropolitski, Simeon**

#### *L'intégration européenne et la démocratisation dans l'Europe de l'Est*

Est-ce que les institutions démocratiques, une fois mises en place par diffusion internationale, protègent une nation de dérives non-démocratiques? Selon une partie de la littérature politologique, ce serait vraiment le cas. L'expérience politique dans certains pays ex-communistes, cependant, montre que ce modèle de diffusion des normes démocratiques à partir de l'Union européenne n'est pas sans problèmes. Cette diffusion de l'Ouest à l'Est de l'Europe après l'effondrement du communisme ne mène pas forcément vers une démocratie stable et de bonne qualité. La recherche proposée sort de la vision traditionnelle de la démocratie basée sur des approches néo-institutionnalistes de type choix rationnel. En s'appuyant sur des travaux des Max Weber et Norbert Elias, elle propose une vision alternative sur la démocratie, à la fois configurationaliste, dynamique et interprétativiste. La démocratie n'est pas un résultat d'une liste des préalables formelles, mais un processus dynamique d'une relation dialogique entre des acteurs à niveaux différents, à la fois nationaux et internationaux. Dans ce sens, l'Union européenne contribue à plus ou moins de démocratie seulement si les dialogues qu'elle construit et les dialogues dont elle fait l'objet contribuent à la construction des normes démocratiques. Le choix des cas, la Bulgarie et la Macédoine, me permet de suivre dans un cadre comparativiste et diachronique le processus de construction des normes politiques sous l'influence de l'Union européenne avant et après leurs adhésions formelles à l'Union. La présentation va discuter les premiers résultats de cette recherche.

### **Molot, Maureen and Mytelka, Lynn**

#### *Sustaining First Move Advantages in a Costly and Disruptive Technology: The High-stakes Fuel Cell Game.*

In 2004 Canada's Science Advisor noted that "Canada was early out of the gate" with respect to research and development on hydrogen and fuel cells [HFCs], but would have to work hard to sustain its leadership position. Canada has been in the forefront of new technologies – digital switching in telecommunications [Northern Telecom] portable computers [Hyperion], fighter aircraft [Avro Arrow] and today, the Blackberry [RIM]. As the economic literature emphasizes and some of these examples illustrate, being a first mover is no guarantee of success. A number of factors explain the difficulties that front runners in new technologies encounter. One is the problem of small markets. Another is the difficulty start-ups face in sustaining first mover advantages when the technology is still largely in the research phase and slow to overcome technical and cost barriers to commercialization. A third is the challenge of securing financing – the "valley of death" problem. As the analysis of the Canadian case will demonstrate, these factors are important. We argue they must be situated in the broader context of a disruptive technology in which the relationship between end users (auto industry) and producers of HFCs and the policy context are critical elements in the sustainability of first mover advantages over the longer term.

### **Mondou, Matthieu**

#### *Comment échappe-t-on à la politique dégénérative? Une analyse comparée des policy designs canadiens de lutte contre la pauvreté et l'exclusion sociale.*

Cette présentation propose d'analyser et de comparer les deux seules stratégies globales de lutte contre la pauvreté et l'exclusion sociale mises en oeuvre au Canada, soit celles du Québec et de Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador. La démarche est hypothético-déductive et guidée par la théorie du policy design (Schneider et Ingram, 1997). Elle vise à confirmer ou infirmer ses hypothèses en effectuant une analyse de contenu des plans. L'analyse permet d'observer le type policy design dans chaque cas ainsi que le processus politique à son origine. Les résultats indiquent que le cas de Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador présente un policy design plus démocratique que celui du Québec qui conserve une domination d'éléments de type dégénératifs. Sur la base de ces résultats, la question cruciale de la sortie de la politique dégénérative, où le blâme, la polarisation et les stéréotypes sociaux dominent le processus d'élaboration des politiques, sera posée. Quels mécanismes ont permis d'éviter, dans une certaine mesure, cette dynamique dominante dans les pays démocratiques occidentaux?

Afin de répondre à cette question cruciale, la présentation se terminera par la proposition d'un modèle explicatif liant idées de politiques publique, acteurs politiques (gouvernement, fonction publique, acteurs sociaux), type de discours (communication ou coordination; Schmidt, 2002) et politique non-dégénérative.

### **Montsion, Jean Michel**

#### *Chinese Gatekeepers: Shaping Singapore and Canada's Gateways to China?*

The economic rise of China has created both insecurity and hope in Western societies. It also has positioned specific states and cities as gateways to China and for China to the Western world. Singapore and Canada, via Vancouver, have tried to profit from their communal and historical linkages to China and the West by marketing themselves as gateways between them. Gateway policies, notably immigration and economic policies, are necessarily linked to the everyday actions of the leading Chinese community associations of Singapore and Vancouver. In light of the works of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre on everyday life, it is my contention that state gateways are deeply influenced by these gatekeepers as they shape and enact in practice state policies by their everyday actions. Put differently, states policies

and mechanisms only take meanings through the actions of Chinese community associations living at the gateway. By focusing on gateway policies in Singapore and Vancouver with respect to international students and young professionals, I will explore the everyday actions of Chinese community associations in order to show how these gatekeepers conceive of this gateway, of China and of the West. A discussion of these competing representations on gateways among gatekeepers and states may be a fruitful site to re-situate international relations, and to better understand the roles of Singapore and Vancouver on the international stage.

### **Moore, Aaron**

*Passing the Buck: The Ontario Municipal Board and Local Politicians in Toronto, 2000-2006.*

Public-policy decisions regarding planning and development in our cities and towns help to shape their built form and the fabric of daily life. In most jurisdictions in Canada and the United States, municipal governments are at the apex of planning policy-making (though often within the confines of provincial or state legislation). However, in Toronto, as in all Ontario municipalities, supporters and opponents of development alike can appeal City Council's decisions to the Ontario Municipal Board, a quasi-judicial appeals body with powers of decision-making unparalleled in North America. While a modest though important body of literature exists examining the Board's role in the province, the literature fails to address the Board's potential influence on the political actors involved in the politics of urban development in Canada's largest city. Anecdotal evidence suggests that local politicians in the city use the OMB as a means to avoid making difficult or unpopular decisions. This paper examines whether and how the OMB's existence influences the behaviour of Toronto's local politicians relative to such behaviour in similar US and Canadian cities lacking such an appeals body. It compares and contrasts local politicians' behaviour in Toronto against the behaviour typified in American local political economy literature. The paper focuses on a sustained period of development in the city from 2000 through 2006, drawing on a database of over 275 OMB appeals during that period, campaign contribution data from the 2003 and 2006 Toronto municipal elections, and two focused case studies.

### **Mulligan, Shane**

*Energy, Power, Security*

Energy resources, from food surpluses to oil reserves, have historically played an essential role in the capacity to concentrate (political) power. Yet "energy security" is usually seen as secondary to, or as one element of, state security, rather than its foundation. To view energy as the foundation of state power, and thus of state security, suggests a particular range of foreign policy choices, as well as a subtle rethinking of security itself. This paper examines energy security through the lens of critical security studies, viewing energy as a security issue subject to its own "broader" and "deeper" analyses. The breadth of energy security would include economic and environmental, as well as military dimensions. The depth of energy security would examine it in terms of societal and human security, including maintaining governmental operations, societal well-being, and even household needs. In this view there are clear links to be drawn between energy security, sustainability, and development, consistently interpreted in terms of power. This way of framing the challenges facing international society directs attention to the multifaceted risks the world faces in an era of declining net energy availability. State responses to those risks in recent years suggest that the dominant image of energy security remains bound, however, to the statist and military vision. The implications for the future of global peace, security and sustainability are considered.

### **Mullings, Delores**

*Shaping a Just Society: Recreating Racism Using Canadian Human Rights Policies*

Canada is known to be a just society on the world stage with exceptional human rights (HR) policies aimed at protecting the civil and human rights of disenfranchised Canadians. Yet two questions remain: (1) Are Canadian human rights policies equitable? and (2) Who determines and defines the success of HR policies in Canada? For this presentation, I address these two key questions and provide a foundation to challenge the notion of HR in 21st century Canada. My remarks are grounded in the findings of my doctoral dissertation, which focused on the paradox of exclusion within equity. I investigated how exclusion, and particularly racism, is manifested in the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) adjudication process. Although the Canadian federal government has implemented various policies to address racism and discrimination in the broader Canadian context, my critical analysis exposed how institutional discourse and practice is manifested in the CHRT adjudication process and unequivocally recreates racism when racialized people try to seek redress for employment-related discrimination. Scholars will enhance their knowledge and understanding of how to identify the re-creation of state sanctioned racism, and will be energized by my suggestions and recommendations to assist the state to enhance the CHRT, including its adjudication process, accountability mechanism, and adjudicator selection.

### **Musial, Jennifer**

*Creating a "Culture of Life": Reproductive Justice, White Fetal Citizenship, and the Colonial American Nation*

In 2000, candidate George W. Bush told a university crowd that "what the next president ought to do is to promote a culture of life in America" (Bush). These remarks came to define a Bush administration characterized by a commitment to "family values" through legislation such as the Partial Birth Abortion Ban (2003) and the Unborn Victims of Violence Act

(2004). This paper examines the legislative limits on reproductive justice against the backdrop of gender, racialization and nation in Bush's "Culture of Life" America.

Carol Mason (1999) argues the white fetus is used a symbol of the white nation-in-jeopardy. Using Mason's concept of the "Minority Unborn", I will discuss how American fetal whiteness and fetal citizenship are constructed within the "Culture of Life" discourse, which is pronatalist, racialized and nationalist, using Foucauldian discourse theory to look at U.S. news narratives about the Partial Birth Abortion Ban (2003) and the Unborn Victims of Violence Act (2004).

This paper employs and contributes to transnational feminism and critical race theory (Berlant 1997; Davin 1978; Roberts 1997, Solinger 2005, 2001, 1992; Stoler 2002; Yuval-Davis 1997) that critiques reproduction as a colonial project and seeks to denaturalize colonial whiteness. It is part of my dissertation that interrogates the intersections of gender, class, race and nation in media narratives about pregnant women. In this work, I argue media constructions constitutes and are constituted by discourses of maternity, whiteness, class-passing and the U.S. nation in its current geo-political moment characterized by fear of Otherness and militarism.

### **Mustapha, Jennifer**

*An Analytical Survey of Critical Security Studies: Making the Case for a (Modified) Post-Structuralist Approach*

This paper calls attention to the many nuances of the critical security studies literature and ultimately argues the benefits of employing a (modified) post-structuralist approach to understanding security. This "modification" is necessary to avoid the inclination within such approaches to conflate epistemological commitments with ontological ones. This can be observed in an unsustainable leap, where acknowledgement of the indeterminacy of competing truth claims turns into an avoidance of making any claims at all. Using Stephen K. White's (2000) arguments for the viability of "weak ontologies," I suggest that a critical post-structuralist approach need not be anathema to the making of claims, nor should it be seen as suffering from a paralytic disjuncture from the "real world". This introduces two important points. First, that acts of re-construction can be critical in the most fundamental ontological sense, but they need not employ the "strong ontologies" of theories that appeal unproblematically to external grounds to make their claims. Second, that acts of re-construction can emanate directly from post-structuralist commitments, where deconstruction is both a first step and as an ethic to bring to engagement with the status-quo. Hence, maintaining critical commitments can mean being reflexive about the indeterminacy of the claims that are ultimately made, and of being accountable to them.

### **Muingi, Ismael**

*Widening the Opportunity Structure Framework, Conflict Diamonds and Capital Markets*

When human rights violators include non-state actors and utilize extra-state mechanisms, what opportunity structures do social movements utilize to effectively counter the violations? A comparative case study of two US based social movement initiatives, the Campaign to Eliminate Conflict Diamonds and the Capital Markets Sanctions Campaign over Sudanese oil provided some answers.

I found the predominant political opportunity structure conceptualization useful but overwhelmingly statist in analysis. Social movements by definition operate outside formal political institutions while utilizing state structures to further their goals. There has also been a progressive diffusion of power from the state to non-state actors as civil society, state challengers and the global market and its participants display an increasing presence in the public sphere. In these two cases, state challengers found in market operations a basis for financing violence through trade in natural resources and oil corporations raised money on US capital markets to invest in places where human rights were being violated. This widened the range of factors that affected mobilizing processes.

Using data from focused interviews, congressional committee hearings, media reports, coalition member files and web archives, I found that activists sought and utilized opportunities for mobilizing from within the market structures that enabled the rights violations. The scholarly implications are that our understanding of mobilizing has to include extra-state opportunity structures in our analysis. I therefore utilized a tripartite analytical framework that included institutional, discursive and geo-political opportunity structures to better understand the operationalization of these campaigns.

### **Nath, Nisha**

*Mapping Theories and Methodologies: Rediscovering the Potential of Feminist Theories of Intersectionality*

For those engaged in feminist political science, there is intense familiarity with the phrase, 'race, class and gender'. Tagging alongside these three deceptively small words, one often finds reference to a series of equally complex and contentious terms: intersectionality, interlocking oppression, anti-essentialism, etc. Looking closely at the increasingly cavalier use of the term 'intersectionality', we should be concerned if this theoretical approach is being emptied of its content. Should this be the case, the results are far from benign, suggesting that the 'sins' of feminist theory (i.e. essentialism and exclusion) are ongoing yet safely cloaked behind a fictive wall of legitimacy. Moreover, given that political science has historically had "limited relevance and utility" for those situated at the intersection of multiple systems of oppression, the discipline may be losing a critical opportunity to engage with the profound epistemic contributions and questions this framework raises.

This paper assesses the current state of intersectionality theorizing with the purpose that we reacquaint ourselves with the complexity and richness the 'race', class and gender 'trinity' often masks. Situating the genesis of theories of intersectionality within a particular body of work articulated by feminists of colour, this paper raises questions about voice, appropriation and de/legitimation, but most critically addresses concerns that intersectionality has not been widely applied

because of a lack of associated methodologies. Wading into the thicket of women, religion and culture by considering West Coast LEAF's Women's Equality and Religious Freedom Project, this paper considers the ways in which conceptual mapping of intersections may provide one way to translate the theoretical, ontological and epistemological conversations grounding theories of intersectionality into an applied theory within mainstream political science.

### **Neer, Adrian**

*Cosmopolitan Political Responsibility and the State*

My paper addresses the question of where to locate political responsibility in cosmopolitan theories. Both David Held's theory of cosmopolitan democracy and Iris Young's late works address this issue from an institutional perspective; while paying special attention to new and developing global forces, they develop blueprints of where political responsibility should be lodged. Criticisms of Held's reliance on law and functional tests such as extensity of influence and intensity of affectedness are well known in the literature (e.g. Saward 2000). Young's later work has been the subject of less scrutiny. This is surprising, given that she endorses many of Held's conclusions on the appropriate institutional blueprint. Why does she follow Held, when her foundational theoretical commitments are different? I argue that while Young's account of the plural and overlapping nature of political communities has promising features that call for further development, her theory is deficient in its account of institutions because it does not specify a clear role for the state. This is a major weakness in Young that is similar in form to the well-known criticisms of Held. My paper concludes by developing reasons why specifying a clear role for the state is necessary to locate political responsibility in cosmopolitan theories. The state has two features, sovereignty and territoriality, that are closely linked to political responsibility. Held and Young are right to pay special attention to new and developing global forces, but are wrong to bypass the state.

### **Nelles, Jen**

*Intermunicipal Geographies: Structural Constraints and Civic Capital in Cooperation for Regional Economic Development in Canada*

This paper explores the dynamics of intermunicipal cooperation for regional economic development. This project attempts to enrich theoretical literature on intergovernmental collective action and contribute empirically to the expanding field of comparative regional governance. This research was inspired by the tendency, in both scholarship and practice, to turn to formal institutional reform to solve problems of regional coordination. Debates of new regionalism advocate a role for governance solutions, which encourage a broader spectrum of actors to engage in the policy process. However, the emphasis in most jurisdictions has remained on formal, institutionalized structures, imposed by senior levels of government. As a result, the construction and potential for bottom-up and collectively negotiated regional solutions are typically under-explored. This builds a case for intermunicipal cooperation as an alternative approach to regional coordination. This project analyses what factors affect the emergence of these networks for governance in three areas of regional economic development: regional marketing, cultural policy and regional transportation. The paper argues that while regional structural and institutional variables are useful in understanding the emergence of development partnerships, they tend to have different effects in different cases. This paper formulates and applies an innovative concept ? civic capital ? to capture the dynamics of building and sustaining regional governance networks. It is both a critique and extension of social capital approaches to regional development. It hypothesizes that, where civic capital is high intermunicipal cooperation is more likely regardless of institutional and structural contexts. This contention is supported by empirical evidence drawn from a comparative case study of intermunicipal cooperation in two Canadian city-regions: the Toronto and Waterloo regions.

### **Nelson, Marcel**

*The FTAA Negotiations: A Site of Formulation of Counter-Hegemony in the Americas*

The failure to reach an agreement on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in 2005 has generally been explained either as the result of a protectionist American Congress or of increasing opposition to neoliberal policies throughout the Americas. While, both of these explanations are relevant in setting the context in which the negotiations failed, as of yet, there has not been a comprehensive analysis of what actually occurred during the negotiations.

My paper will present research conducted to address that current lacunae in the literature concerning the FTAA. As part of my ongoing research for my doctoral research, I have examined key documents submitted by the FTAA Secretariat concerning the evolution of the negotiations. Further to this archival research, I plan to interview civil servants who were members of the Venezuelan negotiating teams because of the pivotal role that country played during the negotiations. Preliminary archival research has revealed that Venezuela worked to undermine the neoliberal ideology underlying the FTAA and sought to formulate an alternative to it. Using a neo-Gramscian theoretical framework, I want to see whether and how the FTAA negotiations became a site of counter-hegemony to the neoliberal project in the Americas. This paper will make a contribution to the debate concerning the challenge to the neoliberal project in the Americas by providing original empirical information in relation to a trade agreement that would have institutionalized that ideology in the hemisphere.

### **Neufeld, Mark**

*Making Sense of Public Discourse on Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy: Identifying Underlying Assumptions and Frameworks*

An animated discussion on Canadian foreign and defence issues (e.g., Afghanistan, relations with China, Darfur) is now an established feature of op ed pages and talk-shows on radio and television. While an opening of debate is to be welcomed in principle, a meta-discussion on the import and effect of these discussions is beginning to emerge. The right, for example, has been criticized publicly for engaging in nothing less than an indoctrination exercise, supported with funds from the department of National Defence. This paper will take up this theme, using a Gramscian hegemony framework to explore this question. The paper will go beyond this issue, however, to turn a critical eye to the contributions of those associated with the Left. It will be argued that their interventions, notwithstanding that they are not funded by DOD in the same way, are nonetheless equally problematic in their politico-normative framing of foreign and defence policy issues.

### **Newman, Jacquetta (Jacquie) Newman and Watson, Sarah**

#### *Are Women the Liberal Party's 'Reserve Force of Voters?'*

The purpose of this paper is to examine if there are any notable historical patterns in the relationship between the major Canadian political parties and women as voters. In two recent federal election campaigns (2004 and 2005-6) there appeared to be a concerted effort by the Liberal Party when facing the prospect of defeat to frame issues in a way to appeal to and mobilize women voters. For the Conservative Party the response was to frame the debate to demobilize women voters. In keeping with the tendency, demonstrated in voting studies, of women to hold more liberal attitudes and to vote on issues of social policy, this instrumental relationship has often been attributed to the Liberal Party. By examining national election coverage in the national press from 1963 to the present, this paper will track the place of women's issues, the appeals to women voters, and generally the role played by women as a voting constituency in federal elections. It intends to establish how and when issue frames were changed to include women's concerns and if the instrumental attempts to mobilize women as a voting constituency can be substantiated.

### **Newton, Janice**

#### *Representation and the CPSA: The Formative Decades*

This paper examines issues of representation that emerged in the first three decades after the formation of the Canadian Political Science Association. Drawing primarily on archival records, it explores the elite origins of the CPSA and the kinds of representational challenges it faced as it established organizational practices for executive meetings, the journal and annual conferences. I focus on a range of issues of representation as they arose, including gender, race, class, language, region, nationality, and disciplinary boundaries. This contributes to our understanding of how the CPSA evolved and responded to challenges for greater representation, and how these challenges shaped the institutional practices of the organization as an intellectual gatekeeper. It also sheds light on the historical precedents that have shaped both successes and failures in equitable representation within the organization and ultimately the discipline. This analysis also provides deeper insight into why some academic disciplines, like political science, were slow to respond effectively to challenges for broader and more equitable representation.

### **Nguyen, Mai**

#### *Land Claims - The Path Towards Recolonization: A Look at the Inuvialuit Final Agreement in Canada and the Ngai Tahu Settlement in New Zealand*

Do land claims represent decolonization? Based on an examination of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (Canada) and the Ngai Tahu Settlement (New Zealand), this paper argues that, in theory as well as in practice, land claims do not represent decolonization because they do not remove the direct control of the state and ultimate decision-making power remains in the hands of the state. Decolonization for the purposes of this paper is not understood as formal independence but is understood as a process leading to a situation in which a collectivity (Aboriginal groups) gains the ability and power to make and affect political and economic decisions without external direction on matters that directly affect the collectivity. Though both land claim agreements were theoretically engineered to lead to decolonization, the empirical evidence gathered from various Aboriginal and government sources, and a closer examination of both agreements demonstrates that politically, economically, and socially decolonization has not occurred. For the purposes of this paper the political refers to self-government and/or the political power to affect change, the economic refers to the ability to make decisions regarding development on Aboriginal lands, and the social is in reference to socio-economic success measured by the Aboriginal standard of living. Ultimately, this paper will demonstrate that land claims are about the transferring of land and not the transferring of power great enough to affect decisions of the state and therefore, do not amount to decolonization.

### **Nieguth, Tim**

#### *Games without frontiers? MMORPGs, globalization and the nation-state*

Over the last few years, computer games have attracted increasing, if somewhat sporadic, attention from policy-makers and the general public. The growing significance of computer games is reflected in the rapid emergence of game studies as a new field of inquiry. This field has drawn contributions from a variety of disciplines, such as law, education and literature. There has, however, been little analysis of computer games from a political science perspective. This paper will suggest that computer games, in addition to being an increasingly important object for study in and of itself, can also offer insights into debates that have been central to the discipline of political science. Among other things, this includes debates

about sovereignty, political socialization, collective identity, political mobilization, and the future of the nation-state. Focusing on the latter, the paper will suggest that studying a particular genre of computer games - the so-called "massively multiplayer online roleplaying games," or MMORPGs for short - can add a new dimension to the ongoing globalization debate between hyperglobalists, skeptics, and transformationalists.

**Nikolayenko, Olena**

*Youth Movements in Post-Communist Societies: A Model of Nonviolent Resistance*

Over the past decade, there has been an outburst of youth movements applying nonviolent methods of resistance against autocratic incumbents in the post-Soviet region. This protest cycle was set in motion by the spectacular mobilization of Serbia's Otpor (Resistance) against Slobodan Milosevic in 2000. Similarly, Georgia's Kmara (Enough) in 2003 and Ukraine's Pora (It's Time) in 2004 effectively mobilized youth against large-scale electoral fraud and pressed for political change. In contrast, Belarus' Zubr (Bison) in 2001/2006 and an assortment of Azerbaijan's youth groups in 2005 were less effective in their nonviolent struggle against autocratic incumbents. This study provides an explanation for divergent social movement outcomes by investigating the dynamics of tactical interaction between challenger organizations and the ruling elite. The paper argues that tactical innovation was vital to the success of youth movements, especially late risers in the protest cycle. It is further argued that the effectiveness of tactical innovation depended, to a large extent, upon youth experience with prior protest campaigns. This research seeks to contribute to existing literature on social movements and comparative democratization by scrutinizing processes of political learning in contemporary authoritarian regimes.

**Nikolenyi, Csaba**

*The Institutionalization of Parties and the Party System in India*

India presents an important case for the study of party and party system institutionalization in Asia for three reasons. First, the concept of institutionalization, first coined by Samuel Huntington (1968), was used to explain developments in the Indian party system well before the comparative literature started to bring it back in. Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to date to connect the early attention that Indian specialists paid to the concept of party institutionalization with the voluminous scholarship that the more recent comparative politics literature has generated on the topic. Second, India has enjoyed a long period of relatively stable democratic institutions. As such, the country provides an excellent case to examine the relationship between Westminster-style political institutions, specifically the nature of parliamentarism and the first-past-the-post electoral system on the one hand, and the institutionalization of both parties and party systems on the other. Third, by virtue of being a federal state, India also offers an excellent case to examine variation on party and party system institutionalization across the states of the Union. For instance, states such as Kerala and West Bengal tend to show significantly higher scores on most measures of party system institutionalization than other states such as Bihar or Uttar Pradesh.

**Noakes, Stephen**

*Transnational Networks, Policy Outcomes, and the Chinese Regime*

Authoritarian regimes are commonly portrayed as strong, stable, and insular, capable of controlling mass mobilization and isolating themselves from external influences. Nevertheless, some foreign actors can and do affect policy-making in these systems from time to time. This paper asks what accounts for the variation in the effectiveness of transnational activist networks (TANs) in China, a regime that is routinely depicted as resilient in the face of challenges from abroad. Based on a comparative study of several TANs operating across international borders and seeking policy changes on such issues as human rights, environmental protection, and HIV/AIDS prevention, the paper traces the interaction of each with the Chinese government, identifying the precise mechanisms and patterns that ultimately lead to successful or failed advocacy campaigns.

Conventional theories have sought to explain policy outcomes either as a function of a network's own mobilizing structures, the political opportunities it faces, or the currency of global norms. More recently, scholars have attempted to incorporate all three types of explanation in a more dynamic model that captures shifting interests, ideas and structures. However, these integrated approaches often overlook the possibility that one set of causal factors matters more than the others. This paper presents recent interview data demonstrating that political opportunities—conceptualized as regime characteristics such as degree of centralization, openness, and the nature and extent of NGO regulation—are the most important factor mitigating policy impacts across networks in China, a finding that suggests successful campaigns are contingent upon circumstances beyond a TAN's control.

**Ohemeng, Frank**

*Enhancing the Role of Public Private Partnerships in Infrastructural Development: The Case of P3 Canada Inc.*

In the past two decades, for many governments across the globe Public Private Partnership (P3) has become a major policy option in financing and implementing projects. Their belief and hope is that P3s constitute a way for them to deal with harsh economic realities and enable them to tap the vast resources of the private sector in achieving public policy objectives. In Canada, all levels of government have made significant use of P3s in major infrastructural developments. In spite of this, the verdict on the efficacy of P3s has been quite mixed, with 'not-so-good' somewhat prevailing. Nevertheless, the federal government in its 2008 budget announced the establishment of P3 Canada Inc., a Crown



corporation to expand the role of the private sector, especially the private-for-profit sector, in the provision of infrastructure.

Such a development has been necessitated by what many have described as the infrastructure deficit Canada faces. Indeed, it is estimated that over the next 15 to 20 years, Canada will have to spend up to about \$300 billion on highways, water and sewage systems, bridges, and air and rail transportation infrastructure, which some analysts maintain is beyond the means of many governments. Since creating an environment for collaboration is something the public and the private sectors find difficult, PPP Canada, it is believed, will both directly create that environment and manage it for infrastructural projects.

Is a Crown corporation to facilitate the development and use of partnership a good policy option? In short, will PPP Canada Inc. prove a good policy instrument for solving the infrastructure deficit facing the country? Is this another way to impose the market principle on the public sector? The intention of the paper is to see whether the policy behind the creation of this corporation will be beneficial in the long run to Canadians.

### **Ohemeng, Frank and Grant, John**

*Has the Bubble Finally Burst? An Examination of the Trend of Re-municipalization of Water Services Delivery in North American*

The last few years have witnessed significant attempts by a number of municipalities across the globe to reverse or renounce private sector involvement in water services delivery to citizens. In 2004, for example, the City of Hamilton in Ontario, Canada, decided not to renew its contract with America Water Services after 10 years of 'marriage'. In September 2008, the Mayor of Paris, France, announced that in June 2009, the City's water delivery services would be restored to public ownership. In short, the contract that the City of Paris has with Veolia and Suez, two well-known transnational corporations in the water delivery business, will not be renewed. This is after Grenoble, another city in France, had abrogated its contract with a private sector corporation for the delivery of its water. There are similar experiences across the North America, Europe, as well as in some developing countries.

What makes this re-municipalization of water services delivery baffle many is that, in the not too distance past, privatization or private sector involvement in the water business was touted as the best service delivery option for cash-trapped municipalities. Furthermore, the involvement of the private sector was seen as the panacea for the perceived inefficiency, ineffectiveness, and unaccountable nature of the public sector.

Why are municipalities de-privatizing their water services delivery? Did the promises of privatization fail? We argue the privatization of water services delivery was based on the false premise of the market being more efficient, effective, and accountable than the public sector, and that the private sector failed in no uncertain terms with respect to its promises to deliver. We will support this argument using a number of cases drawn from Canada and the United States.

### **Olsen, Florian**

*One nation under God: Heavy Metal, moral panic and the 'crisis' of American 'imperial decline'*

This presentation suggests that a cultural historical sociology can help us explore how the line between the "American imperial society's" domestic and foreign logics of rule and the distinction between 'material' and 'cultural' sources of imperial power are constantly blurred within the collective imaginary of the United States. I ask whether collective experiences of moral anxiety over the second half of the Twentieth Century pointed to more profound and widespread fears of American "imperial decline." Specifically, I examine cases where cultural and political elites pinned 'social threats' such as drug use, sexual promiscuity, suicides, and even school shootings on the 'degenerative' influence of Heavy Metal and Rap music in the United States over the last three decades. I ask whether there was widespread belief in the United States that the perceived 'decline of American hegemony' (see Susan Strange 1988) in the international realm was owed to the 'corrosive' influence of subcultures that challenged Christian values, traditional gender and racial relations held to be symbolic depositories of American power, and thus sources of its perceived cultural superiority.

### **Onea, Tudor**

*Imperial Expansion: American Nationalism and the Invasion of Iraq*

The paper examines the causes of the 2003 American invasion of Iraq by drawing attention to US prestige. The existing literature accounts for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in three main ways invoking security concerns over WMDs, missionary zeal to promote democracy, and desire for gain in the form of oil. By contrast, the paper argues that the main motivation for the invasion was the need to enhance America's image as a strong and effective international leader by mounting a demonstration of strength against an unrepentant serial offender.

Consequently, the paper suggests that present theories of American foreign policy (structuralism, exceptionalism, and revisionism) fail to capture an enduring dimension of US foreign policy-making: the nationalist drive to maintain and increase America's international reputation.

### **Owen, Andrew**

*The 'negativity bias' and the treatment of minority groups.*

This paper explores how a pervasive trait of human cognition can account for the slow expansion of rights to minority groups. The 'negativity bias' in human cognition, the tendency for people to be more sensitive to negative information than positive information, is well established in the study of psychology. Applied to the political arena, this bias suggests policy

changes perceived as negative will have a far greater effect on individuals' support for incumbent politicians than will changes perceived to be positive. On divisive issues such as the extension of rights to minority groups and/or policies designed to account for their unique needs, the negativity bias suggests that politicians who pass such legislation will lose more support among those opposed to these changes (since these individuals will view the policy change as 'negative') than they will gain from those who support the new legislation. This paper tests this assertion using a survey experiment conducted using a nationally representative sample of the U.S. population. Subjects in the experiment are informed of a change in state policy concerning either same-sex civil unions or affirmative action practices at post-secondary institutions. Results from this experiment show that when the public is evenly divided on an issue, the political costs of policies designed to accommodate minority groups exceed the political benefits. Indeed, even when a sizeable majority of the public favours these policies, the negativity bias encourages politicians to side with the minority and maintain the policy status quo.

**Pushkar, Pushkar and Gupta, Madhvi**

*Democracy and Health: The Curious Case of India*

Several studies emphasize the importance of regime type for the health performance of countries. A large majority of quantitative studies find that democracies outperform non-democracies on health even though there are others which find no relationship between regime type and health. What is certainly true is that the number of democratic success stories such as Sri Lanka, Jamaica, and Costa Rica are matched in number by dramatic democratic failures such as India. This paper aims to explain why democracy lends to favorable health outcomes in some cases and to health failures in others by focusing on variations within Indian states. To the extent that democracy has an impact on health, how can we explain differences in health outcomes within countries? Why have the states in south India outperformed those in the north? We focus on one key mechanism which is said to matter most: political competition. While political competition may make political parties more responsive to citizens' quality of life needs, we argue that the axis of competition—class, caste, religion or ethnicity—explains different social and health outcomes within India. Class-based competition is more likely to lead to favorable health outcomes (Kerala) whereas political competition organized on ethnicity or religion (Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) marginalizes material social issues such as health. We also explore the success of some states in north India (Himachal Pradesh) which have closed the health gap with states in the south.

**P, Pushkar**

*Democracy, Dictatorship, and the Health of Nations*

The historical record suggests that nations have taken different pathways to health. Some have improved their health performance through economic growth and others by improving education, especially among women. The high performers include both rich and poor countries, democracies and dictatorships, and high and low spenders. One stream of scholarship, however, emphasizes the importance of regime type on health outcomes. Inspired by studies on the relationship between regime type and economic growth and social development, this scholarship has started to focus specifically on health. In this paper, we first summarize the findings of the current state of scholarship on regime type and health. While most studies find that democracies outperform non-democracies on health, there are others which challenge what may be called the 'democracy advantage thesis.' The evidence clearly runs in either direction and its relevance is limited by the inadequacies of both quantitative and qualitative studies. Even if we were to agree with quantitative studies that democracies outperform dictatorships on health, the number of democratic 'models' such as the Indian state of Kerala, Sri Lanka, Chile, Jamaica, and Costa Rica are matched in number by authoritarian success stories such as South Korea, Taiwan, China, and Cuba. The intuitive logic of democratic or authoritarian advantage in health outcomes also applies equally well to both. We review four different cases of democratic and authoritarian cases of success—Chile and Cuba—and failure—India and Pakistan—and propose that the significance of regime type is exaggerated in explaining the health of nations.

**Painter-Main, Mike**

*The Electoral Impact of Environmental Concern: Environmentalism in the 2006 Canadian Federal Election*

One of the most visible changes in post-war public opinion has been the increased concern for the environment. Research on environmental concern has largely focused on measurement issues, as well as links with environmental activities. Remarkably, however, little has been devoted to how environmental concern impacts voting. What research there has been on environmental voting tends to indicate rather minor connections between concern and elections. This is curious, as increased environmentalism is often associated with shifts in values, a prominent theme in explaining political behaviour.

Yet, in close elections modest environmental attitude effects may actually have a significant short-term impact on voting, and long-term consequences for the treatment of environmental issues by political parties. The 2006 Canadian election is a particularly appropriate case study to test the impact of environmentalism in close elections as not only was a minority government elected, but also a viable Canadian Green party emerged. Using data from the 2006 Canadian Election Study two hypotheses are put forth in determining the extent to which the environment influenced election results. First, environmental concern should, controlling for demographic and attitudinal variables, positively affect voting for the NDP and Greens, since both campaigned as pro-environmental parties. Second, the impact of environmentalism may have been minimal across the electorate. If so, a more relevant focus might be the behaviour of electors in constituencies

vulnerable to small vote shifts. Thus, it is expected that the effects of environmental concern were particularly strong in closely contested ridings.

### **Papillon, Martin**

#### *The Liberalization of Indigenous Governance: New Political Space or Containment Strategy?*

Analysts of Indigenous peoples-state relations in Canada have focused much of their attention on the negotiation of treaties as well as on developments regarding the interpretation of Aboriginal rights by the Courts. While these are significant aspects of ongoing changes in Indigenous politics, a fundamental, but often overlooked development has been the emergence of what can be defined as multilevel governance exercises through which federal and provincial governments engage in bilateral or multilateral negotiations with Indigenous peoples' governing bodies and representation organisations over the development and implementation of policies. Are these joint policy processes new spaces for Indigenous peoples to assert their political autonomy and authority or simply new ways for governments to contain Indigenous claims for greater autonomy and keep control of the political agenda? Using recent examples at the federal level as well as in Québec and British Columbia, this paper locates these multilevel governance exercises in the broader context of neoliberal state restructuring and proceeds to assess the significance of these developments for Indigenous politics.

### **Parker, Jeffrey**

#### *An investigation into the formation of intergovernmental agreements in federations*

In countries with systems of federal or multilevel governance, coordination and interaction between governments is an essential part of politics. Of the various tools of intergovernmental relations, intergovernmental agreements are a common means of crafting formal relationships between governments. Intergovernmental agreements can serve many functions including the entrenchment of cooperation, the initiation of new government programs, the regulation of disbursements of government funds or even constitutional change.

Despite their importance, intergovernmental agreements remain understudied in the literature on intergovernmental relations. Thus, this paper will seek to better understand them by posing the question: what systemic factors influence the formation of intergovernmental agreements in federations? This paper will suggest seven potential factors, spanning constitutional, economic and political variables, which could encourage or discourage the formation of these agreements.

In order to test these hypotheses, this paper will utilize a comparative approach. The record of agreement formation will be examined in a number of federations, including: Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, India, South Africa, Switzerland, the United States and the United Kingdom. This diverse group of countries will allow the seven variables to be tested, as well as providing new information on intergovernmental agreements in each federation.

### **Patel, Nazeer**

#### *Why I Don't Know If I'm An Atheist: Charles Taylor and Religious Pluralism*

This paper addresses the issue of religious pluralism by examining the varied ways in which Charles Taylor articulates moral thinking. In his seminal study, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Sources), Taylor seeks to uncover the moral topography that constitutes our modern human identity. It would be both foolish and ambitious to attempt a complete reconstruction of Taylor's arguments, and his indictment of what he sees as a predisposition, in some thinking, to ignore or devalue the capacity of human beings to make qualitative distinctions between competing moral outlooks. Instead, what I hope to show is the Taylor's notion of the self provides both guidance on how to accommodate religious pluralism, and complicates how meaningful this accommodation can be within liberal democratic societies.

Taylor's understanding of moral thinking demonstrates the complexity of moral arguments, especially as they are conceived within a particular religious tradition. The belief that these positions are necessarily intransigent and difficult to reconcile with either a secular perspective or with other religious viewpoints is challenged with recourse to Taylor. At the same time, Taylor's notion of grasping our lives in terms of a "narrative" shows how religious identity has been displaced by an ethic of secularism that complicates how we understand religion. The paper draws some tentative connections between Sources and Taylor's *A Secular Age* to show the difficulty of fully appreciating Taylor's notion of morality and religious pluralism within a modern, secular context.

### **Paterson, Stephanie**

#### *Feminizing Obstetrics or Medicalizing Midwifery?*

#### *The Discursive Constitution of Midwifery in Ontario*

The Midwifery Act came into effect on January 1, 1994, integrating midwifery services into Ontario's healthcare provision and insurance systems. The act was considerably progressive, enabling licensed midwives to deliver babies in hospitals, birthing clinics, or homes. It has been heralded as a significant feminist achievement, both for practising midwives and their clients, and has served as a model for subsequent provincial negotiations. At the same time, however, some practitioners and researchers have questioned the degree to which the act challenges the medical model of birth. Indeed, some have suggested that the legislation reaffirms, rather than challenges, the primacy of the medical model. In this paper, I seek to explain this contradictory outcome. After demonstrating the ways in which the Act reinforces the medical

model, I employ discourse coalitions theory to investigate the claims-making process during early debates about midwifery, arguing that the discursive space within which the midwifery debate took place was shaped by the challenge of the medical-scientific discourse by the discourse on reproductive autonomy. At the same time, however, the medical-scientific discourse was institutionally entrenched in political discourse on healthcare throughout the province. The rhetorical power of this dominant discourse prompted a discursive shift among midwives and their advocates, whereby the reproductive autonomy narrative was replaced by one focused on safety, competence and expertise, all of which are central to medical-scientific discourse. The resulting legislation, while giving women more choices in their birthing options, ultimately left the medical model unchallenged.

**Patsias, Caroline, Custeau, David et Vaillancourt, Louis**

*Gouvernance multi-niveaux et gouvernance participative : les leçons d'une comparaison entre trois exemples canadien, français et américain*

Des études récentes ont souligné combien l'instauration d'une démocratie plus participative devait à des processus de décentralisation. Ainsi, « multi-level governance » et démocratie participative sont étroitement liées et l'objectif des analyses est désormais de souligner les modalités d'une gouvernance multi-level qui encouragerait l'émergence de nouvelles instances décisionnelles plus participatives. Dans cette perspective, le modèle de la Empowerment deliberative Governance (EDG) dessiné par Fung et Wright expose 1) la dévolution du pouvoir décisionnel à des unités locales et intersectorielles d'action, 2) la coordination et l'imputabilité de ces unités locales devant une instance relevant d'un palier politique supérieur, celle-ci agissant également comme courroie entre l'État et les unités locales d'action, 3) la restructuration des bureaucraties ou appareils habituellement chargés de la résolution des problèmes à l'intérieur de ces nouvelles instances de participation. La EDG a été élaborée à partir de 5 exemples dont deux se situent dans les villes américaines de Chicago et de Milwaukee. Aucune ville canadienne ni européenne n'y est intégrée. Notre analyse a pour objectif de discuter du modèle de la EDG et des modalités de la multi-level governance qu'elle suppose à partir de deux exemples situés au Canada (la ville de Québec) et en France (la ville de Marseille). Une telle comparaison soulignera les conséquences sur une gouvernance plus participative d'un phénomène bottom up ou top-down dans la mise en place de la gouvernance multi-level, le cas marseillais relevant du second cas et le cas québécois du premier. Elle insistera sur la façon dont l'insertion d'un nouveau palier politique décisionnel s'insère au sein de path-dependancy différents et comment ces derniers influencent l'effectivité de la gouvernance multi-level et de ses out-puts quant à l'élargissement de la participation citoyenne.

**Peck, Jamie**

*Neoliberalism: dead or alive?*

The adaptability and durability of neoliberal forms of governance have often been underestimated. Yet the contrary position—that the sun will never set on the neoliberal empire—is surely indefensible, in both political and analytical terms. In light of the current financial crisis, the paper revisits the question of the periodization of neoliberalism. By no means is this merely a technical issue, since it goes to the heart of neoliberalism's character as a form of “crisis theory” and its effective limits as a governing regime.

**Peet, Chelsea**

*Northern Members of Legislatures: The Impact of Distance on Policy effectiveness and Constituency Service*

This research examines the unique position of the northern members in the Ontario Legislature. First, the research will explore their perspective on the uniqueness of their constituents' issues and whether cross-party interaction is used to deal with northern issues in general. Under The Fewer Politicians Act passed during the premiership of Mike Harris the Ontario North lost seats and the constituencies became much larger. Under the premiership of Dalton McGuinty the North is now protected from any further losses in representation. How have policies on representation affected the ability of northern members to effect public policy and service their constituents? Also we will look at the effect on these matters by the distance from family, friends and constituents attendance at the legislature in Toronto requires. The research will build on previous writing by R. H. MacDermid and Robert Williams. The primary data will come from personal interviews with northern members and their parliamentary staff.

**Penner, Erin**

*Individual Attitudes, Ethnic Diversity, and Multiculturalism in Canada*

This paper provides a theoretical account of Canadians' attitudes toward ethnic diversity and federal multiculturalism policy. Despite increasing attention to the impact of ethnic diversity, there is little theory and evidence of the building-blocks and the behavioural consequences of Canadians' attitudes toward diversity and multiculturalism. For instance, there is evidence of, but little explanation for, the coexistence of public support for general notions of multiculturalism with widespread opposition to particular cultural practices. Why do many Canadians, typically tolerant of ethnic minorities, resist practices such as RCMP officers donning turbans, Sikh kirpans in schools, or veiled Muslim women casting votes? Are Canadians overstating their tolerance, or can they logically hold both positions? This paper argues that attitudes toward ethnic diversity and multiculturalism – for both majority and minority individuals – are determined by a complex cognitive process in which an individual's deep-seated attitudes toward her own place in the world are mediated by knowledge, perceptions, and experiences derived from her environment. Understanding the terrain and stability of these

attitudes requires identifying factors such as the nature and strength of an individual's 'ingroup', different understandings of 'culture', perceptions of cultural and economic threat, the impact of different diversities (e.g., moral or demographic), and the characteristics of the arena of intergroup contact.

The paper is the theoretical framework of my dissertation research. I draw on the social psychological theory of 'social identity', as well as political science theories of intergroup contact and political knowledge. Summary statistics will be used to illustrate central propositions.

**Perrella, Andrea M.L., Brown, Steven D. and Kay, Barry J.**

*Voting Behaviour among Gays and Lesbians in the 2006 and 2008 Federal Campaigns*

The gay/lesbian population is a good example of a demographic group that has been understudied because it is difficult to develop a subsample of critical size, with national samples typically collecting under 4,000 respondents. Using Ipsos-Reid on-line surveys conducted on Jan. 23, 2006, and Oct. 14, 2008 (about 36,000 respondents each), we have an unprecedented opportunity to explore how this group behaves politically. While one should not be surprised to learn that support for Stephen Harper's Conservatives is very low among the gay/lesbian group, the factors behind such an overwhelming and consistent vote pattern are not adequately understood. Here are three angles we intend to explore: 1) To what extent does their voting behaviour merely reflect an artefact of where they live, assuming gays and lesbians are more likely to locate in large cities (that tend to not vote Conservative)? 2) To what extent do their vote choices reflect ideological and attitudinal differences? And finally, 3) to what extent are gay and lesbian voters affected by campaign dynamics, especially given that the same-sex marriage issue was prominent in 2006 yet relatively absent in 2008? Has this change affected gays and lesbians, in contrast to other voters? Answers yield implications for not only this particular group, but also towards a greater understanding of the degree to which the manipulation of issue salience during a campaign affects particular voter segments.

**Perrella, Andrea M.L., Alcantara, Christopher, Tanguay, Brian, Jeffrey, Brooke, Nossal, Kim Richard and Maioni, Antonia**

*Conservatives in Power: Implications for Contemporary Canadian Politics*

Although the Conservative Party of Canada did not displace the Liberal Party as the natural governing party of Canada, its victory in the 2008 Canadian federal election suggests that it will likely win office more frequently in the future. With that in mind, we ask: What are the implications of a Conservative "regime" and what effect will it have on policy development in key sectors, such as health, foreign policy, and the environment? In addition, what effect is the Conservative victory having on the minds of voters? Do they now regard the Conservatives as a viable governing party? Are other parties taking notice and adjusting their electoral strategies?

**Pétry, François and Bastien, Frédérick**

*Quality of Public Opinion Poll Reports During the 2008 Canadian Election*

This paper investigates how Canadian pollsters, newspapers and TV newscasts have released information about polls during the 2008 federal election campaign. We compare presentation of three sorts of information in pollsters' reports, newspaper articles and TV news. First, we examine the availability of technical information as required by industry standards and the Canada Elections Act. We isolate the effect of the Act by comparing the number of times regulated and unregulated standards were mentioned in media reports falling under and outside the law. Second, we look at how pollsters and media organizations provided information that would allow citizens to assess whether survey results are threatened by unequal levels of political knowledge among respondents, by variations in their feelings about party leaders, and by biases in the format and in the content of survey questions. Third, we assess the accuracy of pollsters' and journalists' interpretation of poll results, especially regarding margins of error and statements about the race between parties. Although unregulated, the last two elements seem as crucial as the compliance with technical standards of disclosure for the development and maintenance of an informed and active citizenry in a democratic system. Our approach allow us to analyze whether the lack of information is due to journalists who fail to communicate these information available in pollsters' reports (as a result of either ignorance or deliberate choice) or to pollsters who fail to report them to their clients.

**Pierre-Antoine, Daniel**

*Title: Cosmopolitanism and difference: from liberal universals to consensual universals?*

The paper contributes to the debate about the merits of cosmopolitanism as an ethos for a world of overlapping identities. The objective of the paper is to assess these merits through a discussion of the tension between the liberal universalism that underpins cosmopolitan thought and the reality of diversity in world politics, which elicits skepticism on the part of many intellectuals. The paper argues that political liberalism holds considerable merit as evidenced by its positive impact since its inception. At the same time, the paper maintains that cosmopolitans remain insufficiently aware of the particular roots of the ideals they promote and how these ideals are received by those who have previously been dominated in the name of these very ideals. The themes of autonomy and human dignity are central to cosmopolitanism, but they are not unique to it. Thus, an explicit acknowledgment of their existence in other intellectual traditions would make cosmopolitanism more receptive to claims made from different backgrounds. My hope is that a reconstructed world order

can be based on a consensus between different ethical traditions rather than on the apparent extension of one set of standpoint-bound ideas presented as universals.

### **Pilet, Jean-Benoit**

*Les partis et les réformes électorales. Une analyse comparée de 14 débats autour du changement de mode de scrutin*  
Au cours des dernières décennies, toute une littérature s'est développée pour mieux comprendre les réformes électorales. En particulier, une question a retenu l'attention de nombreux : comment expliquer les positions des partis à propos d'un éventuel changement de mode de scrutin ? Pourquoi certaines formations soutiennent-elles la réforme tandis que d'autres s'y opposent ? L'explication la plus simple est que ceux pouvant espérer gagner des sièges sont pour une réforme tandis que ceux craignant d'en perdre s'y opposent (Benoit 2004). Cependant, cette explication a été peu testée empiriquement, et quand elle l'a été plusieurs exemples ont démontré son pouvoir explicatif relatif. D'autres auteurs ont d'ailleurs proposé des explications alternatives. En particulier, il est apparu que la satisfaction quant au fonctionnement du mode de scrutin dans le passé avait aussi un impact sur les attitudes des partis (Blais et Shugart 2008). Dans ce cadre, le but est d'offrir une analyse comparée des positions des partis et de leurs motivations stratégiques dans 14 débats récents de réforme électorale (Belgique, Colombie britannique, Canada, Japon, Pays-Bas, Nouveau Brunswick, Nouvelle-Zélande, Ontario, Ile du Prince Edouard, Québec, Royaume Uni, Italie 1993, Italie 2005 et Israël). L'objectif est de disséquer les déterminants stratégiques des partis pour faire ressortir les variables les plus explicatives des comportements des partis en cas de débat sur le mode de scrutin. Les partis pro-réforme sont-ils motivés par leurs espoirs de gains futurs ou par leur déception quant aux résultats du passé ? Et qu'en est-il des opposants à la réforme ?

### **Pilon, Dennis**

*Decidedly Different 'Democratic' Reforms: The Fate of Fixed Election Dates Versus Voting System Reform in Ontario*  
The McGuinty Liberals embarked on a series of 'democratic' reform initiatives upon taking office in 2003, with remarkably different trajectories for each. Some, like the fixed election dates, sailed through the Liberal caucus and the legislature with little debate or public scrutiny. But others, like the proposal for an Ontario Citizens' Assembly on voting system reform and the decisions over how to structure the rules for the subsequent referendum on their proposal, were much more contested, both from inside the government and from without. Yet commentators had little to say about the decidedly different treatment of these two institutional reforms. This paper will draw from the critical political economy tradition to analyse the different treatment of these reforms, specifically examining how various political actors differentiated between 'reforms' that might be wielded as a rhetoric for political gain, and reforms that might threaten to seriously undermine the basis of their political hold on power.

### **Pincock, Heather**

*Relating to Strangers? The educative effects of everyday democracy.*

In her 2004 book *Talking to Strangers*, Danielle Allen argues that habits of everyday interaction comprise the 'real meat' of democratic citizenship. Emphasizing the importance of relations of trust between strangers to the democratic process, Allen challenges us to learn habits of reciprocity which do not rely on emotional attachment. The educative effects of face to face collective decision making processes have become one important normative justification for a commitment to participatory and deliberative principles of democratic practice. In this paper, I ask how might participatory deliberative processes build the competencies needed for everyday interactions with strangers? In an effort to create productive engagement between normative political theory and empirical social science, I explore this question empirically. To do so I focus on the community mediation process, where citizens meet face to face in the presence of volunteer mediators to manage their everyday conflicts. Through observation and interviews at two community mediation organizations I examine the breakdowns in relations between strangers, friends, and intimates as they are played out before, during, and after mediation. I find that in a minority of cases the process reinforces the listening and assertion skills necessary to improve the quality of participants' relationships. In most other cases however, the process operates more instrumentally to establish patterns of peaceful avoidance with little discernable educative effect. In this paper I explore the factors that produce these different outcomes in order to clarify the relationship between participatory deliberative processes, educative effects, and the relational elements of democratic citizenship.

### **Prasad, Binoy Shanker**

*Crying for Election Reform: A Comparative Study of Parliamentary Elections in Canada (2008) and India (2009)*

India and Canada have common parliamentary tradition and periodically elect their governments at provincial and federal levels. Both the commonwealth countries have the first-past-the-post system and end up electing a government which doesn't have the mandate of the majority. As a result, the coalition governments have to rope in smaller parties, make a number of compromises and yet have difficulty completing a full parliamentary term. In Canada, the minority government led by Steven Harper of the Conservative Party called for a mid-term election to win a clear mandate in 2008, still falling short of a majority. In India, the Congress Party led coalition government at the centre is scheduled to complete its term by the early spring of 2009. If it doesn't call for a snap poll, it will have to go for a general election mandated by the Election Commission. In the meantime, the parties re-align and wait to see how they are doing in provincial elections.

Both in India and Canada, there is a crying demand for electoral reform to eliminate the unrepresentative nature of the governments. In many parliamentary ridings (constituencies, as it is called in India), the combined votes of the second and

the third candidates are greater than the votes of the winner. The proposed paper seeks to analyze the parliamentary elections of 2008 and 2009 in Canada and India with a focus on the proposed reforms to do away with the electoral imperfections of the multi-party system.

### **Preston, Trevor**

#### *The 12th Malaysian General Elections of 2008: A New Era for Malaysian Politics?*

This paper examines the 12th Malaysian General Elections held on March 8, 2008 and its immediate political ramifications and contemporary policy relevance. I argue that the results were unprecedented but not extraordinary. These results do not represent a fundamental realignment of a Malaysian political system institutionally apportioned on ethnic and racial lines, but rather were driven by significant shifts of these same entrenched ethnic political dynamics. However, the historic victories of the opposition in much of industrialized and urbanized Malaysia, presents an opportunity to construct alternative multi-ethnic power sharing and governance models to the long standing Barisan Nasional models that have held sway since independence in 1957.

### **Pritzlaff, Tanja**

#### *Political Practices as Performances of Political Responsibility*

In her 2004 paper *Responsibility and Global Labor Justice*, Iris Marion Young spells out the criteria for a concept of political responsibility that is distinct from a liability model of responsibility. One of the major differences between these two conceptions lies in the fact that political responsibility is forward-looking in the sense that it manifests itself in actual performances of political practices. Oppositional, performative political practices in this sense embody political responsibility by actually fulfilling the actions required to change complex structural processes that are in need of improvement.

The paper aims at a deeper understanding of the concept of political practices as performances of political responsibility. Through a distinction between an explicit and an implicit dimension of the normativity of practices, it provides a comprehensive understanding of the normative forces at work at the micro-level of political interaction, ranging from habitual rule-following and compliance to conscious protest. By looking at how relations of responsibility are maintained and updated through micro-level interactions between people occupying different institutional or social positions in society, the practice-based approach presented in the paper reflects the constant challenge to redefine and to justify their respective commitments and entitlements within the political process. In addition, the paper points out how an elaborate conception of political practice, based on the proposed two-dimensional understanding of normativity, is able to corroborate Young's version of political responsibility as shared responsibility.

### **Quinn, Joanna R.**

#### *Tradition!?: Traditional Cultural Institutions on Customary Practices of Acknowledgement*

Transitional justice is concerned with how societies move from conflict to peace or from authoritarian regimes to democracy—by dealing with the resulting questions of justice and social healing. Among the “tools” that theorists and practitioners of transitional justice have at their disposal in restoring social cohesion after conflict are customary methods of acknowledgement. While such practices have not yet become part of the mainstream, in as much as truth commissions and tribunals have, evidence of their utility in several societies is beginning to appear. The use of these traditional practices of acknowledgement in Uganda is widespread. Each of the 56 different ethnic groups across the country has at some point relied on such practices. This paper explores the attitudes of the leaders of the newly-restored traditional cultural institutions toward these practices. It further assesses the agency of traditional cultural institutions in their use. This analysis is carried out in the context of the ever-turbulent political situation in Uganda, and of the sordid legacy of conflict in that country.

### **Radcliffe Ross, Liat**

#### *The participation of Canadian Muslim pressure groups in the Canadian Foreign Policymaking Process*

Speculation about the foreign policy opinions and political impact of Muslims living in the West seems to be growing. While this interest in part responds to a now familiar prediction of a conflict between Islam and the West, it is also a reaction to the growing political activism of Muslim minorities in the West. In pluralist democracies, including Canada, Muslim minorities have organized politically as Muslims (as opposed to ethnic or national identities) in the last two decades and have endeavoured to influence foreign policy.

This study compares the foreign policy lobbying activities of the two most prominent Canadian Muslim pressure groups and analyzes these strategies and tactics in respect to Canadian foreign policymaking theory. Do relatively young pressure groups, representing a diverse but growing minority, try to influence foreign policymakers as insiders or outsiders? That is, do they seek to access foreign policymakers directly or to influence the national foreign policy debate through the media or grassroots action? Furthermore, how have these two Canadian Muslim groups been received by foreign policymakers?

By examining documents issued by the Canadian Islamic Congress and Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations between 2000 and 2005, as well as speaking with the leaders of these groups, my study provides an empirical understanding of the participation of Muslim actors in the Canadian foreign policymaking process.

This paper is part of a doctoral thesis studying the foreign policy interests and lobbying activities of leading Muslim pressure groups in three pluralist democracies: Canada, the United States and Britain.

### **Radmilovic, Vuk**

*Institutional Legitimacy, Strategic Decision-Making and the Supreme Court of Canada: A Look at Marshall and Secession Reference*

With the introduction of the Charter, the prominence of the Canadian Supreme Court has sharply increased. Studies suggesting that the Charter has revolutionized Canadian political life, forced justices into a dialogical relationship with lawmakers, and increased policymaking at the Supreme Court abound. Yet, the Court has also managed to effectively safeguard its legitimacy as evident by a high degree of public support it enjoys among the Canadian public (Hausegger and Riddell, 2004) which continues to trust the courts more than legislatures (Russell, 1988; Fletcher and Howe, 2000; Nonis, 2007). It appears that in spite of its increased entanglement with politics, the Supreme Court is succeeding where traditional political actors have over the past few decades consistently failed; namely, in safeguarding its public support. Indeed, how does the Supreme Court of Canada ensure the attainment and retention of institutional legitimacy? The paper develops an answer to this question by marrying insights generated by comparative literatures on public support for the courts and strategic judicial decision-making, and by presenting a theory of judicial behaviour grounded in a set of testable propositions. The theory is applied and tested in the context of two prominent Supreme Court of Canada cases: Marshall (1999) and Secession Reference (1998). The analysis sheds a new light on the cases, points to the significance of extending the strategic approach to Canadian judicial scholarship, and suggests that judicial decisions at the Supreme Court of Canada are importantly imbued by strategic calculations having to do with the preservation of institutional legitimacy.

### **Ranger, Jean-Philippe**

*Aristotelian Definitions of Political Communities: A Re-evaluation*

This paper examines Aristotelian definitions of the concept of "political community" to show that it encompasses more communities than is normally thought. Most accounts of Aristotelian political communities focus on the polis, but I show that other communities such as some communities of philoi (friends) not only count as political in the Aristotelian sense, but might also challenge Aristotle's own claim that the polis is the best political community (Pol. I 1252a6-7). The misunderstandings around the definition of political communities is due to a semantic difficulty in Aristotle's own use of the term "political" which is either interpreted too narrowly as pertaining only to the polis or too widely as referring to any type of sociability. The first part of my discussion deals with the narrow uses of the term "political" to claim that they cannot reflect Aristotle's position since he considers some animals to belong to full-fledged political communities (Pol. I 1253 a 7-9). Second, I analyze the concept of "community" (Gr. koinônia) to claim that it is a specific type of sociability. This is necessary to show how interpretations of political communities as mere sociability are inadequate. Finally, by centering the debate on distinctions between communities in Aristotle's EN VIII-IX, I will examine the specific differentia of political communities and show how virtue-friendships not only count as political communities, but insofar as they minimize the tension between the individual and the common good of their members, they can rival Aristotle's polis as the highest form of political community.

### **Rao, Govind**

*Nationality Politics and National Discord in Canada, 1867-1914: Paving the Way for Incorporation into Empire?*

This paper examines the period of initial industrialization and re-addresses the key question in Canadian political economy: Why does Canada take the path of foreign ownership and rich dependency? The most sophisticated answer to this question has been Gordon Laxer's *'Open for Business'*. I will engage Laxer's argument that rich dependency is a result of the relative weakness of agrarian classes, the absence of a continental banking system, and the divisions engendered by nationality questions in Canada. I compare the Canadian experience with similar developments in another rich dependency across the Atlantic: Austria. In contrast to Laxer's comparative partner of Sweden, Austria demonstrates both strong Agrarian classes and a continental banking system, yet lacks the strong national identity that he identifies in Sweden. By comparing the record and sources of nationality discord in Canada and Austria, the roots of incorporation into empire will be seen to lie very clearly in the realm of nationality politics - both internally and externally. I argue that the adoption and articulation of 'empire nationalism' was a key aspect of the power-bloc's strategy of dependent capital accumulation.

### **Read, Michael**

*Towards a Theory of American Political Party Transnationalism*

*Freelancing partisans: ideological warriors, policy objectives by other means, or simply "the boys gotta eat."*

Absent from the literature on transnational political party movements is mention of American parties. An absence of literature is not evidence of an absence of activity. The transnational activities of American parties have been documented, albeit in a haphazard way. This paper will concentrate on the international work of American party activists. American party activists have a long history of working on the election campaigns of parties in other countries. While one might see this as freelance partisans practicing their trade in other countries when there is no election at home, under



examination the term “freelance partisan” becomes an oxymoron. Most of their international activity is when there is no work with their party at home. They typically work for like-minded political parties in countries that are a policy priority to the party in power back in the US. To do otherwise would alienate their main clients at home. These factors would suggest a pattern to their activities. It will highlight examples where a president – the closest analog to a standing leader of political party – allowed members of his White House political staff and party activists to work on an election campaign for an ideologically like-minded opposition party and where he did not because he had a good working relationship with the incumbent. Finally, the paper will examine the activities of today’s activists. The paper will demonstrate that the decisions of partisans to work with parties in other countries is not purely financial or, simply put, “the boys gotta eat.”

### **Reid, Scott**

#### *Financing of opposition offices in Provincial legislatures*

Seat imbalance in provincial elections and the resulting weaknesses of parliamentary oppositions have been explored in previous research (Siaroff, 2008). This research paper does a cross-province comparison of resource allocations to opposition offices in Canadian provincial legislatures. The procedures established for determining budget allocations in each province will be examined and the implications for the effectiveness of the opposition will be explored. While drawing on examples from various provinces, a case study of the funding of oppositions in Newfoundland and Labrador will be used to illustrate the impacts of such budget allocation decisions. This research adds to our understanding of the role of oppositions in Westminster style parliamentary democracies.

### **Reid, Scott**

#### *How standing orders impact the role of opposition members in Provincial legislatures*

Standing orders are the rules of procedures which are established by legislatures. This paper compares standing orders in provincial legislatures in Canadian provinces and analyzes how differences in standing orders influence the effectiveness of opposition members. This research notes similarities and differences within the standing orders of the legislatures and uses specific examples of how these rules have enhanced or restricted the role of opposition members. Methods involve content analysis of the standing orders themselves and a review of parliamentary practice in the various legislatures related to items such as private members bills, amendments to government legislation, members statements, committee structures and debate on legislation. The research uses systems theory as a theoretical framework for examining the role of oppositions in provincial legislatures. This research adds to the exploration of factors impacting the role and effectiveness of oppositions in Westminster style parliamentary democracies.

### **Reidel, Laura**

#### *A New Conceptualization of Cultural Rights: The link between culture and individual autonomy*

The right to participate in one’s culture has been articulated in several international human rights declarations and covenants, but despite this, cultural rights have not been sufficiently defined. As such, the question of what cultural rights are, and what is necessary to protect them, remains elusive. I propose a new definition of cultural rights based on the argument that the value of culture is rooted in individual autonomy. The ability to maintain group structures and institutions must be limited by respect for individual human rights. A conceptualization of cultural rights that is rooted in individual autonomy avoids many of the potential dangers of vague definitions of cultural rights; it may avoid the problem of supporting groups that oppress their members, and of reifying artificially rigid distinctions between different cultural groups. However, there is a role for group rights in the protection of cultural rights. The ability of people to maintain and participate in cultural groups cannot be done in isolation from group members. Cultural rights should support group activities, but not at the expense of individual autonomy. The connection between culture and individual autonomy must be made explicit, and any protection of cultural groups must be limited by respect for individual human rights.

### **Reshke, Regan**

#### *Science and Technology Trends*

Throughout history, warfare has been profoundly altered by science and technology (S&T). Radar, radios, computers, lasers, Global Positioning System (GPS) satellites, rifles, artillery, tanks—all these 20th century technologies and many others can trace their origins at least in part to science, technology and engineering research. Investments in S&T have served the Army well and will continue to be an essential underpinning for maintaining superior Land Force war fighting capabilities. While it is impossible to predict the future, studying the primary factors contributing to change does allow for identification of some of the broad possibilities that lie ahead. Moreover, as the pace of technological change continues to accelerate, analysing the underlying drivers and trends contributing to change must be undertaken as a vital component of capability development. Only by paying attention can we hope to mitigate the potential for technological surprise. Ironically, despite the broad parallels between the study of the future and military planning, military professionals dedicate very little effort towards the study of the future. As a small step towards ameliorating this situation, and in keeping with the diversity of global change in the 21st century, the drivers and trends considered in this paper are wide-ranging, covering both military and commercial systems and their potential impact on society and the military. These developments present both risks and opportunities for defence and security organizations. While future success is by no means guaranteed, ignoring S&T advances will certainly lead to future defence and security failures.

**Richter-Montpetit, Melanie**

*Beyond biopolitics? Power, Violence and Security in the "War on Terror"*

This paper examines the recent addition of Foucauldian notions of governmentality to the study of global geo/politics. These critical interventions with their focus on bodies and processes of subject-formation have opened up space by tracing the workings of power beyond the "high politics"-ontologies of states and markets that dominate much of IR theory. Drawing on feminist approaches to critical political economy, postcolonial discourse analysis, and queer theory, my paper identifies and explores two lacunae in these recent discussions on global biopolitics: First, I develop an argument as to the centrality of historically specific forms of normalization and embodiment in current geo/political practices of the US national security state. Second, based on an analysis of these historically specific forms of normalization and embodiment, I suggest that contemporary operations of geo/political power demonstrate continuities with older forms of imperial power and their highly disciplinary and necropolitical forms of power, challenging recent claims about the alleged exceptionalism of the US Empire by (neo)conservative, liberal and post-Marxist/post-structural approaches. Neoliberal geopolitics do not simply rely on processes of normalization, but also on the overlapping strategies of criminalization, penalization, torture and military force. Central to the constitution of bare life are processes of racialization – and, as I show in this paper, sexuality operates as a racialized mode of governmentality in the GWOT. For instance, discourses on racialized sexuality play an important role in how popular and official US national security discourses map certain bodies, communities and spaces in need of geo/political intervention.

**Roberge, Ian**

*Fighting Transnational Organized Crime the 'Canadian' Way*

The internationalization of crime control, it is generally argued, has been led by the United States. The American government is said to frame the discourse that surrounds transnational organized crime and to structure the approach used worldwide to combat it. From a Canadian perspective, the threat from transnational organized crime appears pervasive. The diversity of the threat is noticeable, from the Italian and Russian mafia, to biker gangs, to street gangs from Asia and Latin America, etc. Canada, it is often assumed, is a good target for transnational organized crime because of its geography and proximity to the United States, its vast and often undefended borders, and even its perceived 'soft' approach to fighting crime. How has the Canadian government sought to respond to the threat from transnational organized crime? How autonomous has the Canadian response been in light of American pressures? Though public authorities have adopted the discourse of transnational organized crime, we argue that the Canadian response is more independent than is usually suggested. The policies are the result of distinct institutional processes and practices, and reflect the priorities and the peculiarities of the Canadian situation. The Canadian government is likely to cooperate with American authorities on specific files, but the approach taken will not be dictated by this relationship.

**Robinson, Andrew M. and Carrara, Maristela**

*How do Victims of Human Rights Violations in the Americas Choose Between the UN and the Inter-American Systems of Individual Complaints?*

Two supranational forums oversee compliance with human rights in the Americas through individual communications mechanisms: the Organization of American States, through the Inter-American Commission and Court on Human Rights (OAS system) and the United Nations, through the UN Human Rights Committee (UN system). Individuals whose countries are 'members' of both systems, thus, have two options when their states fail to protect their human rights. After over 30 years of implementation, we still know very little about what influences individual's decisions between these systems. This paper reports on research which sheds some light on this matter. In the first instance, differences in the substantive rights protected by and the processes employed in each system were examined to derive testable hypotheses as to what might govern individual choice. These were tested by comparing a large sample of communications that had been found admissible from countries in the Americas which had accepted the jurisdiction of both systems. Analysis revealed some striking differences in patterns of usage. First among these differences was a high incidence of state terror cases and cases in which NGOs participated in the OAS system, while the UN system dealt with a high incidence of death penalty cases and cases submitted by UK-based lawyers. Further exploration of this difference through interviews revealed some unanticipated factors that appear to play a key role in influencing system choice. The paper concludes with suggestions as to how the effectiveness of each of these systems might be improved in light of these findings.

**Robinson, Fiona**

*Gender, Carework and HIV/AIDS: Feminist Considerations on the Ethics of Human Security*

This paper considers HIV/AIDS as a human security issue using the lens of feminist ethics. Although many organizations and much research concerning AIDS now explicitly recognizes the role played by women in home-based caregiving, and the effects of this on their economic and physical security, gender and care work remain an 'issue' related to HIV/AIDS and women, rather than being used as a framework through which to view the relationship between gender, HIV/AIDS and human security. In this paper I argue that sustained attention to the day-to-day realities of households and communities deeply affected by HIV/AIDS demands a not just the addition of a new human security issue, but rather a wholesale reconceptualization of the meaning of human security. Specifically, I argue that theorists of human security must move away from conceptualizations that privilege the autonomous individual as the primary referent of security,

while focusing almost exclusively on that individual's legal rights in the context of 'good governance'; moreover, they must move away from 'laundry lists' of human security issues towards an understanding of how particular threats -- political, societal, military, economic, environmental and health threats -- can lead to a breakdown in the relational fabric and caring networks within households and communities. This paper is part of a wider book project which explores key aspects of human security from the perspective of feminist ethics.

### **Rocan, Claude**

#### *Multi-Level Collaborative Governance: The Case of the Canadian Heart Health Initiative*

The Final Report of the World Health Organization on the Social Determinants of Health (2008) stresses the importance of vertical and horizontal integration to achieve coherence around major public health-related policy objectives. Unfortunately, the governance aspect of public health strategies is typically neglected or taken for granted. The purpose of this paper is to examine the governance dimension of a major public health strategy, the Canadian Heart Health Initiative (CHHI), with a view of determining how governance issues were addressed in its development and implementation and what insights can be derived from a close examination of its governance mechanisms. The CHHI was a broad-based national-level public health strategy, initiated in 1986, that sought to lead to changes in public policy and ultimately behaviour change. It involved federal, provincial, and territorial governments, with local governments in attempting to achieve policy coherence. Moreover, it involved "partnerships" with a large number of civil society organizations. Using the model of "collaborative governance" developed by Ansell and Gash (2007), modified to include a stronger inter-governmental dimension, our focus is on the aspect of "institutional design". In particular, the question examined is essentially: how was the multi-level (federal-provincial-civil society) nature of the CHHI reflected in the institutional design, and operationalized? Using document review and interviews with key informants, this paper will attempt to draw some preliminary conclusions based on this case, and to develop some more precise research questions that would be useful for practitioners and theoreticians.

### **Rojas, Christina**

#### *Securing Europe's Periphery: EU and Anchoring Turkey in Safe Waters*

Turkey's accession process to the EU is usually thought in binary terms of exclusion or membership. Whatever the end product of this process, Europe will be preoccupied with means to deal with Turkey. This paper will look at Turkey's association with and accession process to EU from a 'security' perspective. Security is understood in here in broad Foucaultian terms as 'future-oriented management of risk' (Valverde 2007). From a European perspective, Turkey is seen as an aggressive nation-state with considerable negative capacity to destabilize the region. Various European initiatives towards Turkey, such as promotion of human rights and democracy, reform of civil-military relations, strengthening civil society can be conceptualized as 'security' policies aimed at diminishing this negative capacity and pacifying it.

### **Rojas, Christina**

#### *Citizenship, Democracy and Security in Uribe's Colombia*

Citizenship is the cornerstone of Colombian President Alvaro Uribe's Democratic Security Policy. In this paper I ask what kind of citizen is formed under this policy. I examine the premises of citizenship when implemented under the double logic of democracy and security, drawing upon the thoughts of Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault. My conclusion is that in Colombia, the tensions between security and democracy are resolved with a bias toward the security rather than the democracy side of the equation. The consequence is the formation of a citizen less inclined to claim his or her rights politically and more prone to 'voluntary obedience' in return for protection; rather than a lasting peace this engenders a continuation of the barbarisms, this time in the name of securing citizens. I point out that the answers to these contradictions are found in the resistance movements of Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, peasants, peace communities and the movement of victims of all armed actors. I suggest a framework for analysis inspired by de-colonial thinkers.

### **Rollo, Tobold**

#### *When Words Fail: The Role of Positive Silence in Multicultural Democracies*

Aboriginal peoples have had mixed experiences when engaging in the politics of recognition, leading some indigenous writers to advocate for a constructive silence between aboriginal communities and the Canadian legal bureaucratic machinery. Unfortunately, where some indigenous peoples recognize the failure of words as an opportunity for silence structured interaction, western scholars and political agents worry that this move represents a retreat from cooperative dialogue and a disengagement from democratic negotiation. I begin with an analysis of literature that discusses the exercise of voice and the centrality of speech in political life. I also engage prevailing feminist, critical theory, and post-colonial critiques of liberal institutions, which focus on how political norms and structures continue to suppress the voices of particular communities. I then bring the philosophical, theoretical, and empirical work on positive silence to bear on the presumptions of democratic theory for the first time. Through an analysis of the expressive and emotional dimensions of non-deliberative conduct, I distinguish a typology of silences under three main categories: monological silences, which include artistic, contemplative, meditative, and monastic absences of speech; semantic silences, found in performative, symbolic, habituated, and rhetorical absences of speech and interactive silences, found in ordinary embodied and expressive practices of work, play, love, and friendship. Each broad category of silence presents some puzzles for

generating legitimate democratic outcomes, but while monological and semantic silences have been the object of study since Aristotle's Rhetoric, the dynamics of interactive silence have either been neglected or confused with other categories.

### **Ross, Stephanie**

*Days of Action, Years of Faction? The Effects of the Ontario Days of Action on the Ontario Labour Movement*

Despite their importance as an example of Canadian union renewal, little academic research has assessed the Ontario Days of Action's longer term effects on the Ontario labour movement. This series of eleven community-based mass walkouts between 1995-1998, protesting the Harris Conservative government's neoliberal policies, were widely considered an example of effective social unionism. They addressed the impact of neoliberalism on both labour and non-labour constituencies, brought together unions and community groups in a formal co-ordinating structure, used the strike as a political rather than economic strategy, and mobilized, trained and politicized a layer of previously uninvolved union members. The Days were said to have strengthened Ontario labour's capacity for both political and economic struggles, democratized the relationship between labour movement leaders and members, and built members' capacities. However, in the ten years since the last Day of Action, the movement has not generated effective, coordinated, mass mobilizational and participatory strategies on any front, whether to counter manufacturing job loss, undo Harris-era policies, or mount a concerted electoral challenge to the McGuinty government. Using both interviews with movement leaders and activists and archival materials, I argue that while some unions were more thoroughly renewed, the limits of the Days themselves delegitimized in other parts of the labour movement the effectiveness of mass extra-parliamentary mobilization and social unionism as a social change strategy. The divisions over labour movement strategy which plagued the Days themselves thus remain, hampering both effective coordination and the possibilities for renewal in the Ontario labour movement more generally.

### **Roussel, Stephane and Arnold, Samantha**

*Rouler des mécaniques dans l'Arctique »*

L'internationalisme et les dimensions oubliées de l'approche du Canada dans le Nord

Depuis 2004, le gouvernement canadien redécouvre l'importance d'affirmer sa présence dans l'Arctique. L'approche privilégiée par les gouvernements Martin et Harper semble cependant en porte-à-faux avec les principes de l'Internationalisme. En effet, elle emprunte la voie de l'unilatéralisme, de la militarisation à outrance et de la priorité accordée aux problèmes de sécurité (défense du territoire, terrorisme, trafic de stupéfiants, immigration illégale), ceci au détriment du multilatéralisme, de la coopération et la gestion intégrée des facteurs d'instabilité et de conflit.

Dans ce contexte, la communication proposée ici vise deux objectifs. D'une part, il s'agit de démontrer que cette approche reflète un changement dans l'expression de l'identité internationale du Canada, laquelle semble désormais reposer plus sur une reconnaissance de sa détermination à défendre ses intérêts en déployant des instruments de « puissance brute » (« hard power ») plutôt que par sa capacité de conciliation et de ralliement (« Soft power »). En ce sens, la sécurisation et la militarisation de l'Arctique paraissent obéir à une logique semblable à celle qui guide l'engagement du Canada en Afghanistan.

D'autre part, il s'agit de montrer en quoi la situation actuelle se prête pourtant à des initiatives qui pourraient être associées à une forme d'internationalisme, notamment par la création d'institutions bilatérales et multilatérales pour gérer conjointement les problèmes dans la région, et par l'adoption d'un ordre des priorités qui tient compte des dimensions sociales et culturelles des problèmes qui se posent dans la région (conséquences du réchauffement climatique sur les conditions de vie, problèmes sociaux liés à la multiplication des contacts, etc.).

### **Rowe, Paul**

*Postponing Armageddon? Religion and Peace in the Middle East*

Most scholarly assessments of the Middle East Peace Process focus on the institutional and political obstacles and opportunities that face would-be peacemakers. Those who do consider the contribution of religion and religious actors to the conflict tend to reinforce the assumption that religion is perhaps the most problematic factor deepening the Israeli-Arab conflict. Scholars such as R.R. Ruether have pointed to the concerns surrounding religious nationalism from all sides in the midst of the conflict. Recent works by I. Zertal and G. Gorenberg highlight the importance of the religious impulse behind an aggressive Israeli policy in the occupied territories. Others such as V. Clark and T. Weber have painted a negative picture of American Christian support for the same. Perhaps ironically, a more mixed portrait of radical Islamism has emerged from a variety of sources. Nevertheless, conventional wisdom seems to suggest that religion is more problematic than constructive in the context of the Middle East conflict.

This paper will explore the counterintuitive notion that religion is and can be a constructive force for peace in the Middle East by considering the role that Palestinian Christian actors are playing. By building bridges with both prominent and marginal actors among Jewish and Muslim interlocutors and through pro-active attempts at interfaith dialogue and civil society activity, these groups reflect new narratives of peace in the region. Employing interview and documentary research, the paper illustrates both the challenges and successes of these groups seeking to repackage religion for a new generation.

### **Roy, Jason**

### *Information, Institutions, Complexity and the Vote Calculus*

The literature on the use of political heuristics suggests that nearly all individuals employ some type of voting cue or 'short-cut' when deciding their vote (Cutler 2002; Johnston et al. 1996; Lau and Redlawsk 2006). What differentiates more politically informed individuals from their less informed counterparts is not the use of heuristics but their combination with additional criteria (Cutler 2002; Johnston et al. 1996). Building upon these findings, this paper uses data from 21 elections and five countries spanning a 20 year period in order to determine how the electoral context and institutional configuration affect the relationship between political information and the type of considerations employed in the vote calculus. Two hypotheses are considered. The first contends that the more informed will include more cognitively demanding types of factors (such as values and beliefs, issue considerations, and strategic considerations) in their vote calculus than their less informed counterparts. The second tests how differences in the electoral context affect the information-considerations relationship. The expectation is that increased complexity within the decision environment will strengthen the relationship between information and the number of cognitively demanding types of factors included in the vote calculus. The normative implications of these findings offer insight into the role our political institutions play in conditioning the vote calculus and the extent to which the electoral context exacerbates informational differences in how voters formulate their vote choice.

### **Ruckert, Arne**

#### *Periodizing Neoliberal Development Policy: From Destructive "Roll-Back" to Constructive "Inclusive" Neoliberalism*

The international development architecture has recently undergone a series of marked transformations, with the promotion of a range of novel principles and policy tools, such as poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), country ownership and development partnerships, and civil society participation. While historians have long argued that any periodization attempt is inherently flawed (Braudel 1953), this paper nevertheless sets out to periodize neoliberal development policy in order to assess the extent to which the aforementioned transformations represent the arrival of a new policy era (after neoliberalism). The paper first recounts the destructive phase of roll-back development policy of the 1980s and 1990s. It next suggests that we are currently in a reconstructive phase in which the social foundations for neoliberalism are re-build through the promotion of more inclusively oriented development policies and the institutional re-embedding of markets. It argues that this era does not however mark the transcendence of neoliberalism by a new policy regime, but rather signifies a deepening of on-going neoliberalization processes. The transformations of neoliberalism will be interrogated by theoretically drawing on precepts developed by regulation theorists (Jessop and Sum 2006, Theodore and Brenner 2002) and by building on Craig and Porter's concept on inclusive neoliberalism (Craig and Porter 2005).

### **Russo, Renato (Rick)**

#### *Accounting for the "Demand Side" of Judicialization*

Comparative research examining the judicialization of politics has generally focused on explicating its common origins. This research has provided sophisticated and persuasive accounts of judicialization as a global phenomenon (Tate and Vallinder 1995, Stone Sweet 2000, Hirschl 2004), but remains ambiguous with respect to understanding variations in the level and normative 'bent' of judicial influence.

My research explores how judicialization has been mediated by factors that vary across different policy-making contexts. I draw an analytical distinction between what Cornell Clayton (2002) has called the "supply" and "demand" sides of judicial policy making. This allows the factors that generally broaden judicial discretion (the "supply side") to be distinguished from those that encourage (or discourage) actors to move their issues to the courts (the "demand side"). This 'analytical turn' recognizes the possibility that the level and normative tone of judicialization may be less a function of "supply side" factors that explain the global expansion of judicial power, and more a reflection of "demand side" factors that frame how judges are drawn into the policy-making process.

My paper examines the differences in the evolution of judicial influence within the health care policy sectors in the Netherlands, Italy, and Canada since the 1990s. I provide a preliminary accounting for these differences through an examination of "supply" and "demand side" variations across the three cases. My approach raises several significant challenges of research design that I address through the adaptation of a "two-level" theoretical framework (Goertz and Mahoney 2005) that aims at generalizable hypotheses while remaining sensitive to issues of causal complexity (Ragin 2000).

### **Ryan, Peter, Cukier, Wendy, Thomlinson, Neil and Devereaux, Zachary**

#### *A Decade of Gun Control in Canada: Hansard Debate Then and Now*

Consistent accounts exist of the ineffective role that backbench Members of Parliament play in the Westminster Parliamentary democratic process. In terms of party agenda setting, this cross comparative media study presents the strategic use of the backbencher as a site where the frames for new issues can be tested without directly affecting the party elite if it fails. This study uses Noortje Marres' "issue network" (2005) analysis to identify the frames that Conservative Saskatchewan backbench MP Garry Breitkreuz has used to set the Conservative Party agenda against gun control in Canada. Breitkreuz's campaign is an example of a party using a consistent Backbench MP test strategy to extend his anti-gun control message from "a waste of money" in 1995 to a "\$2 billion boondoggle" frame in 2002. His framing language has been taken up by Canadian media to the present day, despite the Auditor General reporting, in May 2006, that the actual cost over ten years was under \$1 billion. Our analysis of Canadian Parliamentary debate on "Gun

Control” surveys three key periods in the 1995-2008 Hansard to present this case. This analysis is meant to renew debate around the uses of agenda setting (Soroka, 2002; Marres, 2005), and the media’s responsibility in accurate reporting, especially focusing on the fact that the gun registry has not cost near to “\$2 billion,” but this terminology continues as a frame in the House and the media, thereby misinforming Canadians and performing a great disservice to advocacy networks.

### **Sabadoz, Cameron**

*Freedom of Speech, Liberalism, and the Problem of Theological Argument in Spinoza’s Theological-Political Treatise*

Spinoza’s Theological-Political Treatise (TTP) aims to construct a political order that can protect the integrity of the individual. To do this he must support the state against the dangerous political ambitions of the church while still protecting individual thought. The result is a strange text, but one that generally accomplishes its intended goals. Problematically, Spinoza does not protect all forms of speech; he champions individual judgment and the right to free expression at the same moment that he forbids speech expressed through the passions. Many find in this work grounds for an implicit critique of liberalism in that it displays the inability of liberal theory to accommodate speech that attacks the liberal state’s legitimacy, something that forces the state to act illiberally to protect itself. This paper will argue instead that his reasons for banning religious argument, or indeed all passionate argument, run much deeper. Far from being instrumental to matters of statecraft, theological argument is banned because it is not a friendly dialogue with our neighbours but rather a coercive attack. In Spinoza’s Ethics, we see that the passions and intellect are tightly connected, but while the latter permits our highest flourishing, the former only renders us passive. With this, the categories of action and speech blur, with unreformed theological argument similar to common blackmail. If taken seriously, this demands that certain speech be suppressed in order to protect those who might be coerced into abandoning their highest potential – something that points towards less a critique of liberalism than the argument that Spinoza’s liberal bona fides are highly suspect.

### **Saikia, Pahi**

*Contesting divested territories: tribal land alienation and the evidence for violent mobilization*

How does land alienation or land encroachment as a factor interact with patterns of violent conflict? The paper will address this question by analyzing a distinct pattern of violence between the Bodos and the settler communities more particularly, the Santhalis and Bangladeshis during the Bodo agitation in India, over a period from 1989-1998. In the burgeoning literature on violent conflict, a broad theoretical framework exists which points out a positive correlation between land related resource scarcity and violent conflict. Without totally disregarding the contribution of such findings, this study reveals another possibility that land related grievances may not be the proximate causes of inter-group hostilities in localities where violence is massive but may serve as an important antecedent condition that facilitates activist framing to justify violent activities. My analysis will focus on investigating how state’s inability to protect tribal lands from being alienated and encroached upon by settler communities became a major grievance factor that was closely intertwined with larger Bodo identity soundly based in terms of territorial indigeneity, the sine qua non of decentralized tribal politics.

### **Saint-Martin, Denis**

*Institutional plasticity as non-credible commitment: the politics of congressional ethics*

On March 11, 2008, with a vote of 229-182, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution to create an independent Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE). Whether the new OCE will actually “bring greater accountability and transparency to the ethics process” as its supporters claim, is still an open question. Partisan obstacles and multiple veto points will undoubtedly make the OCE’s work difficult. But while such factors may well frustrate the ambitions of reformers, they do not say much about how a growing number of politicians in the House came to see the creation of an outside ethics watchdog as their preferred policy option. This constitutes a major reversal in the policy preferences of powerful actors in Congress, and this is what I seek to explain in this paper.

In the 1960s, Congress created an ethics system that came to be described as “toothless”, “minimalist”, “arbitrary”, inconsistent, and “malleable”. In other words, Congress’ ethics process is characterized by a relatively high level of what Hall and Pierson call “institutional plasticity”.

As I seek to show in this paper, empirically, institutions - such as Congress’ ethics process – can be “plastic” but over time, their very plasticity generates legitimacy problems and feedback effects that cause powerful actors to change their preferences. In other words, the key theoretical point I make in this paper is quite straightforward: over time, even “toothless” institutions can “bite”, that is, they can lead politicians to change their preference and support an option (e.g. the creation of an independent ethics office) that they initially did not favour and consistently rejected in the past.

### **Salée, Daniel**

*Myths and Limits of Interculturalism: For a Critique of the Liberal Humanist Vision of Ethnocultural Diversity Management*

Interculturalism, though not coined recently, seems to be a new buzzword among specialists and state “managers” of ethnocultural diversity. The Council of Europe declared 2008 the year of intercultural dialogue and the co-Chairs of Quebec’s Commission of consultation on reasonable accommodation insisted that Quebec officially commit to

interculturalism as its guiding model of diversity management. Proponents of interculturalism are quick to vaunt its merits as an approach they contend is better conceived than multiculturalism policies to facilitate the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and members of racialized minorities: it is premised on a dialogue between the majority and members of ethnocultural minorities toward the reconfiguration of society on new bases that both constituencies participate equally in defining. Interculturalism is allegedly more democratic, more egalitarian and more likely to foster social justice and dignity for ethnocultural minority groups. This paper interrogates the concept of interculturalism as it is currently formulated in the academic and official policy literature, and argues that it operates as discourse of regulation of the Other as it fails to address the dynamics of power behind the social processes of exclusion, subalternization and racialization that continue to mark the lived reality of ethnocultural minority groups in liberal democratic societies. Mainstream interculturalists are more concerned with social cohesion than with challenging the dynamics of power and socioinstitutional structures that preclude ethnocultural minority groups from taking part in the redefinition of society on a level playing field. The paper concludes by proposing an alternative vision based on radical democratic pluralism.

### **Salter, Mark and Piché, Genevieve**

#### *American Political Discourse and the Securitization of the US-Canada Border*

In the proposed paper, the authors analyse the empirical process of securitization of the US-Canada border and then reflect on the model proposed by the Copenhagen School's. We argue that securitization theory oversimplifies the political process of securitizing moves and audience acceptance. Rather than attribute securitization to a singular speaker addressing a specific audience, we present overlapping and on-going language security games performed by varying actors throughout the political community. Using discursive analysis of documents and statements presented by varying relevant actors during the key period between the Intelligence Reform and Terrorist Prevention Act (IRTPA) in December of 2004 and the signing of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) in June of 2005, we argue that a larger set of actors in the United States (political leaders, media, academics, and private firms) participate in the continuing construction of a context in which this issue is increasingly treated as a matter of security. Attempts at securitizing the border were initialized through the identification of general threats, such as terrorism and drugs, as well as the overall permeability of the border, and linking them to varying referent objects, including the general population, identity, specific groups, the economy, and collective values among others. We conclude that to understand the securitization of the US-Canada border within the American context, the model of securitization must be extended to include a multiplicity of actors, varied audiences and contexts, and a richer understanding of historical context.

### **Santokie, Kara**

#### *A problem beyond human rights? Female migrants, sex trafficking and the ethic of care*

This paper shall apply an ethic of care analysis to the problem of sex trafficking in women. Most feminist analyses of sex trafficking are limited to an identification of the 'voluntary-forced' dichotomy; some also advocate a human rights approach. I shall argue that a human rights-based approach is insufficient to overcome the moral judgments which are tied to existing anti-sex trafficking governance approaches, and the conflation of the problem with prostitution has meant that responsibilities to female migrants are obscured or ignored. Existing policies fail to protect trafficked women—their design and implementation are based on gendered assumptions about female sexual vulnerability. The advantage of an ethic of care approach is that it is not weakened by questions of differences in rights for men and women, or whether sex work is a labor or moral issue. Rather, it draws attention to the need to actively engage with female migrants—the subjects of global governance—in order to construct effective policy that is not gendered to the detriment of those it is supposed to protect. This is accomplished first by deconstructing how policies designed to be 'ethical necessities' work to women's disadvantage and distort responsibilities inherent in female migrants' relationships with their communities, governments and international institutions; and second by advocating that moral knowledge come from female migrants themselves. Applying a care analysis demonstrates how alternative emancipatory approaches to meaningful and ethical lives can be conceptualized. This is especially necessary when policies which claim to protect women's rights do the opposite.

### **Saul, John**

#### *Apartheid in Comparative Perspective: The Comparative Implications of the South African Case*

The possible comparative and global implications of the apartheid case will be examined, evaluating the use of the concept of "apartheid" (it is, of course, an Afrikaans word designed specifically to fit the South African case in the first instance) both as a descriptor of global inequality and as a metaphor/concept to help examine a (presumed) parallel mode of prescriptive and racist oppression in Israel/Palestine. The rise of apartheid in South Africa itself will then be discussed, noting both that country's general historical framing within the overarching dynamics of western capitalist imperial expansion on the one hand and the more specific attributes of the country (settler colonialism, the impracticality of genocide, the felt need for cheap labour) that produced its specifically "apartheid" edge on the other. The "fall" of apartheid will also be examined, highlighting the effectively mobilized internal resistance by the (vast) mass of the (black) population, the shifting imperatives of a threatened capital (national and global), and the global mobilization of anti-apartheid energies as key determinants of "success." So too will the reality that the overthrow of apartheid has had very limited effect in redressing severe inequalities that exist beyond the formally racist ones. Finally, without examining the Israel/Palestine case in any depth, some comment will then be made as to the use of the "apartheid" metaphor/concept

both as a possible more universal descriptor, at once comparative and scientific, and as a tool of contemporary mobilization, national/regional as well as international, against both global inequality ("global apartheid") and Israeli oppression in the Middle East.

### **Savage, Larry**

*Municipalities as Agents of Neoliberalism: The Shifting Landscape of Local Government in Ontario*

The autonomy and flexibility of local governments in Ontario has increased in recent years as part of a shifting provincial-municipal landscape. Paradoxically, this new autonomy has gone hand in hand with tremendous economic constraints in the form of provincial downloading of services. Historically, municipalities relied primarily on large conditional grants from the provincial government in order to finance most local services and projects. However, in recent years, amidst a backdrop of neoliberal restructuring, provincial transfers have been greatly reduced, thus forcing municipalities to rely more heavily on their own property tax bases and user fees to pay for growing municipal expenditures. Therefore, although local governments are in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the provincial government, they play an increasingly significant role as agents of neoliberalism through the administration, management and direction of the cities and towns that make up the province of Ontario

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section begins with a description of recent changes in the relationship between municipalities and the provincial government with a view to explaining how local government has become central to the project of neoliberal globalization. The next section describes how neoliberal restructuring at the local level has contributed to an erosion of democratic municipal institutions and their various representative functions. The last section explores both the opportunities and obstacles facing the labour movement and social movements in Ontario's contemporary municipal political arena.

### **Sawer, Marian**

*Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality*

Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism.

This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

### **Schatteman, Alicia**

*State of Ontario's Municipal Performance Reports: A Critical Analysis*

Ontario mandated a municipal performance measurement program in 2001, one of the first in North America. Although the annual reports are mandated and the indicators on which they are required to report are uniform throughout the province, the quality of the performance reports vary significantly and not only by municipal size. The primary question this paper will address is what is the current level of quality of these reports? The method used to answer this question is content analysis, scoring a sample of municipal reports on a quality scale based on report content, format and distribution. The quality index was developed based on several national reporting principles. An online survey of municipal managers was also used to gather information about factors which may influence the quality of reports. A sample of 136 municipalities was achieved. Although the intent of Ontario's performance measurement system was to enhance accountability to citizens, the reports themselves are not high quality. Less than 10% of all performance reports received a passing score (at least 11 out of 20 points). Municipal managers are frustrated by the system, particularly those who see the data collection and reporting as mere compliance. The reports, for most municipalities, are not prepared for or promoted to citizens. The enabling legislation tried to mandate accountability to the province, improve accountability to citizens, and provide data for usefulness in decision-making. The mandate is too broad and does not have sufficient buy-in from municipalities to call this program a success.

### **Schiff, Jacob**

*Power and Responsibility: A Reconsideration*

My research emphasizes the experience of political responsibility in a globalized world. I have recently argued that Iris Young's social connection model of responsibility implicitly and problematically presupposes our acknowledgment of connection to others' suffering. In the proposed paper I will turn from the experience of political responsibility as such to the question of how that experience might be more adequately shared. The question is motivated by my concern about a prevalent conception of power. Like the liability model she criticized, Young's model of responsibility relies upon an instrumental conception of power: Those who "have" power are responsible political subjects; those who "lack" it are not. Such a formulation is intuitively appealing. But it is inadequate for a world that all human beings share (however unequally), because it undermines the status of those who "lack" power as political subjects at all. Happily we have recourse to a different conception of power—one associated with Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu—in which power is not a resource to be used instrumentally, but rather a force that circulates productively and that constitutes human beings



as particular kinds of subjects (including responsible ones). From this perspective the question of political responsibility becomes, not the divisive one of “who is responsible and who is not?” But, rather, “how are human beings constituted as responsible subjects, and how might we enhance all human beings’ capacities to respond to the suffering of others?”

### **Schilling, Markus and Chiang, Lichun**

#### *The Depletion of Non-renewable Resources for Non-sustainable Externalities as an Economic Development Policy*

The debate about the significance of non-renewable resources for economic development is an on-going discussion between optimists and pessimists, but what insights does it provide for contemporary societies to choose between alternative growth paths? This paper aims to explain the depletion of non-renewable resources within the concept of externalities in order to determine the range of externalities for future generations by broadening the analysis of economic growth to sustainable development. The extensive depletion of non-renewable resources, particularly oil, along with a higher level of consumption will have a significant impact on the economic development of future generations. Sooner or later economies will have to rely on the input of renewable resources, but the time required for this transition depends on a clear definition of non-renewable and depletable resources. The costs of transforming an economy from one that depletes non-renewable resources to one that is in accordance with sustainable development are considered negative externalities for future generations. The main questions of this paper is “What is impact of the depletion of non-renewable resources for a sustainable economic development?” and “under what conditions state current efforts of employing renewable resources negative respectively positive externalities for future generations?” In order to answering the questions, the research theory applied is a neo-liberal approach. Finally, the research findings based on qualitative analysis clarifies the reasons and the extents we need to take sustainability into account as well as points to difficulties when implementing strategies for a sustainable economic development.

### **Schmidtke, Oliver and Zaslove, Andrej**

#### *Framing Immigration and Influencing Public Policy: the role of social and political actors*

European immigration policies are in flux. This is nowhere more evident than in Germany and in Italy. Germany, once a country known for its Guest Worker policies and exclusionary citizenship laws, more recently enacted legislation making it easier to acquire citizenship (2000), while creating policies to recruit highly skilled workers (2002, 2008). Italy transformed from a country of emigration to an immigrant receiving county in the 1990s, passed legislation in 1998 addressing immigrant labour recruitment, integration, and social rights. However, between 2001-2006, and since 2008, the center-right government has linked immigration with security, while discouraging labour migration and integration.

Recent immigration policies in Germany and Italy have coincided with the politicization of immigration. Unlike in the immediate post war era (1945-73), when political elites sought to avoid politicizing immigration, in the 1980s and the 1990s, new political parties on the left, such as Green parties, and new (populist) right-wing political parties, politicized immigration.

This paper addresses three research questions: 1) how have political parties on the left and the right framed the issue of immigration?; 2) is it possible to identify immigration as a left/ right issue, focusing, in particular, on issues of citizenship, asylum, integration/ multiculturalism, and family reunification. 3) have political parties, and social movements, on the left and the right influenced immigration policies in Germany and Italy; in particular, the focus is on key legislative initiatives such as the German Citizenship Law (2000), Immigration Law (2002), and in Italy on the center-left immigration law (1998) and the 2002 center-right legislation. By addressing these questions the paper will examine the changing nature of politicizing immigration, the key social and political actors involved in this process and the implications on forming key policies in this area.

### **Scholtz, Christa**

#### *Indigenous Claimant Cohesion in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*

In a land claims process, the claimant group is a given indigenous group claiming a specific and longstanding connection with particular lands, and it is this local rights-bearing group that a government would see sitting across the bargaining table. Indigenous group cohesion therefore refers to the characteristics of the country’s average indigenous claimant. This paper will explore how the average indigenous claimant group in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia came to differ and how that difference matters. I identify and explore the role of indigenous group cohesion to highlight two themes: 1) how indigenous claimants in different polities were shaped through specific historical processes, leading to important cross-national differences in claimants’ negotiating capacities; and 2) how policymakers’ perceptions of indigenous group cohesiveness factored into land claim policy processes. I will identify four indicators that together provide a composite measure of cross-national aggregate indigenous group cohesion. Together, these four indicators tap into both internal and external factors which helped, hindered, or had an ambivalent effect on the creation of externally identifiable and politically cohesive indigenous land rights claimants. They are: 1) the centralization of political authority within the traditional social structure of the indigenous land-rights bearing group; 2) the geographic definition of indigenous land-holding communities; 3) the provision and distribution of social welfare payments and services; and 4) the definition or incorporation of indigenous land claimant groups within the state’s legal system.

### **Schulman, Jason**

#### *AFTER LABOURISM: THE NEOLIBERAL TURN BY LABOUR PARTIES AND THE RESPONSE BY TRADE UNIONS*

Explanations for the embrace of pro-market policies by social democratic parties over the last thirty years have pointed to various factors, most commonly the globalization of production and finance, the shrinking of the blue-collar working class, and the rise of so-called postmaterialist politics. Such accounts are insufficient because they do not take three important factors into account. The first factor is the change in the class composition of the leadership and individual membership of social democratic parties, even in labour parties with trade union affiliations (Britain, New Zealand, Australia). These parties are increasingly dominated by the salariat—a stratum of intermediate executives and technicians, professionals and engineers, all of whom enjoy a high degree of economic security, job autonomy, and education. The second factor is the diminishing of the influence of the unions within the very parties that are supposed to be their political representatives. The third factor is the lack of a strategy by the unions to ensure that the party leadership must listen to them and take their interests into account when formulating policies. The evidence suggests that the centralized organization of union federations makes the union movement appear as a credible force to labour party leaderships, and that to be able to moderate how quickly and how drastically labour party governments can enact neoliberal policies the unions must be politically active within their historic parties and offer a coherent economic program years before the parties take office.

### **Sculthorpe, Alexander**

*Chronicling a Coalition Conundrum: An Analysis of Party Choices and Public Perception in Canada's "Coalition Crisis"*

This paper will explore the internal decision-making processes of the four major parties represented in the Canadian House of Commons during the "coalition crisis" of late 2008 - early 2009. Through media analysis, as well as interviews with representatives from the parties, their paths will be traced through this episode, with particular emphasis on how dependent each party's actions were on perceived public opinion as reflected in national polling and media coverage. Public opinion at the time concerning the prospect of the potential 'coalition' will also be investigated as well as the average Canadians' knowledge, as reflected by the media, of how Canadian parliamentary governance functions.

The paper aims to establish how public opinion influenced the positions of each party and how the political parties' actions and persuasive tactics affected public opinion. It will also consider what, if any role, Canadians' knowledge of federal politics and Parliament played in the creation, and eventual dissolution of the coalition.

### **Sengupta, Mitu**

*Labour Organisations and India's Market Reforms: Tracking Shifts in Strategy, Structure and Ideology*

The processes of economic liberalisation and democratic expansion have eroded the limited privileges that labour had gained within the constraints of Indian capitalism, first through its participation in the anti-colonial struggle, and later, into the first few decades following independence, because of its still unmatched capacity for political organisation and mobilisation. While economic liberalisation arguably began in the early 1980s, it is in the post-1991 period that the losses for labour have been particularly colossal. Besides a more aggressively pro-capital state, Indian trade unions have had to contend with an acute contraction of formal sector employment, which is wearing down their numbers, as well as new challenges to their unity as a political movement, such as the rise of non-political and narrowly-focused workers' associations (which appear comfortable with most facets of neoliberal reform), and the multiple conflicts of interest and perspective that have emerged over issues of gender, religion and caste. This paper examines the challenges that have propelled established and party-affiliated labour organisations into changing their mobilisational strategies, organisational structures and ideological positions in significant ways, though not always with the desired effect of recovering their lost political influence. It also explores new areas of concern that have emerged as a result of these shifts, such as how to balance the language and politics of class with the language and politics of identity-based recognition and representation, and how to harmonise national-level, and even global-level, struggles with micro-level battles at the firm-level.

### **Shankar, Mahesh**

*Exploring the peaceful rise of great powers: Looking for institutional solutions*

While the rise of new powers in the international system has historically been associated with war, power transition perspectives also make room for the peaceful management of such changes in the distribution of power. I propose that a crucial mechanism for managing the rise of new powers lies in institutionalizing the changes in distributions of power in existing international regimes and institutions, thereby creating system satisfaction and a stake for these new powers in the status quo. The inflexibility of institutions such as the UNSC, and regimes such as the non-proliferation regime in accommodating rising powers might then suggest a potential hindrance in peacefully managing rising powers in Asia. The implication is that only states that are fundamentally revisionist in their goals for the regional and international orders are likely to threaten stability as they rise, threats which may be minimized through nuclear deterrence on the one hand, and management initiatives which seek to alter revisionist goals by offering returns in the form of a place at the high table of the existing international system on the other. Other rising powers such as India and Japan, given their preexisting status-quoism may be more easily managed by ensuring that the international institutional structure is dynamic in keeping with changing distributions of power. I look specifically at the cases of the recent India-US nuclear deal and the management of China's rise over the last several decades, in exploring the prospects for peaceful change.

### **Shanks, Torrey**

### *Political Rationality and Feminist Critiques of John Locke*

John Locke is most often understood as a rationalist thinker of politics, whose approach to political critique dispenses with history and social context. His thought has been the occasion for multiple waves of feminist critics to consider the value of rationalism for judging the gendered nature of our social and political practices. While a few find Locke a valuable feminist resource, far more find the timeless and universal rationalism to be insufficient for critically understanding gender inequality, most notably Carole Pateman. Critics and admirers alike assume Locke's rationalism and in doing so, I argue that they miss valuable resources for feminist political critique. My paper offers a close reading of Locke's critical engagement with a timeless and universal conception of politics – patriarchy – in the First Treatise. On this reading, Locke's style of political critique comes to offer resources for feminist political critique that have so far been overlooked in most critical readings of Locke. Taking Locke's critique of Filmer's universalism seriously, we find in Locke an alternative account of political rationality that grapples with the power of imagination, rhetoric, and contingency.

### **Sharma, Ajay**

**Multilevel Governance and Climate Change: Are Municipalities Effective 'Partners' in the Canadian Climate-Change Response?**

One of the more salient yet under-examined developments in the Canadian climate-change response centres on the increasing role played by Canada's municipalities. Over the course of the last decade municipalities have strategically inserted themselves into the climate-change debate. Municipalities have voluntarily adopted and implemented climate-change policy agendas that seek to mitigate the environmental impact of municipal-based greenhouse gas emissions. Proponents of municipal involvement argue that the pursuit of "one solution for all common problems" is shortsighted and too easily designed, and that optimal solutions will remain elusive if policy is developed in jurisdictional vacuums. This perspective has been acknowledged by the federal government with the establishment of the 'Green Municipal Fund' that finances climate-change policy initiatives at the municipal level. In addition, several provincial governments have also established analogous funding initiatives. At the very minimum, such measures demonstrate that a multilevel and cross-jurisdictional approach is required for the development and implementation of an effective climate-change response. This paper examines the impact of increased levels of intergovernmental cooperation and funding from the federal and provincial levels of government on the municipal climate change response. More specifically, it asks the following question: does the availability of funding from higher levels of government provide an opportunity structure for municipalities to implement an effective climate change agenda. Put differently, would municipalities pursue a climate-change agenda in the absence of federal and provincial funding? This paper presents findings from my dissertation research which addresses these questions through an analysis of several Ontario municipalities.

### **Shepherd, Robert**

*A Review of the Accounting Officer and Audit Committee Function Resulting from Federal Accountability Act (FedAA)*

The purpose of the session is to review departmental and overall federal governmental experience with the implementation of the Federal Accountability Act, 2006. The paper argues that the shift to universalistic and rules-based approaches to accountability will likely give rise to perverse effects within departments. The paper concentrates on the experience of three federal departments: Canadian Food Inspection Agency, Heritage Canada, and Industry Canada. It may be that only one of these is prepared as a case study given the breadth of the Act. The paper relies on performance information and interviews with senior departmental representatives.

Overall, the paper is an assessment of federal understandings of accountability under NPM with an emphasis on performance management. In particular, it focuses on the following elements of the Act: Access-to-Information, Lobbying, departmental accountability including that of deputies and deputy heads and the MAF, and audit committees. Questions asked are: what impacts has the Act had on departmental management and operations? Has accountability ("to" is the question) improved? What strategies have been devised to serve or circumvent the Act? What are the department's reactions to the Act to date and thoughts to the future?

### **Shlozberg, Reuven**

*WILLING, NATALITY, SELFHOOD AND OTHERNESS IN ARENDT'S CONCEPTION OF MORAL PERFORMANCE*

In this paper I critically address the crucial and often overlooked role of willing in Arendt's later thought. I argue that Arendt's investigation of thinking, judging and willing was meant to show that human agents possess capacities other than conscience that enable them to tell right from evil and thus to be held morally responsible for evil action even under Nazi conditions. Willing, which turns detached reflection into action in the world, has to overcome the fact that moral action, under Nazi conditions, runs counter to what seems to be otherwise necessitated by the situation, which it can do, according to Arendt, thanks to our natal capacity.

I then argue that on Arendt's own terms moral performance entails the recapturing of the agent's plural capacity for sharing humanity, buried under Nazi conditions. This recapturing necessitates, at the moment of willing, that the agent choose between two 'faces' of the self – the self-focused face at the forefront of ordinary decision-making which sees otherness as inimical to selfhood, and the plural face (re)discovered in moral reflection which sees selfhood and otherness as intertwined and mutually reinforcing. The choice of the latter is presupposed in Arendt's understanding of willing even though our natal capacity has no effect on it. I end my paper by showing why the self has sufficient

experiential reasons to resist the temptations of the self-focused face, such that choosing this face is again something agents can legitimately be held morally responsible for, even under Nazi conditions.

### **Singh, Jakeet**

#### *The Ethics of Anti-Imperialism*

In this paper I attempt to identify and explore two distinct moments in anti-imperial praxis. The first moment is focussed on the achievement of a political end or telos, usually in the form of a liberation struggle seeking some form of political autonomy. We might call this first moment the 'freedom' orientation within anti-imperial praxis. The second moment is focussed on a kind of self-transformation of being, which, following late Foucault, we might call an 'ethical' orientation within anti-imperial praxis. Although both moments have to some extent been involved in most anti-imperial struggles, I suggest that anti-imperial praxis is today shifting away from its earlier prioritization of the 'freedom' orientation, toward a prioritization of the 'ethical' orientation. I identify three reasons for this shift: (1) an increasing recognition of how the current neo-imperial order actually governs through the forms of political freedom that were the goals of earlier waves of decolonization; (2) an increasing recognition that many of the forms of political freedom sought in earlier decolonization struggles are themselves derived from a liberal-democratic political horizon whose hegemony is itself a colonial legacy, and which today serves as a language of legitimation for the current neo-imperial order; and (3) an increasing desire to regenerate and reinvigorate alternative ethical-political traditions that have been marginalized as a result of imperialism, and to deploy these alternative traditions against imperialism today. As a result of these three developments, I suggest that anti-imperial praxis is shifting toward an ethical orientation that, rather than rejecting the concern for political freedom, folds the latter into broader ethical-political struggles for self-transformation. I draw upon the work of Gandhi as an example of an anti-imperial praxis in which the struggle for political freedom is regarded as only one part of a broader ethical struggle.

### **Sithole, Kundai**

#### *Legitimation, rights and the Council of Europe: a question of 'borrowed' legitimacy?*

As a regional organisation in a democratic region, the Council of Europe (CoE) functional legitimacy facilitates the elaboration and subjectification of the intersubjective regional human rights norms. However, in considering the CoE's political legitimacy as derivative of the moral legitimacy of the regional human rights standard that it seeks to elaborate and uphold, present discussions on the legitimacy of international organisations are considered analogously inapplicable. Although demonstrative of features common to all multilateral organisations, they neither highlight the specificities of the CoE as a 'regional human rights organisation', nor do they seek to distinguish it from other agents of international law and politics.

This paper examines the CoE's political legitimacy, through an analysis of its role as the guardian of human rights in Europe. Accordingly, while taking into consideration both internally and externally defined human rights policies, a dual argument will be advanced. First, it is to be argued that the CoE provides a propitious framework for vertical human rights policy-making, allowing for the multiple interpretations of the regional human rights standard at the national level. Second, and most importantly, it will be demonstrated that the active role played by the CoE in its guardianship of human rights has allowed for it to become the framework of human rights policy-making in Europe. Thus, notwithstanding the paucity of literature on the CoE's political authority, this discussion will contribute to the burgeoning literature on the legitimacy of international organisations by focusing on the interaction between political authority, rights and the region.

### **Skogstad, Grace, Houle, David and Bélanger, Charles**

#### *Food Versus Fuel: Internationalization and the Biofuels Debate*

The use of corn and other agricultural commodities to produce ethanol for fuel has ignited an international debate. Biofuels have been described as means to tackle climate change and as important contributor to escalated food prices and food insecurity.

In early 2008, the negative view of biofuels gathered steam when the food versus fuels dichotomy became the official discourse of international organizations. A top official in the UN Food and Agriculture Organization described using arable land to make fuel 'a crime against humanity.' Domestic governments that had subsidized the production of biofuels and were legislating minimum biofuel content were put on the defensive by the critique of international organizations. Government responses differed. While European policy-makers were sensitive to the criticisms and modified their policies, the Canadian government largely rebuffed the criticisms and proceeded with its pro-biofuels policies. This paper examines the Canadian and European biofuels debates for the light it sheds on the internationalization of domestic policy debates and policy outcomes. Scholars argue that domestic politics and policy-making are increasingly subject to the influence of the ideas and interests of international actors—other governments, international organizations, and/or transnational advocacy and epistemic networks. There is also considerable evidence that the impact of international actors and institutions is mediated by the domestic institutional framework of decision-making. This paper argues that while structural aspects of the domestic policy community/network are important delimiters of internationalization's effects, several other factors are also important, including short-term partisan and political considerations and longer-term policy paradigms for agriculture and the environment.

### **Smith, Charles**

### *Employment Regulation and the Ontario Liberal Government, 2003-2008*

This paper will examine the changes made to employment legislation under the Ontario Liberal government from 2003 to 2008. In particular, it will concentrate on the reforms to the Ontario Labour Relations Act (OLRA) and the Employment Standards Act (ESA). Particularly, the paper will consider how institutions associated with employment regulation have changed under the government of Dalton McGuinty.

Elected after eight years of contentious, neo-conservative rule, the McGuinty government promised in 2003 to bring "fairness and balance" back to the regulation of workplace activity. It also promised to address the growing gap income gap, which was exacerbated by the financial policies of the Harris government. This investigation will ask if the changes made by the McGuinty government has actually mediated and lessened the class divisions within the workplace, as some contemporary analysts seem to assume. Notwithstanding these early promises, however, preliminary evidence suggests that the changes made by the McGuinty government have done little to address the issues of poverty and the growing underclass of the "working poor."

### **Smith, Heather**

#### *Canadian Climate Change Policy and Good International Citizenship in the Harper Era*

The notion of good international citizenship has been integral to the construction of the internationalist discourse. Observers of Canadian foreign policy during the Chretien era argued that good international citizenship had waned. If we agree that it had waned in the last 1990s this begs the question of whether or not there remains any value to the concept of good international citizenship in the present context. It will be seen that in the case of climate change one is hard pressed to see indications of good international citizenship understood as supporting the global good or rooted in any notion of humane internationalism. Rather, the constructions of citizenship that do exist in the climate change discourse are very much about the Canadian citizen while simultaneously constructing others as threats to Canada's well being. It is an insular, muscular, and xenophobic citizen that is expressed in the climate change discourse of the Harper government.

### **Smith, Peter (Jay) and Chen, Peter**

#### *"A Canadian E-election 2008? Online Media and Political Competition"*

This paper examines the use and impact of internet submedia on the 2008 Canadian federal election. Based on content analysis of party and candidate use of different internet submedia during the campaign, combined with survey and interview data, the paper explores the application of online media across a range of actors (individual candidates, institutionalized political parties, and civil society organizations). It examines two broad areas of interest: the extent to which online media was employed, either ad hoc or as an integrated element within wider campaigning, in the election; and the role of online media in extending or closing the access gap between major and minor political parties (the so-called "democratization versus normalization" debate).

The research demonstrates a mixed picture of the role of online media in the 2008 Canadian federal election. Structural, human and financial resources can be identified as advantaging established parties access to both conventional and online media, in a way demonstrating the complex relationship between offline and online media. By taking a broader approach to examining the "presence" of candidates online, the research demonstrates an equalization in access to online representation, but with distinct variations in the use of different online submedia by established and minor parties, and interesting variations between French and English Canadians. Comparable to other Westminster democracies, the research demonstrates a considerable practice gap between "optimal" and actual levels of deployment of online media in close political races, but identifies areas where political parties are engaging with online communities to project their messages.

### **Smits, Katherine**

#### *Negotiating Cultural Claims: Ethnic and Indigenous Multiculturalism and the Discourses of National Identity*

The discourse of minority rights commonly assumes a fundamental distinction between the rights and claims of national and indigenous minorities, and those of polyethnic immigrant groups. Liberal multiculturalists see the latter group as pursuing integrative strategies designed to ensure equal treatment of members, while the former assert self-determination rights on the basis of autonomous identity or prior status as existing nations. In practice, though, the culturally-based claims of these groups in settler societies often conflict, as they compete for legitimacy in the context of public debate about national identity.

This paper examines the triangulated relationship between the claims of polyethnic groups for cultural recognition, indigenous claims for national cultural autonomy and public discourses of national identity. As part of a broader comparative project, it compares the cases of Australia and New Zealand: in both of these, the arguments of indigenous and ethnic groups have emerged into public debate around the same time – simultaneously with a focus by successive governments on the construction and reinforcement of cohesive national identity. New Zealand's policy of biculturalism, accommodating Maori, has recently been challenged by polyethnic multiculturalism. In Australia, a long-standing consensus on multiculturalism has been disrupted not only by conservative arguments about national unity, but also by the emerging political claims of indigenous Australians. In both cases, the state has attempted to manage these competing claims by complex strategies that include playing them against each other, using them to promote particular versions of national identity, and resisting them in the name of social cohesion.

**Smythe, Elizabeth***What's in the Package? Transparency, Trade and Politics of Food Labeling*

This paper employs case studies of food labeling to examine whether, based on values such as more sustainable food production and distribution, consumers can have influence over food production. Food scares, concerns about climate change and sustainable food production have increased media attention and public concern about regulation and food inspection in both domestic and foreign agencies. Citizens want more information about what they are eating, where it comes from, and how it was produced. This paper examines this struggle over the eaters' right to know what they are eating through the lens of growing demands for more transparency and the development of transnational movements challenging the global food system. Informed consumer choice could redress the increasing shift of power and influence to large corporate agribusiness, but only if trade rules and agreements do not limit or circumscribe consumer influence. Information is a way to address uncertainty about the nature of food, questions of safety and eroding confidence in regulators. As food production has globalized regulations can interfere with trade and thus international institutions, such as the Codex Alimentarius and the World Trade Organization (WTO) play an increasing role in food labeling standards. Rules governing labeling are crucial and the subject of political struggle at the national and the global level. Canada's policies on labeling and its positions on food labeling at the Codex and the WTO will be examined to address the question of who influences state policy on food labels and international negotiations.

**Smythe, Elizabeth***Back to the Future? European Partnership Agreements and Investment rules -The WTO's Singapore Issues in Disguise?*

Over the past decade since the Seattle ministerial multilateral trade negotiations at the WTO have become more difficult to initiate and more difficult to conclude as agendas broaden and involve controversial issues such as agriculture, services, intellectual property and investment and new stronger regional and developing-country coalitions emerge. As resistance has emerged the response of many powerful actors has been to move to regional and bilateral negotiations for trade and investment. A trend that critics claim may lead to asymmetries in negotiating capacity and imbalanced agreements that advantage the more powerful actors and shrink policy space especially among the least developed countries in the global south. Supporters, on the other hand, argue such agreements provide a way forward to further economic liberalization and a means for smaller developing countries to access markets and attract needed foreign capital. This panel will critically assess regional and bilateral trade and investment agreements between developed actors, such as the United States and the European Union, and underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa Latin America

**Soennecken, Dagmar***Courts and the new governance of immigration in the EU*

My paper examines the growing influence of the courts over the governance of immigration and asylum matters in the European Union from a broad, historical perspective. I will focus on the time period from the end of the Second World War to the present, outlining a series of tipping points or 'critical junctures' in the relationship of the courts to the Executive that were critical in furthering the growth of judicial power in this policy area.

While a prominent body of literature in the law and politics sub field argues that judicial empowerment is a phenomenon universally driven by self-interested elites and a global increase in constitutionalization of rights, I argue that this argument is too simplistic. Judicial empowerment ultimately needs to be understood as a process of change over time. Using historic institutionalist tools, I show how the particular political and institutional context in a given country (or region) shapes the range of choices available to political actors from above and from below in the long run, complicating notions of self-interest and leaving us with qualitatively very different cases of judicial empowerment. History is not merely a backdrop for political actors - "when things happen within a sequence affects how they happen."

**Songer, Donald R. and Johnson, Susan W.***Judge Gender, Critical Mass, and Decision Making in the Appellate Courts of Canada*

According to Justice Bertha Wilson, there is "overwhelming evidence that gender-based stereotypes are deeply embedded in the attitudes of many male judges" and that "gender difference has been a significant factor in judicial decision-making". Unfortunately, Justice Wilson's observation has been subjected to few empirical tests. At the same time, scholarship suggests that in other contexts (e.g., legislatures), the presence of a "critical mass" of women may be necessary before substantive gender based differences emerge. It is important to know whether these gender differences do exist and whether they only appear after a "critical mass" of women have been appointed because an implicit premise in the argument for affirmative diversification in elite appointments is that gender matters substantively. We seek to explore the validity of these assumptions by analyzing the votes of judges in the Supreme Court and the provincial appellate courts of Canada. Canada provides an ideal setting to explore these questions because since the early 1980s female representation on appellate courts has gone from virtually non-existent to 44% on the Supreme Court and over 50% on some appellate courts. We propose to test whether there are gendered patterns of voting, and if so, whether such patterns appear only after a critical mass is reached, using a cross sectional time series analysis of the differences in the voting behavior of male versus female justices, using the universe of Supreme Court votes from 1975 through 2006 and a sample of the votes of judges on the provincial courts of appeal.

**Soroka, Stuart, Daku, Mark, Mahon, Adam and Young, Lori**

### *Media Content & Election Campaigns: Automated Analysis of the 1993-2008 Canadian Federal Elections*

This paper draws on a database of media content from the last six Canadian elections to provide an account, and some context, for the 2008 campaign. The paper seeks to make both methodological and substantive contributions. Methodologically, we propose and implement an automated "bag-of-words" content analytic procedure for capturing the subject matter, "framing," and tone of news stories, using our own Java-based, multi-platform software for content analysis, Lexicoder. Substantively, we seek to provide an account of the 2008 campaign, relating media content to shifts in public opinion, and comparing dynamics in 2008 with those from preceding elections.

### **Sparling, Robert**

#### *M.K. Gandhi: Passion, Soul-Force and Public Reason*

This paper aims to situate M. K. Gandhi philosophically within current debates about discourse ethics and deliberative democracy. Gandhi offered an expansive view of public reason that includes much that is generally excluded from more formalist theories. He openly appealed to the passions and to comprehensive religious doctrines. Gandhi provides us with the basis for a theory of political deliberation that both explains the psychological preconditions necessary for its existence and that expands the concept of reason itself to include much that would be excluded in standard Enlightenment rationalism.

### **Spicer, Zachary**

#### "Urban Agenda Setting: Lesson's Learned from the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs"

The Ministry of State for Urban Affairs was a brief but important exercise in federal engagement in Canadian urban issues. Just as quickly as the Ministry was created, it was dissolved.

My research into the Ministry shows that a powerful coalition of urban activists, municipal political actors and academics helped promote the issue of federal engagement in municipalities and forced the government to act. The creation of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs was the result of this pressure and when this pressure subsided the political will to sustain and maintain the Ministry died.

I utilize an episodic and content analysis of various Canadian newspapers, academic journals and government records to show how urban activists, municipal political leaders and academics forced the issue of federal involvement in urban affairs near the top of the federal government's agenda. When this pressure waned, the political rationale for sustaining the Ministry waned as well.

I hope, through a poster presentation at the 2009 Canadian Political Science Association Conference, to detail the events that led to the creation and eventual dissolution of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs to demonstrate the agenda setting power of urban activism and identify various routes for future activism to create and sustain federal engagement in municipalities.

### **Stanley-Cochrane, Emma**

#### *The New Standing Orders at Queen's Park: How They Have Affected the Opposition*

In the fall of 2008, after a brief period of experimentation, the Ontario legislature adopted new standing orders for parliamentary procedures. These changes were pushed through by the government against the wishes of the opposition. Particular attention is paid to the new hours of the Assembly and earlier start time of question period. How have these changes affected the oppositions' ability to hold the government to account for its policies and management. The research will also examine how these new rules have affected the government's own backbenchers. Have these new rules changed how each of the parties function and the interaction among the parties themselves? The basic information gathered in this research will come from interviews with MPPs, the three house leaders, the legislative clerks and experts who have written on this topic such as David Docherty, Adam McDonald and Graham White, all former Ontario legislative interns.

### **Stavro, Elaine**

#### *Configuring Corporeal Freedom*

Simone de Beauvoir is reputed to be the mother of second wave feminism and a cheerleader for equality. Third wave feminists have taken de Beauvoir to task for her universalist philosophical approach, that they believe, presumes a masculine ontology and denies difference. By fleshing out Beauvoir's problematic of embodied and situated subjectivity, we find a performative subject, not a rational, disembodied, masculine one; but subject more open to social, cultural, historical differences and respectful of the effects of biology. Far from articulating the sex/gender distinction that brackets the biological body (sex) to focus on the social cultural processes (gender), I will show how Beauvoir entwines the bio-physiological and social/cultural body, thereby avoiding the problems associated both with biologism and social constructivism. In doing so, Beauvoir challenges the nature/culture; sex/gender distinction that has become emblematic of second wave feminism and shares with third wave feminists (such as Braidotti, Butler and Grosz) a concern with the erasure of the material (i.e. biological body). The value of Beauvoir's embodied and situated body, entwined in biological, cultural and historical forces will be considered in the context of contemporary interlocutors.

### **Steele Gray, Carolyn and Lum, Janet**

#### *Policy, Performance Measurement and Supportive Housing: The Devil Is in the Details*

As governments are under increasing pressure to justify spending to citizens, performance measurement techniques have become integral in public program development and implementation. Performance measurement is a tool of performance management which attempts to both assess and improve the program it is evaluating. Performance measurement can help promote transparency, provide a means of rewarding performance, and promote learning between and within organizations. Performance measurement practices have become increasingly important for health and social programs in the voluntary non-profit sector as increased health care costs and limited resources require programs to demonstrate their "worth" in order to continue to receive public funding. While performance measurement has many potential benefits, it may precipitate a number of perverse consequences such as encouraging unwanted strategic behaviours (e.g., "cherry picking" inputs, providing disincentives for professionalism and organizational learning due to an overreliance on benchmarks). This paper explores the extent to which performance measures can be successfully applied to the non-profit voluntary sector through a case study of Ontario senior supportive housing programs. Based on the performance measurement literature and a sample of evaluation strategies from selected supportive housing sites across the GTA, this paper proposes a performance measurement framework that seeks to improve performance and accountability while avoiding many of the common pitfalls associated with measurement. The expansion of community living options like supportive housing which is at the core of the Ontario government's current Aging at Home Strategy makes establishing an appropriate measurement framework all the more urgent.

### **Stephenson, Laura B. and Bélanger, Éric**

*Loyalty Across Levels: Provincial and Federal Partisanship in Canada*

Many Canadians support different parties at the provincial and federal levels. While this may be a sign of weak partisanship, as some scholars have suggested (Clarke et al. 1979, 1984, 1991, 1996), other literature has argued that the uniqueness of provincial party systems makes cross-level partisan consistency an unrealistic (and unnecessary) expectation (Blake 1982, Blais et al. 2002). The issue of cross-level partisanship has been largely ignored in recent years, and to that end we know little about the level and/or degree to which it exists. From the viewpoint of the relationship between parties and their partisans, however, the topic is of much interest, particularly because it is unclear whether holding different partisan identities reflects a conscious decision or a cognitive shortcut. Are parties that are successful at both levels of government more likely to have consistent cross-level partisans? Does having a provincial counterpart increase the likelihood of partisan loyalty? To what extent does federal partisanship influence provincial voting, and vice-versa? In this paper we analyze this issue in two provinces – Ontario and Quebec – which have party systems that overlap the federal system in different ways, drawing upon post-election surveys of the 2007 Ontario and Quebec elections and the 2006 Canadian Election Study.

### **Stewart, David and Sayers, Anthony**

*Beneath the Landslide: The 2008 Alberta Election*

Despite the exit of Ralph Klein and the surprise selection of Ed Stelmach as party leader, the Alberta Progressive Conservative party increased its majority in the 2008 provincial election. We explore voter opinion and the character of support for parties in the election and contrast this with the patterns that brought the Tories to power in 1971.

### **Stewart-Harawira, Makere**

*Regional Economic Integration, Militarization and Indigenous Women*

Regional economic integration in the Americas, as in the Pacific and Europe, is now firmly intertwined with issues of security and militarization. Combined with the wielding of a politics of fear, these deeply integrative processes are increasingly reshaping the meanings of citizenship and democracy in ways that have particular implications for the future. Indigenous peoples are being simultaneously excluded and re-incorporated by these processes. My paper will interrogate the implications of these positioning, having particular regard for a re-imagining of our collective future. Acknowledging that there is no single Indigenous ontology, I will nonetheless explore the impact on and relevance of traditional Indigenous social and political ontologies, including gender roles. The poignancy of this moment in time lies in the fact that despite the increased marginalization and oppression of Indigenous women that accrues from global capitalism both within and without Indigenous communities, there has never been a period when the leadership of Indigenous women, be they community leaders, academics, or grandmothers, has been more crucial. Ultimately, I will suggest, the determination of our collective future may depend on just that.

### **Stilborn, Jack**

*Committees of the House of Commons: Reform Expectations and Actual Performance*

Attempts to enhance the effectiveness of parliamentary committees have played a central role in the cycle of parliamentary reform that dates from the late 1960's. Aside from a study of the effectiveness of committees in reviewing government spending estimates released by the Institute for Policy Research in 2002 however, there has been little systematic attention to the actual performance of committees.

Based on the original expectations, four performance indicators for parliamentary committees are proposed: public/media impact, government acceptance of recommendations, ministerial assessments of committee value-added, and the proportion of recommendations reflecting cross-party consensus. Data relating to each of these measures for 1987 (the



first full year of the contemporary committee system) and 2003 (the most recent full year of majority government) is presented and assessed, in the context of available scholarship and commentary.

A concluding section of the paper argues that the expectations that spawned the current committee system largely have not been met, although some committees have proven to be periodic exceptions. Based on patterns discernible over the past 25 years, three distinctive models of committee activity are identified: the “quasi-caucus committee” (achieving influence by working collaboratively with the government); the “detached/autonomous” committee (focusing on cross-party issue or stakeholder-based advocacy) and the “microcosm of the House” committee (reflecting the partisan dynamics in the House). Over time, and most clearly in the minority government environment that has obtained since 2004, the third model appears to be becoming the norm, raising questions about the future prospects of parliamentary committees.

### **Stockdale, Liam**

#### *Discourses of Conflict: Identity, Victimhood, and Sovereignty in Kosovo*

This paper explores the pernicious practical consequences engendered by the discursive interaction of identity constructs premised upon a narrative of victimhood with imperatives of statehood emanating from the dominant modern conception of the political in which territorially-bound sovereignty is identified as the telos of political identity. It is contended that this frame of reference provides an instructive lens through which to understand the intractability of the Kosovo conflict, in that the national cosmologies of both the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians are premised upon an internalised account of victimhood, while sovereign control over the territory of Kosovo has been construed as essential to the realization of a circumstance where that status might be ultimately transcended. The destructive consequences of this condition have become manifest through the zealous pursuit of unencumbered sovereignty over Kosovo by both sides, as violence legitimated by an “ethos of infallibility”—under which any act is apparently justified if it is deemed to be in defence of a group that sees itself as perpetually under threat due to an innate sense of victimhood—has clearly been a central component thereof. It is concluded that rupturing the reified equation of statehood with the ultimate realization of political identity within contemporary political discourse is essential to the future aversion of similar conflicts, as the Kosovo case indicates that a solution premised upon the extant discursive conditions—such as the unilateral declaration of independence—merely exacerbates the underlying problem by reinscribing the association of sovereignty with identity. The approach of the Catalan community in Spain is then presented as a useful exemplar of alternative, post-nationalist thinking.

### **Stockdale, Liam**

#### *Challenging Incommensurability: Toward a Realist-Poststructuralist Synthesis in International Relations Theory*

Beginning with the notion that rigid theoretical polarization has led to the stagnation of theoretical development in International Relations (IR), this paper proposes a fundamental challenge to the narrative of incommensurability that underwrites this condition by elucidating a number of points of intersection between realism and poststructuralism—arguably the epitome of incommensurable theoretical perspectives. It is contended that a retreat from the impoverished caricature of realism created by the ascendancy of so-called neo-realism reveals a significant complementarity between poststructuralist and ‘classical’ realist approaches to the study of world politics. Through a critical comparative exploration of the two perspectives’ analytical tenets as represented in the work of seminal scholars from each paradigm, key areas of theoretical convergence that may serve as demarcation points for the pursuit of a degree of synthesis are revealed to exist across the two approaches at both the epistemological and ontological levels. These points of intersection are not merely trivial coincidences, but embody theoretical commitments at the respective cores of the two approaches—namely, a mutual rejection of totalizing knowledge claims, a shared affinity toward ontological fluidity, and a remarkably similar approach to the role of power in shaping international outcomes. It is thus contended that a novel theoretical intervention embodying the strengths of each perspective is feasible, and that its application will offer a richer understanding of global political phenomena than is offered by either of the two approaches discretely. The paper concludes with a hypothetical sketch of what form a research methodology that takes these arguments seriously might take.

### **Stoney, Christopher, Hilton, Robert, Krawchenko, Tamara and Bellefontaine, Teresa**

#### *Federal Gas Tax Funding for Urban Infrastructure: Implications for Multi-level Governance in Canada*

Accelerating urbanization and the need for sustainable urban growth have focused political attention on Canada’s cities and produced a new wave of federal and provincial funding for investment in infrastructure, mass transit and the environment. Along with an increased emphasis on municipalities and place-based policy-making, the new programs, packaged as a ‘New Deal for Cities and Communities’ by the former Liberal government and ‘Building Canada’ by the current Conservative government, are intended to address decades of underinvestment in urban infrastructure and public transit.

Of these programs, the federal government’s Gas Tax Fund (GTF) is the most significant and innovative. Scheduled to transfer over \$14 billion to municipalities by 2014, the GTF now carries a federal government commitment to make it a permanent source of funding, in exchange for municipal commitments to invest in ‘sustainable’ projects and increase community engagement with citizens.

While additional funding for sustainable infrastructure projects is widely thought of as a positive step that is long overdue in light of Canada’s growing urban infrastructure gap, it raises a number of key issues that are fundamental to the workshop’s broader debate about policy-making in North America and collaboration between multiple levels of

government. In particular, what do particular cases reveal about the advantages and disadvantages of multi-level approaches to policy-making?

**Straehle, Christine and Lenard, Patti**

*Guest Worker Programmes and Global Justice*

Of late, one would be hard-pressed to ignore the urgent dilemmas posed for liberal political theory by guest worker programs. Guest worker programs need to be analysed and assessed from different perspectives: from the domestic perspective that evaluates their impact on the receiving society, as well as from a perspective that analyses their impact on sending societies. In this paper, we analyse guest workers from a third angle, namely that of global justice examining if guest worker programs can be legitimate tools for global redistribution. We apply two different sets of norms to formulate a normative theory of guestwork. Guest worker regimes need first be formulated in accordance with universal human rights for migrant workers. We ask what rights guest workers need to have in order for guest worker regimes to contribute to global justice. Second, guest worker programs need to fulfill norms of distributive justice in order to contribute to global justice: what impact do guest worker programs have on patterns of inequality, both domestically and globally. Do guest worker programs – especially those that focus on high skilled workers – facilitate a brain drain in sending countries that contributes to global inequalities? If guest worker programs exacerbate distributive inequalities in their present incarnation, can they be modified to mitigate these disadvantages? Or, can these disadvantages be offset, for example, through remittance payments sent back home? We conclude with a list of criteria based on which guest worker programs can be conducive to global justice.

**Stubbs, Richard**

*Beyond Economics: the Politics of China-ASEAN Relations*

China's links with the countries of Southeast Asia are expanding rapidly. While the economic dimensions of the relationship are seen by some analysts as key to this development, this paper will argue that it is China's diplomatic/political strategy that is driving Beijing's interest in promoting its relations with Southeast Asia. The growing China-ASEAN linkages will be reviewed and the consequences of this emerging relationship for China's regional and international policies will be analysed.

**Summerville, Tracy**

*From "Muggle" Prime Minister to the Minister of Magic: Politics and Government in Harry Potter*

The Harry Potter series represents an unprecedented phenomenon in publishing. The books describe not only the politics of the "Muggle" (non magical world) world, but J.K Rowling has created an entire Ministry of Magic with departments, department heads, and a clear bureaucratic structure. This paper looks at the portrayal of the institutions and the characters of the politicians described in the seven Harry Potter books. The paper will examine the qualities of leadership, competence, equity and character integrity with a view to understanding how children may perceive politics. This paper will add to the literature on the role of children's literature as a tool of political socialization (Schwerdt, 2003; Cooper and Schwerdt 2001; Marshall 1981; Cook 1981).

**Sweet, Joanna**

A Matter of Choice?: How the Construction of Muslim Women's Identity Shaped Ontario's Faith-based Arbitration Debates  
In 2005, the government of Ontario decided to 'ban' faith-based arbitration. Faith-based arbitration allowed couples to resolve disputes according to religious laws in a legally binding way. It got onto the political agenda after the Islamic Institute for Justice, a conservative Islamic group, announced its intention to erect Sharia law tribunals to resolve Muslim family law conflicts. Opponents of faith-based arbitration argued that it would result in harm to vulnerable women, and that arbitral decisions would not reflect 'Canadian values.' Its supporters argued that it allowed religious couples to resolve family law disputes according to deeply held beliefs, enhancing cultural rights. The debates, then, were often characterized as requiring a choice between gender equality and cultural rights.

This paper argues that the faith-based arbitration debates can be understood as a political struggle to define Canadian values, instead of a moral choice between supposedly objective, universal and irreconcilable values (Deveaux, 2006). This allows a critical examination of who gets to decide which norms inform the national "cultural-symbolic order" (Breton, 1999). In the case of faith-based arbitration, the discourse through which this political struggle took place was largely shaped by a particular construction of the Muslim woman's identity which rendered the ability to evaluate her consent problematic. A qualitative discourse analysis of the debates demonstrates how this discourse constrained the range of policy options that appeared viable to policymakers and helped perpetuate a racialized status quo in Canadian legal policy.

**Tabachnick, David**

*A Tale of Two Cities: Plato's Kingly Techne and Aristotle's Phronetic Rule*

The ancient Greek political philosophies of Plato and Aristotle present a rivalry between two visions of political rule: i) a kingly techne where the city and citizenry are treated like malleable material to be formed and controlled toward predictable ends in the same way a craftsman makes a product or; ii) a phronetic rule where politics is spontaneous,

adaptable and guided by an overarching understanding of what makes for a good and happy life. It might be said that today we still face this same choice. If our goal as human beings and citizens is security in the predictable and controllable, then we should embrace the rule of the technitês. Indeed, our current drive to understand and manage our bodies and minds through the “crafts” of genetic engineering and neuroscience, suggests that we are not willing to leave anything to chance as we seek a thorough technical control of every aspect of our physical, emotional and psychological selves. As it stands, we seem to have chosen the leadership of the craftsman-king. However, if our goal is to contemplate and articulate what is good for our families and communities, then we should instead embrace the rule of a phronimos that is able to weigh traditions and customs with circumstances unique to our age.

### **Tan, Netina**

#### *Institutionalized Leadership: Resilient Hegemonic Party Autocracy in Singapore*

Current literature tends to equate party institutionalization with party democratization. My study of the People’s Action Party (PAP) in Singapore challenges this teleological bias by showing how the institutionalization of intraparty institutions such as candidate selection and elite recruitment affects cohesion. My initial findings indicate a negative correlation between inclusiveness and party cohesion; contradicting a dominant hypothesis that more inclusive selectorate and party democratization increases the power of party elites and cohesion. Since 1958, the PAP cadre-party organization has maintained a highly secretive and exclusive candidate selection and recruitment process into its Central Executive Committee. I argue that these routinized and established processes constitute a power-sharing arrangement and a predictable opportunity structure that encourage elite co-operation. Today, the PAP is an exceptionally resilient and cohesive hegemonic party with no sign of factionalism or disunity. It shows that party institutionalization can occur in semi-competitive, authoritarian setting and even foster regime resilience overtime.

### **Tchir, Trevor**

#### *Daimon Appearances in Arendt’s Account of Disclosive Action*

Much research on Arendt centers around her thesis that political action discloses ‘who’ actors are. I present this thesis in a new light by tracing the appearances of the Greek figure of the ‘daimon’ in Arendt’s published work, unpublished lectures, and key secondary sources that Arendt builds her account in relation to, including Plato’s Socratic dialogues, Kant’s aesthetic theory of judgment, and Heidegger’s notion of the uncanny. Arendt’s references to the image of the ‘daimon’ imply that action is an ecstatic revealing of alterity within and outside of the actor. To include within the definition of action the disclosure of one’s thinking conscience in public, the presentation of a valid personality or public persona, is to occlude some of Arendt’s most famous theoretical distinctions, including that between the appearances of action and the activity of mind. I thus challenge the distinction between what the actor makes appear through action, and what the actor thinks or intends, prior to action. However, Arendt occludes these distinctions herself, both when she likens the disclosure of the who to the appearance of the actor’s accompanying spirit (‘daimon’) and when the figures of the actor and spectator are seen to reside in the same individual, when we see that to discursively render one’s judgment as a response to an event consists itself of a form of action. The ‘daimon’ also problematizes the distinction usually read in Arendt between the political space of appearance as a secular realm and another, spiritual realm, inconsequential to politics.

### **Teyssier, Ronan**

#### *The Public Funding of Private Education. A Comparative Study on “Who Gets What, When, and How” (H.D. Lasswell) in Four Canadian Provinces.*

Objectives: Since the 1980s, the public funding of private education has raised vigorously debated issues in several Canadian provinces. As a result, education policy scholars and political scientists have mostly been concerned with the assessment of normative arguments and have largely overlooked interprovincial comparisons. This paper departs from previous research by empirically studying the determinants of the variation in the amounts of public money that is allocated to private school authorities in four provinces. The theoretical underpinnings of the paper are grounded in both the Non-Profit Organization literature and the theories of distributive politics. I present a set of testable and falsifiable hypotheses that link the per capita amount of public money received by a school authority to organizational, political, economic and demographic variables.

Data and Methods: I use an original dataset that I had assembled between March and September 2008. Data were obtained from various provincial and federal sources on 506 school authorities and their “environment” in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec. In the paper, I present descriptive statistics of key variables as well as the results of a cross-section, multiple regression analysis. The latter mainly consists in the fitting of four province-specific models and a “full model” that encompasses the four provinces as well as the organizational and political explanations.

### **Thakur, Monika**

#### *‘One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?’: China’s Engagement in Africa*

This paper will examine China’s engagement in Africa, with special attention on China’s role in economic development and governance. China’s involvement in Africa has been consistent throughout the continent, although a majority of its attention has been on oil-producing countries such as Sudan and Angola. However, China has supported many other

African countries through low-cost loans, debt relief, preferential tariffs and infrastructure development. Many observers have viewed China's role in Africa as a catalyst for economic and social development, as Chinese companies have constructed roads and bridges, power and water supply stations, schools, irrigation and telecommunications networks, and low-cost housing. However, the Chinese approach of doing business without preconditions based on human rights and good governance has presented the continent's traditional trading partners and multilateral bodies such as the World Bank, with a major challenge. China's strong defense of sovereignty, non-intervention and sustained arms sales undermines existing efforts by the international community to assist the democratic process and respect for human rights in Africa, as China continues to support numerous regimes that have stalled the democratic process, including those in Zimbabwe, Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia. However, others note that China's 'no-strings attached' policy provides governments in the continent with increased political agency as well as alternative sources of investment and development assistance. This paper will explore the economic development and governance dimensions of Chinese foreign policy in Africa; and draw examples from countries in the Horn of Africa, Central Africa and North Africa, including Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, DR Congo, Chad and Uganda.

### **Thomas, Melanee**

*Effects without Causes: Explaining Enduring Gender Gaps in Internal Efficacy and Political Interest in Canada since 1965*  
Women's lives have changed dramatically since 1965. During this period, women's educational attainment has come to exceed men's, and women have moved into the paid labour force in unprecedented numbers. Yet women continue to be less confident of their political abilities and less interested in politics than are men. These gender gaps in political interest and political self-confidence is troubling as people who are psychologically disengaged from politics cannot participate as full citizens (Pateman 1970).

The persistence of these gaps challenges the conventional wisdom that the gaps would close as women's socio-economic resources increased and they gained more autonomy from men in the private sphere. Cross-sectional analyses demonstrate that this is not the case.

Accordingly, this paper will use pooled data from the Canada Election Studies from 1965 to 2006 to understand why the transformations in women's lives have failed to narrow these gaps. The central argument is that there are countervailing factors that have served to offset the benefits that women might otherwise have reaped from these advances. In particular, many working women are confronted with the demands of the double day as they juggle paid employment with family responsibilities.

### **Thompson, Brett**

*The Gold Rush has Long Passed: The Role and Challenges of an MP for Yukon*

Due to the nature of their constituencies, personal choices and circumstances beyond their control, no two Members of Parliament (MPs) have the same experiences in office or see their roles in the same light. While several works on the Canadian MP provide students with a structure through which to understand the office and its ever-evolving nature, the full complexity and variability of the job is only partially captured by a disparate collection of works by scholars, memoirists and dramatists.

Using the office of MP for Yukon as a case study, drawing on interviews with the current and former Yukon MPs, this paper examines the complexity of representing a riding comprised of an entire territorial jurisdiction located over 5,000 kilometres from Ottawa. The nature of the constituency creates unique relationships between the territorial MP and its Premier, colleagues from the Northwest Territories and Nunavut and self-governing First Nations that present unique challenges and opportunities.

This study examines the pressures the MP for Yukon faces to be an expert on First Nations, United States border issues, natural resources, arctic sovereignty, intergovernmental affairs, and all things regarding the Government of Canada. It will also seek to address questions with respect to the effectiveness of representation regardless of geography and the power an MP has to shape the style of his or her tenure.

### **Thompson, Debra**

*Beyond Racial Exceptionalism: Explaining the Convergence of Mixed-Race Census Categorizations in Canada, the U.S. and Great Britain*

By examining racial classifications in national censuses this paper will explore moments of policy convergence that defy domestic explanations of the state's regulation of racial identities. During the same time period, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada all moved towards 'counting' mixed-race on their national censuses; given their previous divergences in other areas of racial regulation, even in terms of previous modes of racial classification, this recent convergence is puzzling. In the United States, this move is largely attributed to the existence of a mixed-race social movement that pushed Congress for the change – but parallel developments in Canada and the U.K. occurred without the presence of a politically active civil society devoted to making the change. This begs an interesting question: Why the convergence? When domestic explanations prove insufficient, what can comparisons tell us? This paper will demonstrate the political salience of global trends surrounding race and racialism – specifically, the transnational discourses of multiculturalism and recognition that have pervaded ethnopolitics since the 1990s. Ultimately, it seeks to challenge

conventional domestic explanations for institutional racial categorization, rejecting 'exceptionalism' in the sphere of problematic race relations and demonstrating the ways in which race can be studied in comparative context.

**Thompson, Debra and Wallner, Jennifer**

*A Focusing Tragedy: Public Policy and the Establishment of Afrocentric Education in Toronto*

In January 2008 the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) voted to establish Afrocentric education beginning in September 2009. Though this policy decision was the focus of intense public debates between June 2007 and January 2008, the idea to create Afrocentric schools in Toronto dates back to the early 1990s. Voluntary community organizations, a formal working group with state and non-state representation, and a Royal Commission, had all suggested the establishment of experimental schools in jurisdictions with large numbers of Black students. These proposals, however, garnered little response from the government. Given the fact that the proposal to implement Afrocentric education in Toronto had been shelved and ignored for over a decade, how and why did this item come to dominate the agenda of the TDSB in 2007/2008? Why, particularly in a time of significant fiscal constraint, was the TDSB suddenly more amenable to the proposed policy? This paper will explore the circumstances surrounding the policy proposal and its acceptance by the TDSB, demonstrating the salience of "focusing events" in agenda setting and interest group mobilization in the dynamics of policy change. Several implications flow from this analysis. First, circumstances can transform into focusing events even if they seem only tangentially related to the policy solution proposed in their wake. Second, focusing events are malleable and can lead to policy change even in the absence of a clear consensus around the policy prescription. Finally, focusing events can open policy windows that enable entrepreneurs to overcome institutional rigidities and create policy change.

**Tieku, Thomas**

*Embedded Negotiators: NGOs and the Doha Trade Round*

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have become key players in multilateral trade policymaking. Studies show they shape agendas of trade talks, mobilize support for and in some cases against specific trade issues and some NGOs offer analytical capacity and technical trade-related information to Southern states. Others provide platform for states to coordinate their negotiation positions, agendas, and strategies. NGOs provided the analytical capacity and intellectual basis for the creation and the work of the G20 which included Southern powerhouses such as Brazil, India, China, and South Africa, and the G90 which is made-up of poor states during the Doha Round. The G20 and the G90 provided the coordination capacity for Southern states to play active role in the Doha negotiations.

While we know a lot about multilateral trade-related activities of NGOs, we know little about the work and impact of NGOs who are included in official delegations to multilateral trade talks and Ministerial Conferences. This paper draws insights from the work of International Lawyers and Economists Against Poverty (ILEAP) to explore the work and influence of NGOs included in official delegations to the Doha trade talks.

**Timpson, Annis May**

*The 2008 Nunavut Territorial Election*

Nunavut's third territorial election was momentous. Candidate registration was lower than in any previous Nunavut election. Voter turnout dropped ten percent from 2004. Two potential candidates, Jack Anawak (Akulliq) and Josie Okalik Eegeesiak (Iqaluit Centre) were \*disqualified\*, on grounds of residency, leading in Anawak's case to a legal challenge under Sections 3, 15 and 35 of the Charter. Elections were \*postponed\* in Akullik and South Baffin, where no candidate had stood for office by the registration deadline. Although there were more female candidates than in any previous Nunavut election only Eva \*Aariak\* (Iqaluit East) was elected, making Nunavut the Canadian jurisdiction with the lowest proportion of female legislators. The premier, Paul Okalik, retained his seat by 44 votes in a closely fought race against Iqaluit's mayor, Elisapee Sheutiapik. Only two cabinet members seeking re-election retained their seats. This paper draws on analysis of court hearings, electoral observations, and interviews with Iqaluit candidates to examine the Nunavut's 2008 election. It explores new questions about the relationship between beneficiary status and civic residency. The paper argues that although the 2008 election was marked by greater candidate opposition than before, it retained familiar features of elections for a consensus-based government. The author has analysed political/policy development throughout Nunavut's territorial development.

**Tok, Evren**

*Varieties of Neoliberal Communitarianism: Cities of Anatolia-Turkey in Perspective*

This study attempts to show how neoliberalism manifests itself as a local project, especially at the city scale, and able to produce new spaces of actually existing (local) neoliberalisms. This paper argues that we need to be more sensitive to the mixes of institutional complementarities, varieties of social embedding mechanisms, and alliances built around communitarian values. In other words, scholars such as Larner (2003) mentioned, "in the accounts of neoliberalism, regardless of geographical and scalar diversity, not much attention is paid to the different variants of neoliberalism or to the multiple and contradictory aspects of neoliberal spaces, techniques, and subjectivities." Hence, this study theoretically and empirically achieves to concentrate on processes that generate empowerment and freedom for local actors in three

cities of Anatolia/Turkey, namely Kayseri, Gaziantep and Eskisehir, that help them overcome rigidities they have been exposed at the national scale.

Communitarian value sets articulated to neoliberal trajectories work as socially embedding mechanisms, and internalizing neoliberal values in tandem with benefiting from communitarian value sets resemble varieties of ways in which culture and economy (market) are articulated. Neoliberalism, in this sense, could be perceived as a bottom-up process, instead of a top down state driven project. The empowering and enabling impacts of neoliberalism could be caricatured as different configurations of local neoliberal projects, in which communitarian values, sometimes conditioned by religion, sometimes traditions and networks around well established historically active families play a dominant role and construct their "own" neoliberal experiences.

### **Tomsons, Sandra**

#### *Aboriginal Rights and Eurocentric Epistemic Hierarchies*

In her paper for the CPSA's Aboriginal Rights and Policy Panel, 2008, Frances Widdowson argued that seeking truth and intellectual integrity should not be sacrificed "...to gratify social, professional or spiritual values." She believes these epistemic values ground her argument that indigenous methodologies have no place in political science. Maintaining that these sources of knowledge are essentially subjective, she concludes they are incompatible with the objectivity sought for by political scientists.

Widdowson argues that if political scientists admit subjectivity into the discipline and compromise its objectivity, they ultimately compromise political science. Furthermore, political scientists accommodating indigenous methodologies contribute to the dependency of Aboriginal peoples.

I argue that Widdowson's argument for rejecting Indigenous methodologies is unsound. She presumes an epistemic hierarchy in which scientific methodologies are epistemically superior and Indigenous methodologies are epistemically inferior. As I expose her unsubstantiated claims, I uncover an epistemological prison. Non-Aboriginal persons, including political scientists, may be imprisoned in an epistemic hierarchy which is a serious obstacle to understanding Aboriginal ways of knowing and Aboriginal rights. I show that in order for non-Aboriginal persons to understand and respect the Aboriginal rights of Aboriginal peoples, they must escape this prison.

### **Tossutti, Livianna**

#### *Canadian Cities and International Migration: Comparing Local Responses to Diversity*

Local governments have no formal constitutional role in the immigration and settlement policy domain, but they are responsible for providing essential services to culturally and linguistically diverse populations. This paper examines the responses of six local governments to demographic change in the corporate policy domain. Its principal objective is to situate official attitudes and responses within a three-dimensional theoretical typology.

The first dimension classifies cities according to the normative premises underlying their recognition or non-recognition of cultural differences in the public realm. The second dimension distinguishes between cities that adopt universal or targeted approaches to policymaking, program and service delivery in diverse communities. The third dimension classifies cities according to whether the locus of authority for policies related to diversity is centralized or decentralized.

The classification will be based on an audit of the policy priorities of elected councils, the presence of diversity-related consultative bodies to council, strategic plans, multicultural policy statements, administrative structures dedicated to diversity issues, human resources, communications, and public outreach policies. Evidence from semi-structured interviews with municipal officials, politicians and civil society representatives will help account for similarities and differences across jurisdictions. The study sites that were selected for the analysis are Abbotsford, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Brampton and Toronto. These case studies will permit inter-provincial and intra-provincial comparisons across cities of varying sizes and historical experiences with first and second generation Canadians.

### **Trajkov, Nevena**

#### *The Optimal Bump? International Organizational Influence in Democratization.*

Epstein, et al. (2006) appropriately called for rethinking the codification of regime types emphasizing that a dichotomous execution (democracy, autocracy) is not only oversimplified, but also misleading. Using Epstein's notion of "partial democracies", regime research opens itself up to new levels of analysis evoking the question of how do democratic states climb further up the democratization scale. Specifically, using Freedom House indicators, what is the role of International Organizations in helping democracies in the Balkans further develop and "bump" themselves up the democratization scale to realize this success? Building on the works of Mansfield and Pevehouse and utilizing a cross-sectional time series analysis, this study finds that although the overall responsibility lies with the state in determining its level of democratization, transition to full democracies is marginally successful with the assistance of International Organizations.

### **Treiberg, Natasja**

#### *Gendered Representations of Violence in Country Music*

This paper will perform a discourse analysis of the gendered representation of violence in the country music industry in the United States. This study is based on feminist international relations research that has highlighted how female violence is presented as a novelty in mainstream literature. This paper adds to this discussion by showing how popular culture, in particular country music, helps to reinforce this stereotyping. This will be accomplished through a content and

discourse analysis of the portrayal of violence in the top 40 country songs from 2000 through to 2007. Additionally, a media analysis of overtly violent lyrics will be conducted to gauge industry and public reaction to these songs. In particular this discussion will focus on the acceptance of male on male violence versus the aversion to female on male violence. Not surprisingly male on male violence is not seen as out of the norm whereas songs that have featured battered women retaliating against their abusive spouses have faced resistance and protest. This was clearly demonstrated in the resistance to and banning of the Dixie Chicks song "Goodbye Earl" in which an abused wife kills her abusive husband. In contrast, there was no similar reaction from the industry or public when Garth Brooks sang about a trucker who kills his cheating wife and her lover by driving his semi truck into a hotel. This gendered view of violence reinforces societal constructions of who can be violent and what forms of violence are legitimate; which in turn helps perpetuate these constructions in daily life and in international discourses.

#### **Tremblay-Boire, Joannie and Bloodgood, Elizabeth**

*To Learn or not to Learn: The Transfer of Corporate Strategies to INGOs through Interlocking Boards of Directors*

The board interlock literature in management states that, when managers of one firm sit on the board of directors of other firms, these firms tends to adopt similar policies. We hypothesize that a similar phenomenon exists between corporations and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs): the presence of people who sit on corporate boards of directors on the boards of INGOs leads to the adoption of corporate practices by INGOs, which then causes variation in INGO organizational performance. We ask to what extent INGOs learn when they imitate firms and how this affects their organizational performance. We expect to find that imitation leads to learning and improved performance only when INGOs adapt corporate solutions to their environment. When INGOs strictly copy corporate policies, as in situations of crisis, they do not learn and corporate strategies do not improve INGO performance. We conduct a dynamic comparison of WWF-US and The Nature Conservancy. One case (The Nature Conservancy) involves rapid change following an unforeseen crisis, while the other (WWF) involves change in a "normal" context. We rely on interviews with INGO board members, official documentation, and secondary sources (e.g. news media). This study is theoretically relevant because a large amount of scholarly work has been produced on organizational learning in corporations and public institutions, but the literature on INGOs has lagged behind. Furthermore, this analysis of an INGO crisis contributes to a shift in the literature towards examining INGOs as organizations with conflicting material and normative incentives, as opposed to inherently benevolent organizations.

#### **Triadafilopoulos, Phil**

*The Rise of Immigrant Integration Policy in Europe: Drawing Boundaries of Belonging in Civic Nations*

In contrast to states with "ethnic" national identities, the literature on citizenship holds that civic nations facilitate immigrants' incorporation by founding membership on mutual adherence to distinctly liberal-democratic political principles and aspirations. The turn to aggressive immigrant integration policies across a range of Western European countries has challenged this belief. In particular, policies seeking to regulate immigrants' religious attachments – by banning certain attire and practices or outlawing certain forms of speech – demonstrate that civic nations are able and willing to draw sharp boundaries that leave some groups out of membership in the liberal-democratic nation.

This paper explores processes of civic nation-building through a comparative discussion of integration politics and policy-making in Germany and the Netherlands. We highlight both the broadly encompassing forces driving policy convergence and country-specific factors that have led to a surprising degree of variation between the two cases. In particular, we wish to explore how gender and sexuality have come to be implicated with liberal-democratic identity formation, often with the effect of excluding minority religious groups whose beliefs and practices are deemed "pre-modern" and thus illiberal. The paper will be of interest to scholars interested in the politics of immigration and citizenship, the future of multiculturalism, and the tension filled relationship between freedom of religion and other core liberal-democratic principles, such as gender equality.

#### **Trimble, Linda, Way, Laura and Sampert, Shannon**

*Leading the Way: Party Leader's Visibility in the 2004, 2006 and 2008 Federal Elections in English Canada's National Newspapers*

The news media provide the lens through which most voters "see" parties and leaders, thus media visibility at election time is a key goal of party strategists. Based on a content analysis of the 2004, 2006, and 2008 national election news coverage in the Globe and Mail and National Post, our paper tests three possible (and not mutually exclusive) explanations for

changes in party and leader visibility and prominence. The first is that the shifts in public opinion and voting behaviour that result in changes in the electoral fortunes of parties will be reflected in the amount of news coverage accorded to parties. News prominence will therefore reflect standings in the polls. For instance, the Conservative Party of Canada will be more visible and prominent with each successive election. The second hypothesis is that the dominant frame for election coverage, the "game meta-narrative", will have a noticeable impact on both factors. In this narrative, the "race" is exciting when it is a close competition between two parties thus the challenging party will be accorded more coverage than its standings in the polls suggest is appropriate, while conversely the leading party will be given less attention. The third hypothesis is that news

values (e.g., drama, newness and unusualness) will impact the positioning of the parties, with parties or leaders exhibiting these qualities (e.g. Elizabeth May in 2008) attracting more, and more prominent, news coverage than would be the case if news coverage strictly reflected party popularity with voters.

### **Trimble, Linda, Way, Laura and Sampert, Shannon**

#### *Drawn to the Polls: Representations of Canadian Elections in Editorial Cartoons*

Our paper reports results of a content and discourse analysis of election-related editorial cartoons printed in the two national newspapers, the Globe and Mail and the National Post, during the three most recent Canadian national elections, in 2004, 2006 and 2008. We examine the stories told in the cartoons about the three elections, looking for rhetorical and visual patterns as well as for shifts over time. These elections represent good cases for comparison because, with the exception of the Liberal party, the major party leaders remained the same during all three campaigns. As well, the electoral competition was very similar across the three campaigns, each a tight race resulting in a minority government. Thus any changes in representations of campaigns, parties, leaders and issues over the course of the three elections are likely to reflect changes in party and leader standings, issue foci, popular opinion, or the editorial direction of the newspaper. Editorial cartoons are not often scrutinized as examples of opinion-shaping media texts however they deserve greater attention from scholars because of their discursive potency. Political cartoons are designed to communicate a sharp political message at a glance, thus are quickly understood. Moreover, because they employ "widely understood, instantly recognizable symbols, referents and slogans" editorial cartoons provide pithy insights into popular culture and political opinion (Gilmartin 2001, 53). The impressions of Canadian national elections communicated by editorial cartoons in the national newspapers provide a unique profile of everyday understandings about the electoral system, voting, parties and leaders.

### **Tudoroiu, Theodor**

#### *A Journey into Undemocratic Post-Communism*

From Zagreb to Hanoi, the post-communist world has experienced a great variety of undemocratic political regimes. Against this background of both factual and theoretical complexity, this paper analyses a special and almost unresearched type of undemocratic political construct: the neo-communist regimes. Three case studies depicting the political systems created and headed by Zhan Videnov in Bulgaria, Ion Iliescu in Romania, and Alyaksandr Lukashenka in Belarus are used to identify its main characteristics. However, as two of the three case studies concern 'soft' neo-communist regimes that were dismantled in the mid-1990s, it could be concluded that this is a subject of only historical relevance. In fact, this paper shows that the present-day Chinese regime falls into the same category. Many analysts see it as an intermediate phase in the transition from totalitarian communism to different possible final stages. The view of this paper is that the transition is over. China has a stable, 'hard' neo-communist regime that has fully developed its ideological and organizational structures and patterns. Furthermore, it is not confronted by any major internal or external challenge. Most likely, it will preserve its present characteristics at least on the medium term. The successful examples of Belarus and China suggest that the neo-communism is not an endangered species. Moldova, ruled since 2001 by the 'Party of Communists,' as well as Vietnam and Laos are possible members of an emerging neo-communist archipelago that might be important for the future of the former Soviet Union and East Asia.

### **Tunc, Hakan**

#### *The Accidental Nature of U.S. Hegemony*

The United States currently enjoys a commanding preeminence in military, and to a lesser extent, economic power. Moreover, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, no other great power has emerged to challenge U.S. preponderance. This paper examines a fundamental question with respect to U.S. hegemony: Is U.S. hegemony a result of a deliberate design by U.S. decision-makers or an unintended consequence of U.S. responses to international events and perceived threats to U.S. national security? The paper argues that, contrary to what many scholars believe, the United States has gained a hegemonic status in the past two decades due more to international circumstances and accident than to the pursuit of a grand strategy. To test this hypothesis, the paper compares and contrasts the national security strategies pursued by the George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush administrations. It argues that each of these administrations pursued strategies aimed primarily at reducing the level of threat to U.S. national security associated with failed states, autocratic states, rogue states, and transnational terrorism, rather than at preventing the emergence of new great powers that could challenge U.S. hegemony. Moreover, the perpetuation of U.S. primacy appears to be related less to policy than to other factors such as the military weaknesses of potential competitors and the economic appeal of bandwagoning with the U.S. This conclusion may also explain why other major powers, such as China and Russia, which did not attribute U.S. hegemony to design, have not tried to counterbalance the U.S.

### **Tungohan, Ethel**

#### *Reconceptualizing Motherhood, Reconceptualizing Care: Can migrant workers be effective mothers from afar?*



There are gendered differences in the migration experiences of men and women. For instance, numerous studies have documented how temporary female migrants from various countries are more likely than male migrants to seek employment opportunities abroad in order to support their immediate families; moreover, the same studies illustrate how women are more likely than men to send remittances to their families more frequently. Despite such overwhelming evidence showing female migrants' contributions to their households, a rhetoric of blame still exists in popular and political discourse in both sending and receiving countries. Female migrants are constructed as 'heroines' of the nation as a result of their economic contributions yet are paradoxically still portrayed as being avaricious laborers whose desire for material gain prohibit their ability to mother well. By referring to empirical research undertaken among Filipina and Caribbean live-in caregivers in Canada and abroad, as well as to relational and care ethics, this paper argues for a shift in conventional understanding of motherhood and of care work. It is only when this transpires that one can understand the various strategies used by female migrants when 'mothering' from afar. 'Motherhood', far from being a static concept, is enacted in diverse, contextually-specific ways. Ultimately, a more nuanced conception of motherhood needs to be advanced in light of the realities of transnational households.

### **Tungohan, Ethel**

*"We Should Matter Too": A Critical Race Analysis of Temporary Labor Migrants' Political Belonging in Canada*

In Canada, multicultural discourse has concentrated on questions concerning the political inclusion of Canadian citizens from diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. Virtually no attention has been placed on temporary labor migrants' political membership despite the reality that these migrants have a permanent presence in Canada; in fact, their designation as 'transient outsiders' by the Canadian government misrepresents the extent to which they are a part of Canadian society. This paper expands conventional understandings of political belonging by exploring the divergent claims different groups of temporary labor migrants can make on the state. Seeing that these migrants are constructed as 'partial' subjects who, as Joseph Carens argues, are "hard to locate on the map of democracy," it becomes crucial to assess whether some migrants are easier to locate on this democratic map than others. This paper explores whether policies are structured on the basis of the racial, ethnic, and class identities of diverse groups of temporary migrants, and whether their identities affect their political integration. Section one asks why different groups of temporary migrants are given differential access to rights and privileges by the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP), with a specific focus on the contrasts between the entitlements given to seasonal agricultural workers, live-in caregivers, and corporate professionals. Section two contends that a normative shift in Canadian conceptualizations of membership and belonging should occur in order to include temporary labor migrants. Ultimately, this paper explores the feasibility of including temporary labor migrants into discussions of multiculturalism, race, and ethnicity.

### **Turcotte, Andre**

*Economic Voting in Canadian Federal Elections 1988-2006*

This analysis will concentrate on the economic dimension of voting behaviour in Canadian federal elections between 1988 and 2006. The decision to look at the period between 1988 and 2006 has three specific advantages. First, this is a period with a rich political context. During that 18-year period, Canadians have re-elected one Progressive Conservative government, elected four consecutive Liberal governments and a Conservative government. This period also witnessed four majority and two minority governments. We will be able to see if different political contexts are more or less conducive to politico-economic interactions. Secondly, it is also a period with varied economic circumstances. During that time, Canada has experienced an economic recovery, a recession and a long economic boom. The federal government also moved from running its highest budgetary deficit to benefiting from consecutive budgetary surpluses. The richness of both economic and political environments will allow for analytical insights into the impact of specific contexts on the relevance of politico-economic interactions. Thirdly, an analysis of this period will supplement and update our historical understanding of the impact of such interactions in Canadian federal elections.

The present analysis will rely on a model developed by Michael Lewis-Beck. It will replicate Lewis-Beck's approach to establish the importance of economic evaluations between 1988 and 2006. Lewis-Beck's model has been used to evaluate the importance of economic assessment in determining vote choice in several European countries. Hence, the model will provide a comparative context to the Canadian results, and put the importance of economic evaluations as determinants of vote choice in Canada into a more global perspective

### **Turenne Sjolander, Claire**

*Politics, War and Embedded Journalism: Christie Blatchford and the War in Afghanistan*

This paper examines the impact of embedded journalists (and journalism) on coverage of the war in Afghanistan. Notably, we look at the way in which reports of the war from journalists living with Canadian troops (and depending upon them for their protection) present information about the war. How does the "personalisation" of the troops, and the personal loss felt upon their death, affect the supposed neutrality of the fourth estate? More significantly, how does this coverage affect the terrain for political debate in Canada? Through an examination of Christie Blatchford's reports for the Globe and Mail, as well as her recent book, this paper poses questions about how embedded journalists construct a position of knowledge and authority which makes alternative understandings of the war difficult to articulate.

### **Turenne Sjolander, Claire**

### *A Funny Thing Happened on the Road to Khandahar: Harper, Manley and the Hijacking of the Canadian Foreign Policy Agenda*

To argue that Afghanistan has come to dominate Canadian foreign policy over the life of the Harper government is to make a patently obvious statement. In terms of all relevant empirical measures – whether financial, human, or diplomatic – the Afghanistan mission has proven more than costly. Despite its central role in defining the Conservative Government's foreign policy, however, the Afghanistan mission suffers from a lack of precision: its objectives are inchoate at best, confused on most days, and potentially destructive at worst. To some extent, of course, this incoherence was inherited by the Harper administration from its predecessor; no one could reasonably argue that the Liberals had greater clarity on the purpose of Canadian participation in the Afghanistan mission. In tracing the evolution of the Harper government's commitment to Afghanistan, including most notably the impact of the Manley report on the Canadian presence in Khandahar, this paper focuses on the desire of the Conservative government to regain Canadian influence on the world stage. In this respect, Afghanistan has become the vehicle through which Canada's international influence can be restored – without any thought given to the utility or purpose of such influence, were it to be regained.

### **Turgeon, Luc**

#### *Varieties of Federalism, Varieties of Capitalism: the Production of Child Care in Australia and Canada*

This paper explores the contrasting trajectory of Australia's and Canada's Early Childhood Education and Child Care (ECEC) sector. In the 1970s, both countries enacted public policies that favoured the development of community-based, non-profit child care spaces. Moreover, both spend a very small proportion of their GDP on ECEC services. However, since the late 1980s, Australia has experienced a rapid expansion of publicly financed, commercial child care services. Canada, on the other hand, while resisting the expansion of for-profit child care services, is now one of the OECD countries with the lowest rate of access to licensed ECEC services. Such findings challenge a body of literature, both on the welfare state and childcare, which argues that globalization and post-industrial shifts are contributing to the convergence of Anglo-Saxon countries (Morgan, 2001, Swank, 2002). In this paper, expanding insights from the work of Kimberly Morgan on "the production of child care" (Morgan, 2005), I argue that the interaction of two variables account for the trajectory of each country: the territorial organization of child care services and the orientation of labour unions in relation to child care. In Australia, the historical federal responsibility over child care as well as the centralized system of industrial relations facilitated the development of a national strategy to rapidly expand commercial services, despite the objection of local child care groups. However, in Canada, the non-profit sector was able to successfully oppose any national initiative to support commercial providers due to the historical support of provincial labour organizations, as well as certain provincial governments. The paper concludes with a discussion of the lessons of the Australian case for Canada.

### **Turnbull, Lori**

#### *Pressure Politics and Parliamentary Ethics*

As Saint-Martin (2006) points out, ethics policy differs fundamentally from social policy in that its effects are regulatory rather than redistributive. Sectors of social policy such as health, education and agriculture are governed by policy communities that include both state and non-state actors, but traditionally there have been no ethics policy "stakeholder groups." This makes sense, given that no group of citizens is any more profoundly affected than another by the conduct of Members of Parliament. Still, the proliferation and expansion of ethics rules, and the decline in public trust and confidence in politics and government, have created the right conditions for the formation of what Dennis Thompson refers to as "ethics police" (1995). In Canada, one of the most vocal groups in this category is Democracy Watch. According to the organization's website, all Canadians are "stakeholders" in political ethics and Democracy Watch is their self-appointed public advocate.

Members of Parliament rely on an independent officer of Parliament to interpret and enforce the Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons. This has meant that when individual members of the public and/or organizations such as Democracy Watch seek to challenge the rules and standards set out in the code, they are forced to direct their concerns to an extra-parliamentary office. However, the Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner is not the code's author and is not able to revise it, as it is part of the standing orders of the House of Commons. Ethics Commissioners have taken a deferential tone in their interpretation of the code's contents when conducting investigations; as Commissioner Dawson has explained, the code is "made by Members for Members." My paper will demonstrate how the externalization of ethics regulation has undermined the evolution of the ethics regime.

### **van Haute, Emilie**

#### *The decline of cleavage politics?*

Thirty years after the death of Stein Rokkan, the debate about his theory of cleavage structures and party systems is not closed (Lipset & Rokkan 1967). A dominant fringe in the literature postulates the decline of cleavage politics and political alignments between social groups and parties (Dalton & Wattenberg 2000). Some scholars adopt a demand side approach and explain the decline by societal changes like individualization and post-industrialisation (Inglehart 1977). Others adopt the supply side approach, explaining the decline by party strategies appealing to a broader electorate (Katz & Mair 1995). Both approaches emphasize the decline of linkage between social groups and parties (Lawson 1980, Katz 1990). Most of this literature relates to voter alignments. However, party members constitute an important component in

the capacity of parties to exercise their linkage function between citizens and the State (Widfelt 1999, Poguntke 2002). Therefore, our paper will test the hypothesis of decline of cleavage politics using party membership surveys conducted in Belgium between 2003 and 2006 (N=3518).

### **Vézina, Valérie**

*The Labrador Boundary Dispute / La frontière du Labrador: un débat terminé?*

This presentation deals with the historical, political, and economical controversy relating to the Labrador boundary. Although, the dispute between Québec and Newfoundland and Labrador has been settled by the Privy Council decision of 1927, there are still many disagreements between the two Canadian provinces. The debate has been going on for years and will unlikely continue in the twentieth-first century as resources, both geographical and economical, are to become scarcer.

This exposé presents the opinions of both provinces, by recapitulating the main decisions taken about the boundary. Même si la controverse entre le Québec et Terre-Neuve au sujet du Labrador a été juridiquement réglée par la décision du Conseil Privé de 1927, il y a toujours des désaccords entre les deux provinces. Cet exposé traite des controverses historiques, politiques et économiques entourant la frontière. Avec les ressources géographiques et économiques qui sont de plus en plus rares et le potentiel encore inexploré de ce territoire, le débat risque de continuer dans les années à venir. Les opinions des deux provinces seront présentées en résumant les principales décisions relatives à cette dispute.

### **Vickers, Jill**

Forum shopping within multilevel governance: The Australian women's movement and the pursuit of gender equality  
Federalism presents contradictory challenges for social movements. On the one hand, it provides veto points to the achievement of national norms and standards and the signing of international agreements. On the other, it creates additional opportunities for political participation, policy innovation and cultural recognition. The increased significance of norm-setting at global and regional levels also presents contradictory challenges. On the one hand, international institutions have sometimes proved more amenable to social movement influence than domestic governments. On the other, work within the complexities of multilateral institutions is far removed from grassroots movement activism. This paper presents a case study of how the Australian women's movement has interacted with multilevel governance to promote gender equality, 1975-2005.

### **Wallner, Jennifer**

*Are We Always Competing? Alternative Pathways of Policy Diffusion in Federal Systems*

Students of federalism often implicate competition as the primary motor of policy diffusion in federal systems (Tiebout 1956; Weingast 1995; Harrison 2006). The logic is straightforward. Subnational governments are engaged in a constant contest for mobile goods, such as capital and citizens, which motivates them to track the strategies, decisions, and choices of each other. However, we also know that governments are information seekers and that the process of social learning has driven much political interaction (Heclo 1976; Hall 1993). Furthermore, using organizational supports, governments can overcome problems of collective action and engage in cooperative activities. Therefore, the traditional emphasis in the federalism literature on competition may have missed other causal factors that contribute to policy diffusion. This paper asks: What role does learning and cooperation play in the diffusion of public policies in federations? Using the case of elementary and secondary education in Canada, I argue that the spread of education policies have been driven not by interprovincial competition but by intentional lesson drawing and, in certain targeted areas, intergovernmental cooperation. The evidence, moreover, helps us to flesh out the factors that generate distinctive patterns of learning and cooperation among subnational governments. This paper therefore expands our understanding of policy diffusion in federal systems.

### **Waltman, Max**

*Rethinking Democracy: Legal Challenges Against Pornography and Sex Inequality in Canada, Sweden and the United States.*

The paper rethinks democracy in light of evidence and analysis showing pornography to be a harmful practice of sex inequality. It asks what is in the way for democracies to address these harms and deliver equality. Empirical conditions and political-, legal-, and feminist theory, including new developments in international human rights law, are drawn upon. Most prior political or legal research has criticized, defended, or proposed alterations to existing laws. By contrast, the civil rights approach created by Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon in 1983 – an early inspiration to feminist democratic theory – is the most original work so far. This paper contributes by comparatively analyzing political responses to legal challenges in countries where subordination based on gender – not moral notions such as “obscenity” – has been the driving rationale for change. The cases for comparison are Canada, focusing on the 1989 Butler decision and its aftermath, Sweden, focusing on the Swedish 1998 Act Against Purchase of Sexual Services, and the United States, focusing on state- and federal responses to the anti-pornography civil rights legislation. This material represents similar consumption and distribution of similar pornography materials across a broad range of legal frameworks and approaches. Results show modified obscenity laws, even while recognizing inequality and harm, are ineffective since they rely on “community standards” and exhaustive criminal requisites disempowering those victimized. Similarly, strong democratic ideals such as deliberative consensus-making, or “democratic elitism” where certain freedoms are protected against

mass-politics, cannot account for victimized social groups not adequately represented. Furthermore, criminal laws against purchasers of sexual service, while reducing demand, do not empower prostituted women. Institutional structures representing victimized women and providing empowering remedies are desperately needed.

### **Ward, Ann**

#### *Justice as Economics in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*

In this paper I explore the role that money has in Aristotle's understanding of justice. Although scholars typically point to book 1 of the Politics in which Aristotle famously critiques the role of money in the economic life of citizens, I argue that this critique is not exhaustive of Aristotle's views on the subject. Rather, in book 5 of the Nicomachean Ethics, an analysis of Aristotle's discussion of fairness in distribution, rectification and reciprocity shows that money is crucial for the existence of justice in the city.

I argue that a significant problem emerges in Aristotle's discussion of fairness in distribution and rectification. Political justice and the rule of law seem to require what Aristotle terms an "arithmetical" form of equality that assumes that all persons are equal and should receive equal shares. Yet, Aristotle suggests that persons are actually unequal. Natural justice, therefore, seems to demand a "geometrical" form of equality in which unequal persons receive unequal shares. A potential resolution to this dilemma can be found in Aristotle's discussion of reciprocity in exchange, with which I will conclude my paper. Exchange is facilitated by the introduction of money. The significance of money in exchange is that it equalizes human beings and skills where no real equality is apparent. Aristotle therefore suggests that money is a crucial part of justice. It binds persons together into a polity and provides a form of artificial equality that can allow political justice and the rule of law to plausibly come into being.

### **Ward, Lee**

#### *Spinoza and Democracy*

Benedict Spinoza is celebrated as the first important philosopher to champion democracy as the best regime on the grounds that it is the most natural and thus most rational form of government. This paper proposes to examine Spinoza's belief in the naturalness of democracy by considering a number of issues. First, I consider the dual application of the idea of democracy in Spinoza's political theory. Democracy is both a particular form of government and a reflection of the natural order of power relations varying in the creation and operation of every actual regime. A second issue is how Spinoza's conception of democracy modified in the course of writing the Theologico-Political Treatise and the later Political Treatise. While in the earlier work Spinoza primarily approached the issue of nature as a historical phenomenon, or at least as the kind of truth illuminated in the course of history, in the later work Spinoza emphatically associated democracy with previously largely implicit metaphysical principles of power relations. It is on the basis of this more explicitly metaphysical support for democracy in the Political Treatise that Spinoza investigated federalism and political parties as institutional means to harmonize the conflicting demands of unity and diversity that characterized his earlier account of democracy in the Theologico-Political Treatise. Spinoza's support for democracy is then dependent on a certain understanding of democracy drawn from the metaphysical principles of power adapted by institutional devices to the particular features of regimes that may or may not be democratic in form.

### **Waters, Rosanne**

#### *Talking Federal Politics in a Provincial Legislature: What Does This Tell Us about the Connections between Federal and Provincial Political Parties?*

This research examines the relationship between federal and provincial political parties from the point of view of provincial leaders and legislators. Not only does this research what is said in the Ontario legislature but it will also examine the extent of provincial legislators' involvement in the 2008 federal national election. What type of legislators are likely to raise federal partisan considerations in the legislature and become involved in the federal election campaign. To date most of the literature on cross-level party relations has centered on formal connections or political careers, little attention has been devoted to examining what legislators say in the legislature itself and what they actually do in political campaigns at the other level. Not only will this research involve interviews with current MPPs, it will also tap into former MPPs who have remained acute observers of their former institution by being prominent media commentators or being frequent participants in current Queen's Park activities.

### **Wegner, Nicole**

#### *The Lesser of Two Evils: (Gendered) Consequences of Canada in Afghanistan*

Canada's international role has long been characterized by its involvement in peace missions, with the belief that Canada's capacity for promoting its interests and values has positively affected change in the world. This altruistic view of Canada as an international "helper" or "mediator" is a core myth to Canada's imagined identity: a role that does not necessarily reflect an alternative to military violence. This discourse has resulted in an assumption of moral authority in Canadian international engagements, one that legitimizes use of our military through neo-liberal and masculine rhetoric of responsibility and the protection of rights.

This paper examines two phenomena from the ISAF mission to Afghanistan. It first argues that although the NATO mission is not a traditional peacekeeping mission, it has been conceived as a legitimate war vis-à-vis the American intervention in Iraq. Through a discourse analysis of the Canadian mission to Afghanistan, this paper questions why the

conflict in Afghanistan has not stimulated the kind of anti-war sentiment present in the American war in Iraq. It offers an explanation by outlining the gendered and racialized assumptions that legitimize and justify Canadian military engagement in Afghanistan. By analyzing the masculinized and militaristic assumptions present in Canadian policies towards Afghanistan, this paper offers an alternative explanation of the lack of NATO military successes, and expresses (post-colonial) concern with the (gendered) consequences of Canada's engagement in the region.

### **Weiden, David**

#### *The Impact and Influence of Law Clerks at the Supreme Court of Canada*

This project will examine the role and influence of law clerks at the Supreme Court of Canada. Specifically, this project seeks to ascertain if Canadian law clerks have a significant impact on the Court's agenda through the "leave to appeal" process, decisions on the merits by the judges, and content of the written opinions issued by the Court. This inquiry is justified by recent research (*Sorcerers' Apprentices: 100 Years of Law Clerks at the United States Supreme Court*, Artemus Ward and David L. Weiden, NYU Press, 2006) which revealed that law clerks at the United States Supreme Court significantly influence the agenda-setting process at the American high court, the decisions on the merits by the judges, and also the drafting of judicial opinions. The methodology for this project consists of structured interviews with former law clerks, and also a self-administered survey sent to former law clerks at the Canadian high court. The results of this study will shed light on the dynamics of the interplay between the judges and clerks at the Supreme Court, and also increase general understanding of the Canadian high court and judicial process.

### **Weinblum, Sharon**

#### *Minorities' Political Mobilization in a Nationalizing State : the Case of the Arab Minority in Israel*

The Zionist project, following the nation-state model of its epoch was founded on the wish to give a « land for a people ». Apart from marginal propositions to create a bi-national state, the majority of the state's founders agreed on Herzl's notion of a "state of the Jews".

After the independence, Arab inhabitants became part of the newly established political system, generating a complex relation to the central nationalizing elites. Indeed, the place they were attributed in the society was clearly peripheral: they were excluded from political and symbolical power because of Israel's definition as a Jewish democratic state, which de facto excluded them from the national community and collective goals (Rouhana 1989).

Despite a growing inclusion of Arab citizens in the political system (increasing representation, creation of Arab political parties, establishment of Arab NGO's), the Arab minority's demands have radicalized over time (demands for political autonomy) as have their forms of mobilization (see the riots of 2000 and 2008). In response, central elites have reasserted the definition of the state of Israel as a "Jewish and democratic state" (see i.e. the Basic Law on the Knesset and Basic Law on Freedom of Occupation) and rejected the demands for specific minority's rights.

Drawing from conflict theories (Gurr), social movements' theories (Tarrow 1994) and institutional approach of the opposition (Kircheimer, Dahl), this paper aims at understanding the causes of such developments. The major objective is to assess the impact of variables such as rights' distribution, political representation and symbolic inclusion on minorities' mobilization.

### **Welsh, Jennifer**

#### *Whither Internationalism? Canadian Foreign Policy and the New Conservative Government IV*

This is the fourth panel of a series of linked panels that constitute the ISA-Canada workshop that is funded by ISA. The workshop will be organized around the theme of "Whither Internationalism? Canadian Foreign Policy and the "New" Conservative Government". The Conservative Government of Stephen Harper has raised the ire of many who believe that Canada's liberal internationalist orientation to foreign policy has been betrayed. Recent headlines speak volumes: "UN Official Calls Canada's Attention to its Lukewarm Attitude toward Millennium Development Goals" reads one; "Pearson's goal consistently ignored" decries another. Yet does the Harper government represent a rejection of liberal internationalism (however defined)? In the absence of any systematic reflection on the direction of foreign policy (there has, for example, been no formal – or informal – review of foreign policy, or "white paper"), what are the guiding principles shaping the Conservative government's foreign policy?

### **Wesley, Jared**

#### *Code Politics: Party System Development on the Canadian Prairies*

Similar in so many ways, questions persist as to why Canada's three Prairie Provinces have developed such distinct patterns of party competition. Right-wing dynasties thrive in Alberta; Saskatchewan's natural governing party is avowedly social democratic; while party politics in Manitoba remains relatively balanced between the forces of the right and left. This paper supplements conventional solutions to this "prairie paradox" - grounded in political culture and settlement patterns - with an ideational analysis of campaign narratives. An examination of dominant party platforms in the region reveals that each system is focused around a unique provincial "code." In Alberta, Social Credit and Progressive Conservative leaders have emphasized "freedom" over security, whereas New Democrats in Saskatchewan have stressed precisely the opposite. Successful politicians in Manitoba have steered a middling course, underscoring the importance of "moderation" in their campaign rhetoric. Cultivated by, and constraining, prominent leaders over time, these dominant discourses help explain the emergence and persistence of the three distinct worlds of party politics. In

approaching party politics from the “supply-side” perspective, the study emphasizes the importance of both structure and agency in accounting for the paradox on the Prairies.

### **Wesley, Jared**

#### *Building Bridges: Content and Narrative Analysis of Political Texts*

Platforms and manifestos hold a wealth of data for students of political parties. Such documents contain concrete policy pledges, for instance, which allow scholars to assess parties according to their prescriptions for the future, or the extent to which they fulfill their mandates once in office. Manifestos also contain rhetoric – iconic representations of the world that allow observers a window into the ideological mindset of parties and their leaders. Too often, these two methodological schools are posed as polar opposites. The first is viewed as largely quantitative, driven by content analysis and deduction, and focused on public policy, whereas the second is more qualitative, guided by narrative analysis and induction, and centered on ideology. This paper explores the ‘middle ground’ between the quantitative and qualitative approaches toward positioning political parties, while exploring ways in which students from each group can help strengthen the research of the other. In an age that requires social scientists to apply a variety of instruments in their methodological ‘toolbox,’ such an understanding between qualitative and quantitative scholars is crucial if we are to expand our knowledge about political parties and their behaviour.

### **White, Stephen**

#### *Experience with Politics and the Acquisition of Campaign Information*

It is empirically well documented in Canada and elsewhere that older citizens are more likely than their younger counterparts to link policies to the parties that propose them during election campaigns, recall the names of prominent contemporary political figures, and recall other basic political facts (Bennett 1989, Delli Carpini & Keeter 1996, Fournier 2002, Gidengil et al. 2004). The precise reasons for the relationship between age and stocks of current political information are unclear, however. Certainly, older citizens are more likely to have accumulated more information about politics over the years than younger citizens. But historical and contemporary political information are distinct phenomena (Jennings 1995, Fournier 2002), because the events, issues, and personalities of politics can change quickly and often. The young and old therefore have an equal opportunity to acquire contemporary political information. This paper uses data from the Canadian Election Studies (1993-2004) to examine the reasons behind the relationship between age and stocks of campaign information. The findings indicate that older voters are typically more informed about contemporary politics than their younger counterparts not because of their position in the life cycle or the period in which they were socialized, but rather because of their long-term prior exposure to politics (Converse 1975). Long-term political exposure matters for two reasons. It provides citizens with the cognitive skills that make them more adept at making sense of, and retaining, new information. More importantly, it allows citizens to develop strategies that make them more efficient in paying attention to campaign information.

### **Widdowson, Frances and Howard, Albert**

#### *Development, Postmodernism and Aboriginal Policy: What Are We Afraid Of?*

In the events leading up to the release of our book, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation*, a storm of controversy was unleashed by the assertion that aboriginal cultures in North America at the time of contact were at an earlier developmental stage than the European societies that encountered them. The opposition to this claim was rooted in the cultural and epistemological relativism of postmodernism – a philosophical tendency that has come to dominate the academy. As such, critics generally took one of two positions: first, that evolutionary assumptions were offensive because they classified aboriginal peoples as being “inferior” to Europeans, and this, in turn, justified the continued marginalization of the former; and second, there was the argument that cultural evolutionary theories were outmoded and scientifically invalid, and that all cultures should be considered to be equally developed, just “different”. Using a historical and materialist analysis, this paper will respond to both of these criticisms. It will be maintained that arguing that cultures evolve at different rates is both scientifically and ethically defensible. In fact, understanding the developmental gap between the Neolithic period and modern civilization is necessary if the policy goal is to give aboriginal people the option of participating equally in Canadian society.

### **Widdowson, Frances and Davidson, James Lawrence**

#### *Policy Formulation and Aboriginal Broadcasting Services: A Case Study of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network*

In the development of publicly funded aboriginal broadcasting services, there has been increasing pressure for policy transformation. State intervention in aboriginal broadcasting was originally proposed to fulfill various social policy objectives - to be a vehicle for promoting aboriginal identity, instilling a sense of community, and providing a forum for aboriginal concerns. Native programming also was largely controlled by groups from northern Canada. Recently, however, a new direction has been proposed for publicly funded aboriginal broadcasting. Concerns have been raised about program quality, the heavy reliance upon state funding, the need to appeal to a wider audience, and board governance and accountability. Using the case of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, the initial stages of attempts to transform native broadcasting will be analyzed. To this end, a variety of state and society-centred theoretical approaches will be used to understand the influence of various actors and interests, ideas and institutions on the formulation of aboriginal broadcasting policy.

**Williams, Russell and Loder, Jeff***Services Liberalisation and the Varieties of Capitalism*

Over the last twenty years advocates of global service trade liberalisation have pursued a multilevel campaign to expand international arrangements promoting policy convergence in service industry de-regulation. Consistent with the logic of Neo-liberal globalism it is suggested by these advocates that this will produce net economic benefits for states engaging in liberalisation. The WTO-GATS and regional economic arrangements like NAFTA, the EU, ASEAN and even the OECD's mooted MAI have all pursued this goal, all with relatively ineffective outcomes - at least relative to efforts to promote liberalisation in merchandise trade. This paper will argue that the problem confronting proponents of services trade is the enduring differences in varieties of capitalism both globally and regionally (Hall and Soskice 2001). In essence these differences mean that proponents of services liberalisation can only achieve their objectives if they are able to de-politicize their initiatives, reducing domestic political scrutiny of commitments made by trade negotiators (Hopner and Schafer 2007). Thus far, they have been unable to do this, both globally and even in the highly integrated EU. Through an examination of various services liberalisation initiatives and their outcomes, this paper will illustrate, that despite considerable globalisation of services industries, the prognosis for serious formal agreements to integrate services sectors through surrenders of state sovereignty over service industry regulation remains poor.

**Wilner, Alexandre***Homegrown Terrorism and Transformative Learning: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Radicalization*

International terrorism is an evolving phenomenon. In the years since 9/11, a preponderance of the terrorist attacks carried out (and foiled) in Europe, North America, Australia, and elsewhere, have involved Western-born and Western-educated individuals. The general trend reveals a diminution of centrally orchestrated international terrorism matched by a concurrent rise in localized and unaffiliated terrorism. Coupled with the emergence of what has been labelled leaderless jihad, these global developments suggest that homegrown terrorism will remain a major security concern in the coming decade. While a consensus has formed concerning the importance radicalization has in persuading Westerners to embrace terrorism, no theoretical agreement has yet been reached concerning the environmental conditions and variables that inform the radicalization process in the first place. We suggest that transformative learning theory might help fill the gap. The approach, developed from the sciences in education (particularly concerning adult learning and processes of transformation), provides an unconventional and interdisciplinary lens with which to study radicalization in Western society. Transformative learning allows for a deeper understanding of the complexity associated with processes of personal change and explains how triggering factors, like illness, economic hardship, or socio-political developments, can result in critical reflection of existing personal belief systems. These transformative processes guide future action and can lead to sustained behavioural change. In analysing homegrown terrorism, transformative learning theory can explain how once imperturbable individuals legitimize violent behaviour, how radicalization spreads and sustains itself within a given social setting, and what rehabilitation processes might allow for eventual de-radicalization.

**Wilton, Shauna***A Very Useful Engine: The Politics of Thomas and Friends*

Thomas and Friends is a highly popular, multimillion dollar empire consisting of children's toys, clothes, books and television shows. The antics of Thomas and his friends entertain children around the world. Such an influential brand, watched by millions of children, deserves examination and analysis. What messages are being conveyed to our children as they watch the show? How do these messages serve to constitute a political culture and advance a specific vision of the good citizen?

The TV show, aired daily on Treehouse in Canada, depicts the daily lives of Thomas, a steam engine, and his friends. The stories take place on the Island of Sodor, an isolated political and social community under the rule of Sir Topham Hatt. This microcosm of a community projects political and social values to young viewers. This paper explores these values through a content and critical discourse analysis of a selection of the television shows. In particular, messages about citizenship, authority, individuality and the common good within the series are investigated.

**Winstanley, Katharine***Scottish Football and Northern Ireland: The Role of Sport in Communal Identification and Ethnonational Conflict*

Nations and communities are created and represented through a myriad of different processes. Importantly, 'everyday' social rituals and practices contribute in the same ways as political practices to the creation and maintenance of communities and nations. It is important, therefore, that the social rituals which create, maintain, and (re)imagine nations and communities are considered alongside the political rituals which serve similar purposes. One of the most significant everyday practices is sport: the basis of the discussion presented in this paper. For members of diaspora and immigrant communities in particular, sport offers an outlet for them to express and retain their identity. What this paper examines is how football (soccer) in Glasgow, Scotland, represents an outlet of political and ethnic identity for members of the Irish diaspora in Scotland. The two main football teams in Scotland tend to be viewed as representative of the two sides of the Northern Irish conflict: Glasgow Celtic with Catholic Nationalism and Glasgow Rangers with Protestant Unionism. Specifically, therefore, this paper examines how football in Glasgow reinforces and reifies the existing communal divisions between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Loyalists. While neither Rangers or Celtic openly encourage divisiveness or

sectarianism, they are nonetheless inextricably linked to two competing versions of Christianity that have yet to be reconciled either in Northern Ireland or Scotland and as such serve as representatives of competing British and Irish nationalisms. The result, therefore, is that these teams have the potential to represent the continuing social aspects of the Northern Irish conflict.

### **Winter, Elke**

#### *Old and New Diversities: With or Without Relations?*

Old and new minorities generally differ with respect to the nature of their claims, their territorial boundaries, and their “institutional completeness” (Breton). Nevertheless, newcomers to the political arena are usually framed in relation to existing realities and representations of who “we” are. Furthermore, newer minorities draw upon pre-existing pluralist opportunity structures to give legitimacy to their cause. As the balance of power between established groups changes, these discursive affinities can work to the newcomers’ advantage or disadvantage. Drawing upon examples from the Canadian and the Dutch trajectories of multiculturalism, the paper shows that shifting relations between a society’s established “national” groups impact on the (de)legitimation, implementation, and success of multiculturalism as a response to increasing immigration.

### **Winter, Stephen**

#### *Reconciliation and the Canadian State*

Amidst Canada’s recent flurry of political reconciliations, possible to discern a complex routinization that counters the disruptive potential of historical claims for injustice. Focussing on indigenous-directed efforts, this paper argues that while it is not incorrect to understand current state reconciliation in terms of victories for injured groups, academic analysis should not be one-sided. Canada’s efforts to provide a just response to its histories of injustice also promise to resolve the unsettling character of Aboriginality itself—and its challenge to Canada’s legitimacy as a state. I suggest that the way in which Canadian political reconciliation is developing is shaped by a concern with strengthening core strands of Canadian identity. Reconciliation promises to redress Canada’s own historical illegitimacy and, as a result, the processes of Canadian reconciliation are not only about the doing of justice to historical claims but also about reconciling indigenous peoples to the Canadian state and ultimately expiating Canada’s ‘original sin’ of being itself. Emphasising these connections between identity, legitimacy, and the politics of reconciliation, the paper suggests how political rectification is being used to advance goals similar to those outlined in previous state frameworks, such as the White Paper, for indigenous governance.

### **Wood, Donna**

#### *TIES THAT BIND: A COMPARISON OF GOVERNANCE AND POLICY MAKING IN CANADA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION*

One of the most significant characteristics of Canada and the European Union is shared governance; between federal and provincial jurisdictions in Canada and between the community level and member states in the European Union (EU). This paper examines the integration/disintegration dynamic in each political system and argues that; with respect to employment, training and social inclusion; over the past ten years European states have been ‘coming together’ at the same time as Canadian provinces have been ‘pulling apart’. Using a variation finding strategy, this is explained by differences in how competence is shared (including differences in the role of the Government of Canada vs. the European Commission), and differences in how modes of governance and policy making have evolved over time. In Canada the predominate governance modes are hierarchy, negotiation, and the use of the federal spending power, deliberated and decided within the context of closed-door executive federalism. In the EU hierarchy plays a much more limited role; the most common governance modes are negotiation, cooperation and competition, including a ‘new’ technique called the open method of coordination (OMC). These involve extensive institutional networks and processes that also mobilize non-governmental actors. The paper brings together the Canadian federalism literature with the European literature on new modes of governance, and compares how actor constellations, patterns of interaction, and institutional structures in each system impact intergovernmental performance, effectiveness and legitimacy. In doing so it makes a unique contribution to comparative intergovernmental relations.

### **Yates, Stéphanie and Hudon, Raymond**

#### *Advocacy Coalitions: Beyond Influence, an Organizational Survival Perspective*

As shown by their proliferation (Furlong and Kerwin, 2005), advocacy coalitions seem to be a privileged form of collective action to promote a cause and influence the policy process. This contribution deals with the motives explaining why organizations join coalitions. On the one hand, organizations could choose to “free ride”, yet enjoying the inclusive benefits following the coalitions’ actions (Olson, 1965). On the other hand, interests representation by coalitions seldom gives expected results in terms of political influence (Lowery, 2007; Smith, 2000). Hence, a cost-benefit analysis would logically discourage organizations from joining broader alliances. However, from the perspective of the “organizational survival theory” (Lowery, 2007), we suggest that decisions to join a coalition can be made to secure organizational resources.



To test this assumption, we study about forty Quebec organizations in three political domains where we find an active coalition; organizations are evenly divided between members and non members of the coalition. Our original data are drawn from interviews with organizations' coordinators, a written questionnaire distributed to these coordinators, and an analysis extended to every relevant document.

Preliminary results point to the fundamental role played by "political entrepreneurs" (Salisbury, 1969). Organizations' expectations in terms of reputational benefits and entrepreneurs' interests in enhancing "life expectancy" of these organizations are factors which could, in combination, explain the decision to join a coalition (or to form an alliance with other groups).

### **Young, Shaun**

#### *Evidence of Democracy? The Relationship between Evidence-Based Policy and Democratic Government*

The preceding decade has witnessed the production of a substantial volume of scholarship dedicated to exploring the concept of evidence-based policy – the idea that 'at the heart' of properly developed public policy is 'the best available evidence'. Yet, as numerous scholars have observed, there are various difficulties associated with relying upon 'evidence' to justify the adoption of a particular policy position. For example, there exists no consensus regarding precisely what can legitimately be labelled 'evidence', and many of the most complex and controversial issues are ones for which there has not yet been the opportunity to produce or collect an 'adequate' volume of 'evidence'. In the absence of a conclusive consensus regarding the precise character of 'evidence', and/or lacking a sufficient volume of generally accepted evidence, how are policymakers reasonably to use 'evidence' to determine the most appropriate response to a policy dilemma?

A number of different considerations – in addition to 'the best available evidence' – have been identified as desirably or otherwise influencing policymakers' decisions concerning which course of action to pursue; those considerations include fiscal and time constraints, personal experience, and short-term political strategy, to name a few. Indeed, arguably, policymakers in democratic polities have no choice but to incorporate such considerations into their decision-making. Does such a situation problematically impede the meaningful realisation of evidence-based policy?

The proposed paper will explore the tension(s) between the idea of evidence-based policy and the practice of democracy and assess the degree to which said tension(s) might and should be resolved.

### **Yu, Sherry and Ahadi, Daniel**

#### *Tracing Politics: Canadian 2008 Federal Election in Ethnic Media*

Diasporic media, as defined as media printed, broadcasted or published in languages other than English or French (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission), are emerging to offer new communicative civic spaces to ethno-racial citizens. However, studies suggest that while they may not be completely disconnected from the broader society, they remain largely "distinct from the dominant public sphere" (Karim, 2002). The majority are single-ethnic media, developing in isolation to cater to in-group interests. Particularly, the skewed information feed (predominantly news from "home" rather than from "here") develops a dual sense of belonging, yet one that leans more toward the country of origin (Lin & Song, 2006; Murray, Yu & Ahadi, 2007). Furthermore, there may be coverage on intercultural issues; however, there is no systematic route available in the mainstream media to facilitate a sharing of alternative narratives. What is of concern is that such an isolationist tendency may further intensify political, socio-economic and cultural divides among older and new populations and develop "parallel societies" (Hafez, 2007) and fragmented citizenship, which may lead to raising citizens of communities rather than citizens of the broader society. This paper responds to and further explores this distinction through a comparative content analysis on coverage of the 2008 Canadian federal election (October 14, 2008) in Korean, Iranian and English press in British Columbia. The guiding research questions are, a) to what extent is the federal election being covered in the ethnic and English press; b) which specific issues and concerns are being addressed; and c) are there any blindspots in coverage?

### **Zakaria, Patty**

#### *Does Corruption 'Grease the Wheel' of Economic Growth in Developing Countries?*

Corruption occurs in every political system worldwide however acts of corruption are more prevalent and severe in developing countries. Economic development has been an uphill battle for many developing countries. Thus, I examined the following hypothesis: An increase in the levels of corruption for a country in developing countries will be associated with a decrease in GDP per capita. This paper examined if corruption greases the wheel of economic growth in developing countries with the use of a pooled time-series cross-sectional ordinary least square [OLS] regression for 112 developing countries. In both the direct and the indirect models, it was evident that corruption played a significant factor in the economy. Thus, the empirical tests in this paper support my hypothesis that an increase in the levels of corruption for a developing will be associated with a decrease in GDP per capita. This was evident in the case of Ukraine and Estonia for the period of 2005-2006, where Estonia had significantly higher control of corruption than Ukraine, which corresponded to higher GDP per capita for Ukraine. The indirect effects of corruption through the recursive models also indicated a negative relationship between corruption and GDP per capita for developing countries.

### **Zini, Sylvain**

*Vers un New Deal global ? La clause sociale et le projet global du réformisme américain.*

Du fait des nombreuses limites que comportent la doctrine néolibérale et ses applications, il s'avère intéressant de regarder quelles alternatives théorique et politique se présentent. Or, le camp progressiste américain semble sur la voie de restaurer la doctrine qui l'a porté au pouvoir: le libéralisme progressiste du New Deal. Sans remettre en cause la libre entreprise, le libre-échange et les droits humains constitutifs du libéralisme dans ses dimensions politique et économique, cette doctrine propose de mettre en œuvre des règles strictes encadrant le marché, et des mécanismes de redistribution des gains. Cet « autre libéralisme » a été remis en cause par le néo-libéralisme dans les années 1970. La critique de l'aspect bureaucratique -accroissement de la taille de l'État; et l'extension des échanges économiques internationaux sont venus entraver la mise en œuvre des politiques redistributives. Mais la doctrine libérale-progressiste n'a pas rendu les armes. Depuis les années 1980, elle tente de refonder un projet politique alternatif au néo-libéralisme. Cette étude vise à montrer les bases de cette reformulation à partir d'une mesure particulière : la clause sociale. Celle-ci cherche à mettre en place des règles strictes dans le domaine des normes du travail à l'intérieur des accords commerciaux internationaux. Cette mesure a comme objectif de concilier l'extension du libre-échange, et l'amélioration de la mise en œuvre des droits humains dans le champ du travail. Malgré les nombreuses limites de son application actuelle, la clause sociale semble munie d'un potentiel de réforme à l'échelle globale. À travers l'étude de cette mesure, tenterons donc d'analyser et d'évaluer l'évolution de la doctrine libérale progressiste.

### **Zolkos, Magdalena**

*Kertész's Monsters. Reading Community and Trauma at the Interstices of the Literary and the Political*

This paper takes a departure-point in the theorizing political togetherness, which is situated as a community (a) has experienced collective trauma due to historical violence and historical injustice, and (b) undertakes an act of its own re-founding within the trajectories of "transitional justice" and reconciliation. It suggests that important insights into the problematic of political theorizing of traumatized communities come from the work of the 2002 Nobel Prize winner, Imre Kertész. This paper, first, offers a reading of Kertész's texts (drawing on his essays and his two novels, *Kaddish for A Child Not Born* and *Fateless*) that is inspired by recent literary and psychoanalytic influences within trauma studies. Next, on the basis of that reading, it makes an argument that Kertész theorizes post-genocidal / post-Holocaust community as one that is being "haunted" by trauma and as such ventures upon the project of ritualizing and "conjuring" the "monsters" of its own violent past. This for Kertész links to the question of the communal placement of the vulnerable human subject (or witness), and the formation of a transitional civic subjectivity that remains under the influence of trauma. He reflects on subversive and productive articulations of the traumatized subject vis-à-vis the community that has, first, declared on her/him a "death verdict," and tries to reclaim her/him in the present to achieve reconciliation (a secularized idea of salvation). This paper concludes with some reflections on how Kertész' ideas are related to the so-called "post-foundational" theorizing of political community, i.e. a community that has displaced, or disowned, of its own founding act.