Abboud, Samer N. - abbouds@arcadia.edu
Danger, Identity, and Foreign Policy: The Case of Hizballah
In the context of a wider project that considers how Hizballah's identity politics are shaped by communal and domestic, Lebanese considerations, this paper engages questions of foreign policy and identity in the context of a non-state actor (Hizballah) in the context of the quasi-sovereign Lebanese state. If in fact, state foreign policy is an expression of identity and national interest, what happens when we adopt this approach in the case of Hizballah? In conventional IR, foreign policy is framed as an expression of 'national interest'. It reifies the differentiation between the domestic political space, and the international anarchical space. What does it mean when an actor that is both domestic and international, and defined as a non-state, possesses a foreign policy? In particular, we draw on David Campbell's work on how interpretations and representations of danger have worked in establishing national identity. In other words, foreign policy is not taken to be a simple expression of any given society, but it constitutes identity vis-à-vis the interpretation of danger posed by others. What does it mean to think in these terms when the central figure is a non-state actor like Hizballah? How does its foreign policy (re)present danger and what sort of identities are subsequently formed?

Abdulakdir, Fowsia - fowsia@sympatico.ca
Gender, Transitional Justice and Limited or Failed Statehood: A Case Study of Somalia
Sexual violence against women during war times has not initially been considered as a serious infringe or as a tool employed to commit genocide, but instead as act of violence 'against dignity and honour. The last few years have witnessed a significant change in the dominant transitional justice model demonstrated by two key events: the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. This in turn has definitely permanently altered the old traditional model that was at the heart of transitional justice jurisprudence. Yet, there remain serious gaps in the literature. The Somali case is instructive here as it provides for a complex case study in so far as it combines a complete collapse of the state and a protracted civil war. This paper explores the following research question: how can concepts of transitional justice that take into account economic, political and socio-cultural rights of Somali women who have subjected to sexual war crimes be achieved? Some scholars have argued that informal Somali social organization (i.e. traditional Somali xeer), might have significant use in the building a model of transitional justice for Somalia. In direct contrast, the empirical findings of this paper suggest that due to the patriarchy at the heart of the Somali system of kinship the local clan based Xeer system would not be useful in the process of creating a model of transitional justice that addresses the widespread sexual war crimes that have been taking place in Somalia for almost two decades.

Abdulkadir, Rahma - rahma@nyu.edu
Gender, Transitional Justice and Limited or Failed Statehood: A Case Study of Somalia
Sexual violence against women during war times has not initially been considered as a serious infringe or as a tool employed to commit genocide, but instead as act of violence 'against dignity and honour. The last few years have witnessed a significant change in the dominant transitional justice model demonstrated by two key events: the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. This in turn has definitely permanently altered the old traditional model that was at the heart of transitional justice jurisprudence. Yet, there remain serious gaps in the literature. The Somali case is instructive here as it provides for a complex case study in so far as it combines a complete collapse of the state and a protracted civil war. This paper explores the following research question: how can concepts of transitional justice that take into account economic, political and socio-cultural rights of Somali women who have subjected to sexual war crimes be achieved? Some scholars have argued that informal Somali social organization (i.e. traditional Somali xeer), might have significant use in the building a model of transitional justice for Somalia. In direct contrast, the empirical findings of this paper suggest that due to the patriarchy at the heart of the Somali system of kinship the local clan based Xeer system would not be useful in the process of creating a model of transitional justice that addresses the widespread sexual war crimes that have been taking place in Somalia for almost two decades.

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen - yasmeen@ualberta.ca
Indigenous Palestine and Environmental Justice: Land, Water and Air in the Politics of Contested Territory
The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPS) marks a historical moment in which the rights and claims of indigenous peoples have been notably internationalized. In the contested territory of Israel/Palestine the histories and claims made by indigenous peoples globally has had considerable resonance for Palestinians. Taking as our starting point the hesitation of some states (and in the case of Canada and the United States, refusal) to endorse UNDRIPS, largely on grounds of its implications for resources, this paper considers Palestine from the perspective of indigenous claims, resources and the environment. Using a theoretical framework we have developed in other work on "the racial contract," as it applies to Israel/Palestine, we extend this analysis to include attending to environmental racism, and its obverse, namely environmental justice. The mythologized idea of Israel as a state that has made it possible to "make the desert bloom" is contrasted with the racialized effects of colonization, occupation and settlement. Specifically, we systematically address key examples that highlight contested territory and environmental racism associated with land, water and air. On land, we attend to the construction of Canada Park after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, as well as the ongoing construction of the "separation barrier" in the West Bank. In relation to water, we consider differential access,

management and control of water vis à vis Jewish nationals with full citizenship rights, and Palestinians within Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. Finally, on air we address the human health and environmental implications of Israeli military control of airspace in relation to war (e.g., white phosphorous) and surveillance.

Adeakin, Ibikunle - iea1@waikato.ac.nz
Retired Military Officers in Politics: A New Form of Authoritarianism in Nigeria?
The return of civilian rule in Nigeria on May 29th 1999 has witnessed a new pattern of authoritarianism in Nigeria. This new form is rather different from the old-style military authoritarianism that Nigeria had witnessed in the time past and is used to. This new form incorporates elements of political pluralism and relative freedom of speech and association, but, fundamentally falls short of western-style democracy.
This new form of authoritarianism involves high ranking ex-military officers seeking and winning political offices, seeking to influence political outcomes by forging informal political alliances with office winners, and ensuring that their economic interests in the polity are guaranteed.
This paper highlights the modus operandi of this new form of authoritarianism in Nigeria. It is based upon research that involves analysing political positions, influence and roles that high ranking ex-military officers have had in the polity in the past ten years. The analysis is based upon the Federal institution in Nigeria, including the office of the presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the Federal Legislature House – The House of Representatives and the Senate.
The resultant findings from the analyses will add to the literature of regimes types, especially those that have arisen after the demise of the cold war. The work will also critically assess the implications for Nigeria quest for democracy, as well as the potential strengthening of authoritarian tendencies in the country.

Ahmed, Kawser - umahme33@cc.manitoba.ca
Religion Based Extremism is a Threat to National Security of Canada: A Critical Study on its Transnational Nature With Immigratnt Linkage
The recent 'Global Manhunt' of three University of Manitoba students who allegedly joined the Al Qaeda, the arrest of three suspected terrorists (commonly dubbed as 'Home grown Terrorists') in Ottawa in last August, and the notorious 'Toronto 18' case in 2007 should serve as a wakeup call to our national security establishment. Though the allegations are yet to be proved in the court of law but this phenomenon warrants a fresh and reinvigorated search to understand the causes of such acts and its ramifications. Western world is grappled with this typology since the infamous events of 9/11 which altered the landscape of traditional security and conflict discourse, nevertheless, a sound and pragmatic methodology has yet to be found out to combat such acts. A cursory look at the motivational background of such groups that organise, undertake these ventures, vary but seemingly they are highly motivated, religiously indoctrinated and most surprisingly come from the upper and middle class social strata. They do not represent the so called hapless, deprived, entities; instead they worked happily, raised family and mostly 2nd generation immigrant descent. Their motivation behind radicalization and religious extremism thus remain to be an enigma. Their supposed participation in such acts is hurting the very fundamental fabric of a diverse multicultural society which is based on coexistence and thus this phenomenon is rapidly evolving into a potential source of conflict. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon, what is new is its metamorphosis to its present state – from national to international entity which transcends the physical territory and entrenched its position in many of our minds.

Alcantara, Chris - calcantara@wlu.ca
Executive Federalism and Institutional Change: Explaining Territorial Inclusion in Canadian First Ministers' Conferences.
For much of Canada's history, First Ministers' Conferences (FCMs) were dominated by federal and provincial actors. Rarely did territorial leaders participate. During the 1980s and the 1990s, however, territorial leaders became more involved in FMCs, culminating in their inclusion as official participants in the early 1990s. What explains this instance of institutional change? Using the theoretical tools of historical institutionalism and data drawn from primary documents and elite interviews with former First Ministers and civil servants, this paper argues that institutional and ideational factors were critical to the emergence of territorial leaders as official participants in Canadian FMCs.

Alexander, Cynthia - calexander142@gmail.com
Northern Notes on the Intersections of Aboriginal Health, Identity and ICTs
The paper explores the distinctive, diverse and often disregarded needs and interests, values and approaches of Aboriginal women, with a focus on the fundamental relationship between health, identity and ICTs. The health of Indigenous women is situated in Canada within a policy environment that emphasizes cost-centric health policy and an evidence-based medical approach. For this continually marginalized population, health is much more complex than the overtly clinical and dichotomous Western perspective, which often separates the mind from the body in diagnosis and in treatment. By contrast, Indigenous health and well-being is traditionally understood holistically, reflecting an overall worldview that emphasizes balance. Cultural conceptualizations of health ideals extend beyond the physical body and are defined through and consonant with cultural beliefs and valuations of Aboriginal identity (Adelson 2000; Kirmayer et al. 2000b). In the 21st century, the voices of Indigenous women and their health policy needs and interests have been masked by internal colonialism. From this contextual foundation, the authors investigate the relationship between information and communition technologies (ICTs), health and identity in northern communities in Canada, from the

premise that such systems are not value-free.   Aboriginal leaders, policy analysts and decision makers are exploring ICT applications in health policy, access, and communications domains in ways that push beyond questions of access toward critical considerations about quality of life.   The value of ICTs in health care services and information transfer for northern Indigenous communities may be as critical to growing individual resilience and sustainable communities as is the adoption of ICTs for the continuity and transfer of language and cultural practices.   The authors adopt a socio-technical approach in their exploration of the intersection of ICTs, health and identity.

Allen, Nathan - nallen@interchange.ubc.ca
Like Ants attracted to Sugar: Candidate Recruitment and Entry in Indonesia
Political parties need candidates. Candidates provide funds, rally party support, and articulate the party's message to local constituents. The success of candidate recruitment efforts varies across parties and electoral districts. Indonesian legislative candidates can be hard to find. In some electoral districts aspiring politicians are abundant and candidate lists swell; in others aspiring politicians are a scarce commodity and candidate lists go unfilled. There is, in short, regional variation in candidate entry rates. How can we account for this variation in Indonesia?
Regional variation in candidate entry rates is best explained by the ethnic diversity of various districts. Using a dataset that includes over 30,000 national legislative candidates from all three reformasi era elections, I demonstrate a strong correlation between ethnic diversity and candidate entry rates. In ethnically diverse electoral districts, Indonesian citizens are more likely to put themselves forth as candidates and, consequently, parties in such regions are able to offer more candidates on their lists. Having established the correlation, I turn to explanation. Preliminary evidence has revealed that ethnically heterogeneous regions offer more patronage opportunities for sitting politicians. I explain the higher number of candidates in heterogeneous districts in terms of an increase in patronage opportunities. Like ants attracted to sugar, citizens are more likely to offer themselves as candidate when they believe material benefits will flow from the efforts.

Amjahad, Anissa - aamjahad@ulb.ac.be
Party Internal Discontent and Factionalism
Studies on party membership have focused mainly on the profiles of members and on the reasons for joining (Seyd and Whiteley, 1992 and 2002; Scarrow, 1996; Heidar, 2006; van Haute, 2009a). Thus, party internal conflicts and discontent are hardly explained and very few studies have explored in depth party internal conflict (Boucek, 2009) or party internal discontent (van Haute, 2009b). This paper investigates one of the main dimensions of political discontent (Gamson, 1968): the specific support for the party, i.e. the satisfaction with its internal functioning. Taking the Belgian Socialist Party as a case-study, the paper analyzes this variable by looking at the attitudes towards intra-party democracy (Rüdig, 2005; Koole, 2009; Linek and Lyons; 2009; Wauters et al., 2009; Baras et al., 2010). The paper explores the impact of members' discontent on their attitudes on party factionalism, considering discontent as a potential explanatory factor (Di Virgilio and Giannetti, 2009). Through the use of membership survey data (2010), the study aims at understanding the internal party divisions. Hypothesizing that unsatisfied members may constitute a source for internal factions, the paper explores who those members are and which are their perceptions of the main conflict lines within the selected party. It aims at shedding new light on the possible determinants of membership's attitudes towards factionalism.

Anderson, Cameron - cander54@uwo.ca
Identity, Economy and Integration: Evaluating the Sources of Public Opinion on Canada-US Integration
Canada and the United States share the longest undefended border in the world and are each other's largest trading partners. While the relationship between these two countries has ebbed and flowed over time, it remains of political, economic and strategic importance. Despite most scholarly work focusing on the relationship between political and economic elites, public support for the bilateral relationship in both Canada and the United States is key. Yet, and perhaps surprisingly given the importance of the relationship, little is known about the nature and depth of public support for the Canada-U.S. relationship and virtually nothing is known regarding the correlates of opinion for strengthening political and economic integration. Using data collected in July 2010 from nationally representative surveys of 1000 Canadians and 1000 Americans, this paper will explore the following questions: what is opinion about the past and future of the relationship; to what extent do Americans and Canadians think integration is a good thing and what is the nature public support for future strengthening of North American integration? Drawing on existing work in the EU context (e.g. Hooghe and Marks 2004), we theorize and test a range of economic and political explanations to account for the nature of opinion on Canada-US integration. Given the importance of the relationship, we believe that this paper will contribute to our understanding of the public support which undergirds it.

Anderson, Cameron - cander54@uwo.ca
Mayoral Re-election and the Economy: The 2010 Municipal Elections in Ontario
In fall 2008, the economy of Ontario was significantly influenced by the global economic collapse. The resulting recession and slow recovery has been particularly strongly felt in Ontario's manufacturing rich economy. In light of such significant economic change, the economic voting model provides some insight into how elected politicians may be influenced. The accepted wisdom of economic voting suggests that electoral outcomes are in part influenced by economic conditions: in particular, incumbents' electoral success (or failure) is importantly tied to the strength (or weakness) of economic conditions. Given the empirical and theoretical backdrop, the 2010 Ontario municipal elections provided the Ontario

electorate with the first widespread electoral opportunity to render judgment on their local leadership since the economic downturn of 2008. Accordingly, this paper explores the extent to which economic conditions influenced municipal election results. Using the incidence of re-election of incumbent mayors as the dependent variable, the paper estimates a model involving a range of economic (unemployment) and contextual (e.g. population size, length of time in office and turnout) variables. In particular, we expect that higher rates (and changes in those rates) of local unemployment will be significantly associated with a declining likelihood of re-election for mayors across Ontario. Cognizant of nearing provincial and (anticipated) federal elections, findings of this paper will be considered in light of the potential for economic effects to influence electoral outcomes in these venues.

Anderson, Christopher G. - canderson@wlu.ca
A Decade in Review: Assessing Access to and Fairness within the Canadian Inland Refugee Status Determination System, 2001-2010
The 2009/2010 arrival of Tamil asylum seekers in British Columbia by boat has instigated a new round of public debate – and apprehension – over Canadian border security and migration control. While much attention is now being focussed on the country's efforts overseas to prevent irregular migration from reaching Canadian borders, the government has for many years worked to restrict the ability of asylum seekers to enter into and remain within the country. Long considered by critics as a crucial "weak link" in Canada's control regime, even as it has received praise in comparison to other inland refugee status determination systems on protection-based criteria, Canadian policy towards asylum seekers has undergone significant changes during the past decade. This paper uses the perspective offered by the experiences of the recent Tamil boat arrivals to assess this evolution along two important dimensions: access to and fairness within the Canadian inland system. In examining policy developments since 2000, the paper explores the extent to which (and ways in which) the border has or has not been extended/thickened for this particular migrant group within the country. In doing so, it provides greater insight into both the "weak link" claim and the evaluation of Canadian policies on protection-based criteria.

Anderson, Miriam - m.anderson@mun.ca
Explaining Women's Success/Failure at Accessing Peace Talks
Women's participation in peace processes has become a prominent international issue as indicated by the passage of Security Council Resolution 1325, for example. To date, literature on women's participation has been primarily normative, calling for women's increased representation as well as descriptive, detailing women's contribution to peace processes (e.g. Anderlini 2000, 2007; Burke et al. 2001; Fearon 1999; Hunt and Posa 2001; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002). This literature has failed to offer any explanation as to what determines whether women successfully access peace talks. My paper attempts to fill this gap by examining a set of factors that might affect women's success in accessing the peace table such as: characteristics of the women's movement, conflict characteristics, women's level of emancipation, characteristics of the negotiations etc.
This paper uses a dual small-n and large-n approach. It inductively examines women's mobilization and non/participation in peace processes in Burundi, Macedonia and Northern Ireland. After locating possible causal variables from the three case studies, I then test them on a dataset of 55 peace processes between 1989 and 2005 to see if statistically significant relationships can be found.

Andrew, Blake - blake.andrew@mcgill.ca
Political Knowledge, Racial Bias and Attitudes Toward Immigration
Past research suggests that citizens' attitudes toward immigration are driven, in part, by attitudes toward racial diversity. In this study, we draw on a unique online survey experiment conducted with a representative sample of Canadians (n=1000) to directly test this assertion. The analysis is based on a 2X2 experimental design embedded in a series of immigrant vignettes that vary the racial background and social status of an individual applying for immigration to Canada. First, we examine the extent to which implicit racial cues decrease support for immigration. Second, we test whether this effect is stronger when immigrants are portrayed as low skilled (and hence an economic threat) versus when they are highly skilled. And finally, we explore the effect of political sophistication, measured by an extensive battery of current political knowledge questions, with the expectation that sophistication may mediate the relationship between racial cues and immigrant attitudes. Results offer new and unique information on the structure of Canadians' attitudes on diversity and immigration.

Arel-Bundock, Vincent - varel@umich.edu
A Comparative Performance Evaluation of Canada's Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements
Worldwide stocks of foreign direct investment (FDI) rose to 17,7 trillion US$ in 2009. Canadian stocks alone represent more than the annual GDP of either Poland, Sweden or Indonesia. Despite this staggering volume of capital, there exists no strong multilateral legal framework to regulate FDIs. Instead, states and investors have to rely on a complicated web of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) to settle their disputes. This paper evaluates the performance of Canadian BITs from three perspectives.

First, I show that they are less effective at stimulating outward FDI flows than other countries' BITs. Second, considering the geographic distribution of risks and opportunities for investors, I argue that Canada's choice of BIT partners has not been optimal. Finally, a survey of publicly available data on investment arbitration suggests that the Canadian government has been the target of multiple complaints, but that the country's investors have seldom taken advantage of the rights conferred by BITs.

Substantively, my contribution brings together three complementary strands of research: (1) economic studies that focus on the relationship between BITs and FDI flows, (2) political-economy research that explains the diffusion of BITs, and (3) empirical legal studies that emphasize investor-state dispute settlement. Methodologically, I improve on previous works by treating seriously the problem of endogeneity between FDI and BITs, by accounting for missing data in a more transparent way, and by extending to two-stage least squares a method that is routinely used to calculate panel corrected standard errors in OLS regression.

Atkison, Larissa - larissa.atkison@utoronto.ca
Persuasion and Rhetoric in Sophocles' Antigone
My paper will explore persuasion and attachment in Sophocles's Antigone. Modern scholarship has been largely informed by Hegel's famous reading of this play as representative of a conflict between the particular demands of piety and the ethical demands of the state. In this account, the tragic conflict in Antigone is seen as pointing beyond itself to a model of reconciliation between the spiritual and political through their alignment in reason and enlightened institutions. Against this theoretical backdrop I will consider the problem of attachment and persuasion in light of Antigone and Creon's conflicting backward-looking and forward-looking orientation to the political present. In this reading, Antigone is less a representative of piety than one who acts in order to restore memory and to exemplify a proper orientation to the past. In assessing the moments of failed persuasion in this play, I will suggest that the conflict between these characters points more broadly to the challenge of persuading across conflicting temporal versions of the political good. In situating my reading of this conflict as reflective of broader conservative/progressive dynamics, I will ask what Antigone has to teach us about the limits and possibilities of persuasion in navigating these sorts of temporal and historical boundaries.

Bakan, Abigail - bakana@queensu.ca
Indigenous Palestine and Environmental Justice: Land, Water and Air in the Politics of Contested Territory
The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPS) marks a historical moment in which the rights and claims of indigenous peoples have been notably internationalized. In the contested territory of Israel/Palestine the histories and claims made by indigenous peoples globally has had considerable resonance for Palestinians. Taking as our starting point the hesitation of some states (and in the case of Canada and the United States, refusal) to endorse UNDRIPS, largely on grounds of its implications for resources, this paper considers Palestine from the perspective of indigenous claims, resources and the environment. Using a theoretical framework we have developed in other work on "the racial contract," as it applies to Israel/Palestine, we extend this analysis to include attending to environmental racism, and its obverse, namely environmental justice. The mythologized idea of Israel as a state that has made it possible to "make the desert bloom" is contrasted with the racialized effects of colonization, occupation and settlement. Specifically, we systematically address key examples that highlight contested territory and environmental racism associated with land, water and air. On land, we attend to the construction of Canada Park after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, as well as the ongoing construction of the "separation barrier" in the West Bank. In relation to water, we consider differential access, management and control of water vis à vis Jewish nationals with full citizenship rights, and Palestinians within Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. Finally, on air we address the human health and environmental implications of Israeli military control of airspace in relation to war (e.g., white phosphorous) and surveillance.

Baker, Dennis - bakerd@uoguelph.ca
Excessive, Energetic or Embattled: Executive Power in Canadian Constitutional Theory and Minority Government Practice
While the Canadian legal and political science literature is replete with analyses of the legislative-judicial relationship (see Hogg and Bushell 1997; Webber 2009), the executive branch, as a constitutional actor in its own right, has attracted little attention. Instead, Canadian scholars generally have been content to understand the executive as 'fused' with the legislature it 'dominates' (c.f. Ajzenstat 1988). A more satisfying and robust account can be discerned from basic Anglo-American constitutional theory, where executive power is understood as "ambivalent" in several important aspects, and which sees the executive as constitutionally distinct from both the legislature and the judiciary. This approach stresses the independent constitutional status of the executive and sees executive power as informally strong but formally weak (Baker 2010). As a best practice for resolving conflicts, an 'ambivalent' approach suggests that judicial and legislative determinations about the constitutionality of executive power should proceed with caution and a degree of deference even if the executive power must ultimately yield to the other branches. To further explore this theory of inter-institutional affairs, two recent controversies – the Omar Khadr saga (judicial-executive) and the struggle over the Afghan Detainee Documents (legislative-executive) – will be discussed and compared. By aggressively asserting executive power in the minority government context, the Harper Government has provided Canadian scholars an opportunity to more fully understand the nature and extent of executive power in our constitutional framework.

Ballingall, Robert - rob.ballingall@utoronto.ca

Freedom and Shame in Plato's 'Laws'
Interpreters of Plato's 'Laws' such as R. F. Stalley (1984, 1998) have argued that, notwithstanding Plato's apparent hostility to the idea of liberty, his political philosophy does propound a doctrine of freedom which he himself regards as normative. Yet Stalley insists that this doctrine is nevertheless unacceptable to anyone "who seriously wishes to defend...individual liberty" as it is based on two premises to which liberals would be hard-pressed to assent. "The idea that it is the task of the legislator to make people virtuous," he maintains, implies (a) that the legislator can have infallible knowledge of moral values and (b) that such values necessitate a relatively homogenous way of life to which the conformity of the citizenry is exacted, either through persuasion or compulsion if necessary (1984, p.41). This paper challenges Stalley's attribution of the first principle to the arguments of the Athenian Stranger in the 'Laws.' While "the idea that it is the task of the legislator to make people virtuous" does indeed imply that "the legislator can know what forms of life are required by virtue," it does not follow that the legislator's knowledge in this respect must be infallible. I argue instead that the Athenian means to ensure the entire citizenry recognizes just the contrary, that it is impossible for a human being to have knowledge of this kind, though such knowledge is nevertheless a necessity for a well-governed political community. It is a sufficient consciousness of this paradox, I maintain, that constitutes the willingness of the citizens of Magnesia to be ruled by reason, what Stalley rightly identifies as the sense in which the Athenian believes they are free.

Banack, Clark - cbanack@interchange.ubc.ca
The Place of Religion in Contemporary Alberta Politics
Alberta has long been assumed to be a province whose politics have been, and continue to be, significantly influenced by a fundamentalist and socially conservative Christian perspective. However, academics have not probed the validity of this assumption with much persistence or precision. This paper, drawn from my larger PhD dissertation, attempts to rectify this gap by examining the influence of religious considerations on the political thought and public policy decisions of politicians in two prominent Alberta-based conservative political parties: the provincial Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta and the former federal Reform Party of Canada. Based upon a total of thirty in-depth interviews conducted with current and recently retired Alberta politicians from each of these parties, this paper proposes to demonstrate the manner and degree by which personal religious commitments influence the general ideology and particular public policy preferences of politicians within each party. These findings are then briefly compared to the results of my previous work on the influence of religion on the political thought of two Alberta parties from its past, the United Farmers of Alberta and the Alberta Social Credit Party. The paper closes with some broader thoughts on the continuing influence religion has on political thought in Alberta at the elite level.

Banfield, Andrew - acbanfie@ucalgary.ca
Measuring Federalism: Infrastructural Capacity
Traditional approaches to understanding power in federal states are heavily dependent on the use of revenue and spending. We argue a more complete understanding of power in federal states is gained by also considering the infrastructural capacity of component governments. To do this, we construct a series of measures that identify the capacity of governments in federal states to deliver goods and services.

Baskoy, Tuna - tbaskoy@politics.ryerson.ca
Global Financial Crisis and Public Service Institutions
This presentation analyzes how public service institutions in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Singapore, South Africa, India, and Trinidad and Tobago have been dealing with the environmental turbulence created by the global financial crisis of 2007-8. It is argued that the global financial crisis is going to have adverse impact on public service institutions, especially after national governments phase out reflationary fiscal policy measures starting 2011. While the first section investigates the nature of the crisis, the second section assesses the impact of the crisis on public service institutions in the concerned countries by focusing mainly on public services, public sector employees, and organizational changes in public service institutions. The last section assesses the key findings.

Bastien, Frédérick - frederick.bastien@com.ulaval.ca
Trends in Television Leadership Debate Reports in Canada : A Neo-Institutionalist Approach
Political communication scholars in Canada seldom conduct longitudinal analyses of media coverage. We believe that major changes have occurred in journalism practices and have impacted the way that politics is reported to citizens. On the basis of the paradigmatic change theory developed in journalism studies, we argue that Canadian journalists, to take up various challenges the media have to deal with, have increased their independence from political actors. Our hypothesis states that journalists have become less prone to report political actors' discourse and more active to develop their own discourse on politics. We test this hypothesis with a content analysis of the press coverage on five federal television leadership debates and the actual content of these debates. Our sample includes all stories (approximately 600 stories) published by eight newspapers (Halifax Chronicle, La Presse, Le Devoir, The Gazette, Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Winnipeg Free Press, and Vancouver Sun) on leader debates held during the 1968, 1979, 1988, 1997, and 2008 federal campaigns. Our main indicators focus on genres (news reports, analysis, opinions, etc.), topics, frames, and leaders' quotations. We expect to find an increasing gap between the actual content of leaders' debates and their

representation in media coverage. Changes like this raise important issues about media functions and responsibilities in Canadian democracy.

Batten, Sarah - battensc@mcmaster.ca
Moving Dirt: (De)territorializing the Border
While there is a vast literature on the movement of people across borders, there is relatively little critical analysis of the movement of the physical terrain on border crossings. This paper investigates how a banal object – in this case 'dirt' – can take on extraordinary meanings and significance in securitized moments and places. We analyze two cases involving the movement of dirt, soil, territory: first, the movement of tons of dirt to fill the canyons, valleys, gullies, and other 'border corridors' along the U.S.-Mexico border in order to fulfill the state's desire to striate the border by creating a 'smooth space' upon which to build its physical fortifications (fences, walls, etc.); second, we analyze how the removal of top soil from southern Lebanon by withdrawing Israeli forces inadvertently revealed an earlier territorialization in the form of stone border cairns buried under the soil by British and French surveyors, representing the previous authorities over land and territory. In each case, we argue that the movement of dirt in borderzones raises fundamental questions about the historically shifting meanings of land and territory, soil and earth, and their relationship to political identity and community.

Beange, Pauline - pauline.beange@utoronto.ca
20 Years after the Lortie Commission and 45 Years after the Barbeau Committee: A Review of Canadian Scholarship on Party Finance
Contemporary Canadian scholarship on political or campaign finance emerged with the publication of the Barbeau Committee's recommendations in 1966 and moved forward in the studies published as part of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Political Finance in 1991. Given that royal commission findings generally have marked, long-term consequences (Marchildon) on scholarship and policy cycles, a retrospective of Canadian work on party finance on the twentieth anniversary of the Commission's finding is appropriate. This paper assesses the normative and empirical underpinnings of Canadian electoral finance literature prior to and following the reforms of 2000, 2004, 2006 with comparative reference to scholarship in the U.K. and U.S. The analysis suggests that while the party finance literature of the U.K. and the U.S. offer a wide-ranging 'portfolio' of approaches, the Canadian literature is characterized more by its continuing theme of normativism than by its empiricism, although this has begun to change. The paper also finds evidence of dependence on the German model of party finance despite the significant literature differentiating the Anglo-American democratic model of parties versus that of West German parties. Thus, the analysis informs comparative debates on the crucial intermediary roles of parties in mature democracies and on the way political finance reforms shape those roles.

Bednar, Jenna - jbednar@umich.edu
Federalism as a Complex System
The various components of a federation are the national government, the state governments, the citizens, the auxiliary institutions of governance (such as a judiciary), and the non-governmental institutions, including the party system. These components are inextricably intertwined; to study any one's effect in isolation is to ignore the extent to which each is dependent on the others. In order to understand the development of any particular federation, or to theorize generally about federalism, one must adopt a systems-theory perspective. In doing so, one pays attention to systems characteristics such as openness, diversity, resilience, adaptability, and robustness. The future of federalism, in theory and practice, rests on our ability to adopt this new perspective.

Bélanger, Éric - eric.belanger3@mcgill.ca
The Influence of Party Discipline on Electoral Outcomes.
It has been suggested by many scholars (e. g. Franks 1987) that Members of Parliament pay an electoral price for supporting their party unconditionally. Indeed, the high level of turnover in the Canadian House has often been linked to party discipline and the difficulties faced by elected members who fail to represent the interests of their constituency in Parliament (e.g. Docherty 1997). The following paper proposes to validate these claims by estimating the electoral costs of party discipline on incumbent vote share. We focus on the legislative behaviour of elected members of the Canadian House of Commons between 1993 and 2008. We use information about voting behavior, legislative career length, constituency type, political experience, ministerial appointments and electoral volatility, to develop a model of incumbency removal in order to measure the influence of party discipline on election results. Preliminary results suggest that partisan loyalty can reduce an incumbent's vote share, especially when members represent competitive electoral districts.

Bell, Colleen - colleendbell@gmail.com
Shaping Life and Managing Death in Contemporary Doctrines of War
While analyses of conflict often assume death to be a logical consequence of waging war, developments in western doctrines of war show a structural blurring of the politics of death with strategies to foster life. This paper examines the re-emergence of counterinsurgency doctrine as a strategy by which to differentiate life worth saving from those lives that are targeted to be killed. That is, as a strategy of differentiation, counterinsurgency parcels the destruction of enemies with the reconstruction and guidance of salvageable life. The paper examines two doctrinal patterns that delineate the

circumstances of this turn: 1) how counterinsurgency is indebted to a clinical rationality that merges killing with governance by likening insurgency to a disease against which the population requires inoculation; 2) how counterinsurgency strategy, in contrast to more narrow doctrines of war, is deeply invested in the 'metaphorical' death of illiberal forms of social organisation, closely associated with contemporary practices in the international peace and development industries.

Bennett, Laura - lkbennett01@gmail.com
Is Anyone Representing Women? An Analysis of Campaign Websites during the 2011 Canadian Federal Election
Politicians' websites have become increasingly important in Canadian politics for the dissemination of political information, especially during an electoral campaign. In an online environment, candidates have the opportunity to present their personal and political selves to the public, free from external mediation. Through a content analysis of the websites of men and women seeking office in the 2011 Canadian federal election, this paper seeks to contribute to the body of research on women and politics by examining to what extent candidates tend to reach out to female voters by highlighting gender-based issues on their campaign websites; analyzing the implications this holds for men and women candidates; and discussing to what extent women's issues are part of current policy agendas.

Berdahl, Loleen - Loleen.berdahl@usask.ca
Women in the Saskatchewan Legislature
This paper considers the descriptive representation of women in the Saskatchewan legislature. The analysis maps women's numerical representation as candidates, MLAs, cabinet ministers and party leaders, considering differences over time and between parties. Explanations of the observed trends are considered, and opportunities for and barriers to gender equality in legislative representation are discussed.

Bernier, Luc - luc.bernier@enap.ca
Innovation in Canadian Governments: Reflecting on the Innovation Award of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada
Following the American example,the Canadian Institute of Public Administration has developed in 1990 an award for innovation in Canadian governments. Such awards have been considered important to aknowledge that public organisations are not the bureaucratic nightmares some politicians too often have described in order to win populist votes. But what organisations apply to these awards, when, what type of innovation are built, etc? We have developed a data base of all the applications to this award since 1990. This paper offers an interpretation of these 1750 cases that offer an interesting perspective on innovation in the parliamentary system.

Bezanson, Kate - kbezanson@brocku.ca
Towards a New Gender Order? Social Reproduction and Family Policy in a Conservative Canada
This paper begins a conversation about re-centering political economy attention to issues of social reproduction and families in a post-crisis period. It sketches a confluence of forces that are producing important tensions in Canadian families and considers potential resolutions to these tensions. The forces include: a recession that has been marked by male unemployment, a return to neo-liberal macroeconomic policies, a dramatic restructuring of the welfare state, and a non-replacement birth rate among women in Canada. The tensions produce an intensification of an adult worker-female carer model and an obfuscation of its gender, race and class dimensions. The shifting of responsibilities for the work of producing, maintaining and caring for people among the state-market-family-third sector nexus relies in the current period on decentralization and re-familialization. This reliance is shifting Canada toward a conservative welfare state regime typology. Focusing on law and order on the one hand, and tax credits on the other, the paper attends to the ways in which the policing of social reproduction is central to the current period of capital accumulation and the establishment of particular gender regimes. With missteps and contradictions, Canada's extant welfare state is decentralizing, markets (including labour markets) are not substantively re-regulated, supports for social reproduction are being re-familialized and surveillance of informalized social reproductive work continues. This paper thus begins to delineate the process of forming a conservative welfare state regime as one response to a post September 2008 Canada.

Bhatia, Vandna - vandna_bhatia@carleton.ca
Canadian Medicare and the Construction of National Identity
Medicare in Canada has a deep-rooted symbolism that has as much to do with the ideal of Canadian nationhood as of social solidarity. We argue that this is the product of two related factors: the contested nature of Canadian federalism and the discursive strategies employed by social and political actors to overcome those challenges. Constructed by the federal government as part of a program to create a national citizenship regime in the post-war era, Medicare forged the link between social rights and national identity from its very beginning. The accompanying discourse linked the universality and accessibility provisions of the program to Canadian nationhood, and has become successively more entrenched during times when the very foundations of the Canadian state have been at stake. This discourse served a dual purpose: it justified and strengthened solidarity in Medicare and, since Medicare was one of the few universal programs of the welfare state, it articulated a shared vision around which all Canadians, regardless of language or geography, could unite. However, in the past decade, as the prospects for the collapse of Canadian federalism become more distant, the

significance of Medicare as symbol of national unity has become correspondingly less compelling. As a result, the social solidarity principle underlying Canadian Medicare is increasingly contested in policy discourses about health reform. This case study reveals the significance of ideas in constructing, or reconstructing, policy issues, and the discursive power they can wield in creating and inhibiting opportunities for policy change.

Bilodeau, Antoine - antoine.bilodeau@concordia.ca
The Political Integration of Women Immigrants in Canada: Assessing the Impact of Pre-Migration Experiences with Gender Inequalities
With the change in immigration policies in the 1950s and 1960s and technological changes that made migration around the world easier, migration composition has changed radically in Canada and in most Western democracies. New waves of immigrants are now more diverse than ever in terms of ethnic origin, cultural background and religious beliefs. Furthermore, new waves of immigrants bring a diversity of social, economic and political experiences from their country of origin. Immigrants come from rich and poor countries, from democratic and repressive countries and from agrarian and post-industrial societies. Research has demonstrated the enduring and structuring character of some of these pre-migration experiences for immigrants' integration in the host society, especially those relating to experience of political repression (Gitelman 1982; Bilodeau 2008; Bilodeau et al 2010). Immigrants also come from countries where gender inequalities and women's status vary greatly.
This study provides a portrait of the political integration of women immigrants and assesses the weight of their pre-migration experiences with gender inequalities in terms of human development. Relying on a pooled sample of the 1965 to 2008 Canadian Election Studies and the 2000 and 2006 New Immigrant Survey conducted in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver this paper examines the political outlooks of women immigrants in terms of political participation, psychological engagement with politics and relationships with political authorities.

Bird, Karen - kbird@mcmaster.ca
Sociodemographic Characteristics and Voter Choice: An Experimental Study to Assess the Role of Ethnic and Gender Stereotypes in Ontario Municipal Elections
Over the last decades there has been a significant increase in ethnic (and notably visible) diversity within the major cities of Ontario. What has remained virtually unchanged is the ethnic and gender composition of political leadership across these cities. This paper is part of a larger project that seeks to systematically assess and understand the causes of disparities in descriptive representation in local politics in some of Canada's largest cities. As one component of that research, this paper examines the hypothesis that voter bias might play a role. The paper analyses results of an on-line experimental survey of Ontario voters (including an oversample of visible minorities) which asked them to evaluate a candidate said to be running in these elections. The profile and photo of that candidate were systematically varied with respect to ethnicity, sex and left/right platform. The paper analyses the effects of these variations, and tests more general assumptions about the role of candidate socio-demographics as heuristic cues in a low-information electoral context. The primary research goal is to develop an understanding of the nature of gender/racial stereotypes that exist among the electorate, and how they are applied in the context of a municipal election.

Bittner, Amanda - Abittner@mun.ca
Women in Politics in Newfoundland and Labrador
Canada's easternmost province shares much in common with other jurisdictions in the country and across the world on the issue of women's status in formal politics: the higher, the fewer and the more competitive, the fewer (Bashevkin 1993). This paper examines women in elite-level politics in the province, relying on comparative literature from other Canadian jurisdictions, the US, and elsewhere in order to understand the trends in NL over roughly the past decade. Women are under-represented in the NL legislature and in Cabinet, and this has been the case over the decade, with relatively little change. Recently, women's share of Cabinet positions has reached the so-called "critical mass" threshold. The implications of this will be discussed in the paper, for a critical mass in terms of numbers is typically thought to provide the mechanism or enabling condition for greater substantive representation of women's policy interests. This is not a paper about policy outcomes; rather, the paper will examine whether women are well-positioned in Cabinet to act for women if they are so inclined. Finally, the paper will examine the rise of two female party leaders in the province – Yvonne Jones (Liberal) and Lorraine Michael (NDP) – and their influence within the provincial political system. Overall, the paper provides a survey of women's political representation in the province, and seeks to situate the NL case within a broader framework focussed on general trends prominent in the Canadian and comparative literatures.

Blais, André - andre.blais@umontreal.ca
Anxiety, Duty Appeals and the Vote: An Experimental Study
How do moral appeals to duty influence one's strategic voting calculus and behavior? We hypothesize that moral appeals to duty will reduce election-related anxiety when they reinforce an individual's prior attitudes, and increase individual anxiety when suggesting a strategic vote. We also hypothesize that extreme anxiety depresses likelihood of voting strategically. We replicate a newly developed hybrid experiment in which individuals have to vote for one of three parties, each carrying a payoff for a real NGO. Participants will have to vote in repeated elections in which various vote distributions provide them with incentives to vote strategically. The between-subjects manipulation focuses on duty

messages: half of the participants receive an appeal telling them it is their duty not to defect from their preferred party; the other half will receive the reverse appeal, telling them it is their duty to switch. We measure anxiety and anger levels in every election, as well as individual sense of duty to vote in elections. Participants are citizens living in a large urban area, recruited outside the university.

Blais, André - andre.blais@umontreal.ca
The Probability of Pivotal Vote in Multi-Candidate Plurality Elections
This study is the first attempt to estimate the empirical probability of casting a pivotal vote in a Canadian federal election. The paper begins by reviewing the theory of pivotal voting in a two-candidate election, before extending the model to a multi-candidate race using the multinomial distribution function. We then examine the properties of this n-candidate pivotal vote probability function in order to draw some empirical predictions. Alternative models are briefly considered, such as Myerson's Poisson games pivotal vote probability calculations, Jerome Black's study relying on barycentric coordinates, and a novel multivariate Polya distribution model that can cope with voter interdependence. The empirical section relies on a data set comprising all Canadian election results between 1867 and 2009, with more than 10,000 observations. We use those data to examine the empirical distribution of the vote. We also use a probit model to empirically estimate the conditional probability of casting a pivotal vote in an election. Our model controls for the effects of the number of candidates, the number of voters, and riding electoral history. Since the act of voting is the main channel through which individuals can participate in democracy, the fact that this channel has virtually no consequence on the outcome of an election represents a puzzle for political scientists. The main contribution of this study is therefore to bring forth the first complete assessment of the probabilities of pivotal votes in multi-candidate/plurality elections.

Bodet, Marc Andre - marcandre.bodet@mail.mcgill.ca
Sacrificial Lambs No More? Women Candidates and Party Competitiveness in Canada
After a period of steady increase in the 1980s and 1990s, women's descriptive representation in Canada has arguably stalled. This is despite the fact that every federal political party outside of the Conservative Party of Canada has some sort of nomination procedures designed to increase the number of women candidates they field. The discrepancy between parties' emphasis of their diversity of candidates and women's continued political underrepresentation suggests that many women candidates remain sacrificial lambs. This hypothesis posits that women candidates are significantly more likely than men to serve as party standard bearers in ridings where their party does not expect to win. Using [NAME OF MA's dataset], this paper tests the sacrificial lamb hypothesis across time. The expectation is that parties across the political spectrum field male candidates in their strongholds and in battleground ridings, while fielding the majority of their female candidates in constituencies where they stand little to no chance of winning. This tendency is not anticipated to vary significant across time or party. The paper concludes with a discussion of the representational implications of emphasizing the diversity of a party's candidate slate while downplaying the certain defeat of candidates from historically underrepresented groups.

Bodet, Marc-André - mabodet@interchange.ubc.ca
Party Politics and Public Policy in a Federal System: The Case of Canadian Provinces Revisited
A lot has been written about the impact of federalism on tax and spending policy. Some have emphasized the role of federal institutions in preserving the market from government intervention while others have instead argued that vertical competition induces over-investment of public money by competing jurisdictions. However, the role of electoral incentives in federal systems has been understudied. This paper looks at the impact of partisan representation on budgetary policy in Canada. The results suggest that systematic inter-provincial convergence occurs, accompanied with a significant partisan effect in both social spending and taxation policies.

Bodruzic, Dragana - dragana.bodruzic@gmail.com
Vice or Coping Mechanism? Bridging Political Science and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Corruption
This paper will consider how differences in understanding and studying corruption between political science and anthropology can be bridged in an effort to pursue more contextualized comparative inquiries of corruption. For the most part, political scientists have focused on the 'political' side of corruption as a problem of the implementation and functioning of democratic institutions in modern societies. Corruption, in this context, is widely understood as the abuse of public office for private gain. Anthropologists have criticized such approaches by emphasizing the need to consider the points of view of participants in corruption, and the need to deconstruct the public/private dichotomy present in many political science studies. Some of these anthropological critiques, however, come dangerously close to romanticizing corruption.
This paper will argue that what is interesting about some of the anthropological literature, but which remains insufficiently explored theoretically within it, is ethnographic evidence of the importance of fixed prices in certain corrupt transactions. This points to the need to better understand how corruption is institutionalized and embedded in larger dynamics of political economy. The wider implication of this paper, therefore, is that there is a need to theoretically bridge anthropological and political economy approaches in trying to understand corruption. The paper will attempt to provide some preliminary answers as to how such a bridging can be pursued. I will draw on secondary sources in both

anthropology (I will focus primarily on ethnographic studies of corruption in West Africa) and political science, as well as briefly considering policy papers on corruption.

Boothe, Katherine - boothek@mcmaster.ca
Timing health policy development and change: The drug gap
Canada lacks universal public drug insurance, despite its broad public health care system, and is the only OECD country with public health insurance that fails to cover drugs. Comparing Canada to the UK and Australia, I explain this significant gap in the national health insurance literature and provide new insights into the role of sequence and timing in health policy development and institutional change. I find that the range of services in a country's public health system is determined by its earliest decisions about how to approach policy development. The key distinction is between countries that made a radical change at a historic window of opportunity, and those that developed their public health systems piece-by-piece. Where institutional and ideological conditions allowed for large-scale change and all services were introduced simultaneously, countries tended to maintain the full scope of covered services. But where institutional barriers and ideological dissensus made radical change hard, health programs were introduced incrementally, and policy development tended to stall after the first priority. In both situations, the reciprocal relationship between elite ideas and public expectations helped reinforce early decisions and made health systems difficult to change. Thus, the sequence of service introduction became a critical determinant of the range of health services offered.
This paper uses archival sources to trace the process of policy development in three countries. In addition to explaining an empirical puzzle, it contributes to the path dependence literature by providing new and detailed mechanisms to explain both policy stability and change over time.

Bossin, Bryan - bryan.bossin@gmail.com
The Interrelationship of Legislators, Cabinet Ministers, Broader Public Sector Organizations and Government Relations Consultants: The Cases of Hospitals and Universities
The process by which organizations interact in the goverance of society is complex. This is especially true in areas where organizations deliver crucial services and where these organizations were once independent of governmenet. However, as the public has demanded more and higher quality services, government has provided public funds where once they didn't.
In the case of hospitals and universities, this relationship worked well until about 20 years ago. Then the public demand for services started to outstrip the size of the government's treasury. The public held government accountable.
Relative to perceived public need and later, the needs of individual hospitals and universities, government support of these needs , in per capita terms, began to shrink. Now individual institutions, pressured by their constituencies, jockied for scarce state funds. In order to compete for these funds, government relations firms were given contracts to help these institutions get a larger share of funds. However, opposition parties raised the question, is it proper for these institutiions to use public money to contract the services of government relations firms to obtain more public money? To help answer this question, this paper will interview experts in the study of government lobbying, MPPs from all three Ontario parties, the heads of some major Ontario government relations firms, and the presidents of the major hospital and university interest associations and OLIP alumni who work in these sectors.

Boucher, Jean-Christophe - jcboucher84@hotmail.com
Les Québécois et les interventions militaires futures dans la perspective de l'expérience afghane (2006-2011)
Le mythe du Québec pacifique, idée selon laquelle les Québécois seraient, comparativement aux autres Canadiens, opposés à l'usage de la force à l'étranger, demeure l'une des perceptions de la société québécoise les plus tenaces. Cela dit, depuis la guerre de la Corée dans les années 50s, le Canada n'a que très peu participé à des missions militaires où l'usage de la force était important. Outre la guerre du Golfe en 1991, les missions de l'OTAN en Bosnie et au Kosovo (IFOR, SFOR, KFOR), opérations où l'engagement militaire du Canada est demeuré somme toute limité, peu d'exemples tirés de l'histoire militaire canadienne contemporaine permettent d'analyser la teneur, les facteurs et, ultimement, la véracité du mythe du Québec pacifique. Dans ce contexte, l'expérience afghane, notamment à Kandahar entre 2006 et 2011, s'avère être un cas idéal, pour ne pas dire l'un des seuls, afin d'analyser l'opinion publique québécoise en ce qui a trait à l'usage de la force. À l'aide de l'expérience afghane, cette présentation cherche à spécifier les conditions nécessaires et suffisantes déterminant l'opinion publique québécoise en ce qui a trait à l'usage de la force. Ainsi, nous tenterons de mettre en valeur les facteurs favorisant un appui de l'opinion publique québécoise pour les interventions militaires, et, dans la mesure où cet appui s'avère impossible à obtenir, identifier les éléments favorisant une opposition passive. Tant que le contexte d'un appui que d'une opposition passive, la marge de manœuvre du Gouvernement canadien pour le déploiement de troupes militaires à l'étranger est substantielle.

Bower, Adam - asbower@interchange.ubc.ca
Assessing Treaty Effectiveness: Behaviour, Discourse, and the Power of the Anti-Personnel Landmine Ban
How do we know when a treaty has achieved widespread influence in the international system? An extensive scholarly literature has explored questions of treaty effectiveness through large-n quantitative studies in the fields of environmental regulation, trade policy, and human rights. While highly valuable in revealing patterns of global influence, the reliance on strictly behavioural outcomes tends to marginalize constitutive effects institutions may have in socializing state actors to

adopt and internalize new legal obligations. To address this I develop a constructivist conception of effectiveness that treats the promotion of strong global norms as the baseline of assessment, and propose a method of assessing treaty influence on these terms. I then apply this theoretical framework to a recent prominent example of treaty-making, the Anti-Personnel Landmine ban. To do so, I present a unique dataset assessing compliance with the treaty's core norms and rules, and supplement this analysis with close attention to discursive patterns of acceptance and contestation during prominent moments in the life of the regime. The analysis reveals how legal institutions may shape the discourse and practice of states, influencing both the parties to the formal agreement, and—in some circumstances—states which officially reject the treaty's authority.

Bowie, Ryan - rbowie@yorku.ca
Indigenous Approaches to Collaboration and the Deployment of Knowledge in Environmental Management
This paper will explore how Indigenous peoples are responding to persistent and fundamental problems in environmental and natural resource management processes in Canada. In particular, the recognition of their rights in lands and resource issues often remains weakly connected to decision-making, and the use of Indigenous Knowledge is narrowly conceived, frequently relegated to supplemental data despite much rhetoric about 'equal consideration' with science. I argue that Indigenous peoples are addressing their marginalization in environmental management processes not by turning away from engagements with state and industry representatives and researchers, as might be expected, but by broadening efforts at collaboration while exerting greater control over the use of Indigenous Knowledge. Critical to these efforts is changing the emphasis in environmental management from Indigenous Knowledge as an object or data set incorporated into scientific management, to building relationships in which Indigenous Knowledge informs process, interpretation, and values. A strong position of Indigenous peoples and their knowledge in environmental management processes is essential to move beyond the development versus conservation dichotomy that characterizes many environmental conflicts. Two examples will be discussed that demonstrate how Indigenous peoples are utilizing their traditions and knowledge while engaging external interests in collaborative environmental management initiatives: The Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative in British Columbia, and the Pikangikum Whitefeather Forest Initiative in northwestern Ontario.

Brock, Kathy - Kathy.Brock@queensu.ca
A Double Take: Quebec within the Canadian Federation
Federal systems are not intended to bridge differences among citizens in a homogenizing way or even to eliminate those differences. Federal systems both are chosen and will function to preserve diverse identities within a common rule. Political institutions are designed to channel and influence the articulation of diversity and unity. In a well-functioning federal system, the peaceful articulation and accommodation of differences within existing structures serving all of society is critical. Thus, achieving and maintaining a flexible balance between diversity (federalism, multiple communities) and unity (the political whole, a binding community) is fundamental to this exercise. Just as factions in the Madisonian sense should not be suppressed or denied, neither should the whole be sacrificed to a part. Either imperils the system. This paper focuses on Quebec to offer a two level analysis of how well the Canadian federal system is achieving a flexible balance between diversity and unity. On one level, the paper
examines how the tensions surrounding Quebec's role within the federation have changed in the past 20 years and how effective some of the proposed solutions for meeting Quebec's aspirations have been. On a second level, the paper examines the efforts within Quebec to accommodate diversity while maintaining social cohesion. When the challenge of Quebec to Canadian federal practices is viewed in relation to the challenges of Aboriginal and racial and ethnic minorities within Quebec, some interesting and instructive lessons emerge for federalism at both the national and provincial level that may be extended to other provinces.

Brown, Andrea - abrown@wlu.ca
Uganda's Poverty Reduction Strategy: rural bias and the politics of exclusion
Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) launched in 1997 with a policy goal of reducing absolute poverty to less than 10% of the population by 2017. In 2010 the government acknowledged that this goal would not be met and moved to anchor its national development around economic growth and wealth creation instead. This paper assesses Uganda's PEAP by examining how policy gets prioritized by the governmental and non-governmental actors involved and Uganda's capacity (capability and willingness) as demonstrated in prior policy reforms. It highlights the role external funding and pressures play, but concentrates on the national variables that influence policy design and implementation. Poverty reduction requires comprehensive multi-level government coordination. Uganda is a regional leader with policy initiatives (HIV/AIDS, and to a lesser degree education, economic reforms, and women's representation). But PEAP's progress suffers from major limitations related to the policy process in Uganda, which is poorly suited for addressing needs of marginalized populations as it prioritizes policies supported by wealthy or powerful constituencies, national and international, which often undermine or contradict necessary steps for poverty reduction. Further, PEAP's focus is almost exclusively on rural poverty and is guided by short-term political expediency marked by a desire to capture donor resources for poverty alleviation by competing agencies and ministries. But 14% of Uganda's urban population lives in poverty, and the urban population is expected to rise from 15% to 30% over the next 20 years. Poor urban women are especially vulnerable and excluded from existing policy focus.

Brown, David C.G. - fordbrown@rogers.com
Accountability in a Collectivized Environment
A key element of Canadian democracy is the political accountability of administrative institutions. An under-recognized feature of the Canadian Westminster model is its dual concept of collective and individual ministerial responsibility, a balance that was institutionalized with the structural reforms that followed the Glassco Report in the early 1960s and has not been substantially revisited since. The growing centrality of information and technology and the emergence of models of electronic governance give renewed significance to collective responsibility, following nearly a generation of decentralization driven by the New Public Management, fiscal restraint and the response to scandals.
The paper reviews four sets of current challenges to the accountability model posed by the increased use of information and communication technologies and the growing centrality of information management in public administration. The first results from efforts to encourage collaboration within jurisdictions by consolidating government services to citizens and administrative services to government. The second and third sets arise from new collaborative relationships between government and external partners, notably other jurisdictions and the private sector. The fourth arises from the growing political sensitivity of government information, compounded by the aftermath of the Gomery Report with its emphasis on the accountability of line Deputy Ministers, glossing over the inherently collective nature of government communications and the additional pressures created by the electronic media environment. These dynamics are complicated by unfocused Parliamentary oversight. The paper argues that political accountability for administrative institutions will be increasingly ineffective if the new situation is not recognized and addressed.

Burton, Charles - cburton@brocku.ca
Please Let us Know Next Time You Are in Ottawa / Beijing: Comparing the Relationship Between Academic Research and the Forging of Government Policy in China and Canada
This paper compares the role of university professors in the policy formulation process in Canada and China. Mechanisms for funding of policy research and the participation of academics in high-level policy discussions are examined. The participation of foreign scholars in Chinese social science academy policy workshops and Chinese Communist Party policy think tanks is assessed.

Byrne, Siobhan - siobhan.byrne@ualberta.ca
Power-Sharing, Peacebuilding and Gender: A Framework for Conflict Resolution
Over the last decade, conflict resolution scholars and practitioners have increasingly promoted power-sharing institutions in societies deeply divided along ethnonational lines. Typically, such arrangements rely on the participation of ethnonational elite political figures in conflict resolution processes, usually to the exclusion of women. Alongside the development of this power-sharing norm, international agencies and advocacy networks have also been drawing attention to the role of women in peacebuilding. For example, the United Nations requires member states to increase women's participation in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements. Drawing on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, passed in 2000, feminist scholars and activists and have been working to carve out a role for women in conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding processes. A strong tension, however, characterizes the development of these emerging norms. Ethnic conflict scholars have failed to adequately theorize the gender implications of power-sharing arrangements. Similarly, practitioners have failed to implement the kind of mechanisms that would make power-sharing negotiation processes representative of constituencies beyond major ethnonational cleavages. In this paper, we evaluate the impact of these twin norms on four cases that feature deep ethnicized divisions: Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Burundi and Afghanistan. Three broad questions are under consideration: 1) can these norms be reconciled? 2) how have these cases engaged with these norms? 3) what lessons can be gleaned from these cases for other cases of ethnicized conflict? In addressing these questions, we suggest a new gender-sensitive framework for conflict resolution theory and practice.

Calaminus, Emily - e.calaminus@fu-berlin.de
Path Dependent Patterns of Population Policies in Mexico and Argentina
Population dynamics are key factors to many aspects of economic and social development and the policies that are directed at demographics primarily affect women. In the second half of 20th century demographic development, governments have tried to influence these dynamics by introducing population policies for various reasons and with manifold aims. From a political science perspective, this paper examines the social, economic and demographic developments that led political actors to the introduction of policies directed at controling population dynamics, especially fertility. Through a small-N case study approach employing Comparative Historical Analysis the paper compares the introduction of population policies in two Latin American countries, Mexico and Argentina. The theoretical framework uses the concepts of critical junctures and path dependence in order to explain the introduction of new policies and the ensuing persistence of institutional arrangements aimed at influencing demographics. Based on these theory frames, the paper argues that the introduction of population policies is rooted in an accumulation of interconnected historical causes, but often only pursued by political actors after the emergence of a crisis followed by a critical juncture. Subsequently, population policies evolve along path dependent patterns even when the initial causes for their introduction cease to apply.

Cameron, Barbara - barbarac@yorku.ca
Canada's Written Constitution and the Prerogative Powers of the Governor General: a Coup in Progress?
Did the Constitution Act, 1982, place the prerogative powers of the Governor General beyond the control of Parliament and require that it gain the unanimous consent of provincial legislatures for any limitation of them? This is the implication of the judgment of the Federal Court of Canada in Conacher v. Canada (Prime Minister), a case centring on the 2008 dissolution of Parliament despite the "fixed election date act".   In that decision, the Honourable Justice Shore endorsed the argument advanced by the executive branch that any "tampering" with the discretion of the Governor General to dissolve Parliament would require an amendment under section 41 of the Constitution Act, 1982. This paper examines the relationship between section 41 (the unanimity provision) and section 44 (the Parliament alone provision) of the Constitution Act, 1982 in the context of Canada's constitutional traditions, and the public debates in Canada surrounding the adoption of the amending formula, and, more recently, in Britain around "taming the prerogative".   This paper argues that the position of the government, if accepted on appeal at the Supreme Court of Canada, would represent a triumph of the written over the unwritten constitution and render meaningless the phrase a "constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom".   Indeed, such a significant change in the relationship between the executive branch and legislature, brought about through judicial interpretation, would represent a profoundly undemocratic and silent coup.

Cameron, Duncan - dcamero@uottawa.ca
The Grammar of a Just Society
The 1968 Canadian election is remembered for the successful Liberal campaign which behind Pierre Trudeau yielded a majority government after successive Liberal minorities in 1963, and 1965. This paper suggests such elements of a just society that were attained in postwar Canada can most fairly be attributed to the two Pearson minority governments. including especially Medicare, the Canada/Quebec pension plans, and the Canadian Assistance Plan. Even language equality legislation allowing for the access by citizens to government programmes in either official language, originated in the Pearson white paper of 1966.
In retrospect the creation of a modest Canadian welfare state appears somewhat revolutionary. It was certainly followed by a counter-revolution beginning in the 1970s and emerging full blown following the Macdonald Commission Report in 1985 which gave the Mulroney government what it needed to undertake a re-making of Canada continued by the Chrétien governments, most markedly in the 1995 Martin budget. Of the just society formulation there remains the ideal, a political project that calls out for re-definition and re-articulation. This paper proposes to do that, setting out the relationships that would define and articulate the emergence of a more just society in Canada.It will be argued that the focus for envisaging a just society needs to be on building a new economy, not shoring up capitalism through fiscal policy. Indeed, de-legitimizing capital as the source of all knowledge and wisdom about how to run the world is the first task. De-commodifying labour, recognizing that land and money are fictitious commodities not suited to market decision-making, and looking to establishing an economy based on global solidarities is what needs to be on the agenda in Canada, and elsewhere

Caruana, Nicholas - ncaruana@uwo.ca
Negative Partisanship in Canada
The concept of party identification and its role in vote choice has been well-documented in Canada and elsewhere. Partisan identities can influence opinions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours. However, most work on partisanship has neglected the flipside of partisan attachment – the potential negative associations with partisan rivals. While party identification operates as a force promoting a specific vote choice, a negative partisan identification may also have important effects, either in reinforcing partisan leanings or directing strategic behaviour. We argue that the concept of partisanship is incomplete until negative sentiment (i.e. repulsion or hostility) is considered. Especially in a multi-party system like Canada, understanding the role that negative partisanship plays in political attitudes and behaviours is important. In this paper we outline the concept of negative partisanship and theorize about its relationship with positive party identification in Canada. We then examine the extent to which negative partisanship exists and its relation to positive party identification using 1988 Canadian Election Study data. We also evaluate, empirically, the additional explanatory power provided by including negative partisan identification in standard vote choice models. We conclude that negative partisanship should not be neglected by political scientists seeking to understand political behaviour in Canada.

Cavaghan, Rosalind - R.M.Cavaghan@sms.ed.ac.uk
Gender Knowledge and Gender Mainstreaming in DG Research: Policy Implementation as a Knowledge Process
This paper introduces the concept of gender knowledge (Andresen/Dölling 2005, Caglar 2010, Cavaghan 2010) to examine the implementation of gender mainstreaming (GM) in terms of knowledge processes, whereby feminist ideas of gender and gender equality are inserted into mainstream institutions. It takes DG Research in the European Commission as its case study. Existing research on GM has highlighted two key insights. Firstly, post-structuralist policy analysis has highlighted wide variation in policy construction (Bacchi 2004, Verloo 2007). Secondly, implementation studies have indicated that rhetorical GM policy commitments often stall in the implementation phase (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000, Mackay and Waylen 2009). This paper builds on these findings to ask how policy outcomes emerge in implementation. I

trace and analyse how a stabilised and locally specific form of GM policy, rooted in DG Research's existing policy practices, emerged as it was implemented in context. Applying the gender knowledge concept, I draw on existing approaches in science and technology studies and the sociology of knowledge, which enable us to observe the power dynamics involved in contests to define and stabilize the representation of issues in organisations (Law 2003, Callon and Latour 1981, Latour 1986). Examining GM implementation in this way we can make sense of the interpretative conflicts which often remain key in state feminist policy: namely contests over the relevance of gender within the given mainstream field and by extension, what gender equality policy actions should and should not entail.

Cernigoy, Meliessa - mcernigoy@gmail.com
The Legislative Connection with First Nations: Issues of Representation
First Nations peoples do not appear to have a strong presence in the Ontario Legislature, without any members self-declaring indigeneous origins, coupled electorily with very low voter turnout and no politically designated role for Ontario aboriginal leaders.Other jurisdictions have allocated indigenenous seats. Still other Canadian jurisdictions have legislatures with strong traditions of aboriginal representation. There has been very little examination of the issues of representation of First Nations in Ontario. Thus, this paper shoud begin to remedy this scholarly gap. Interviews will be conducted with MPPs, party officials involved in candidate recruitment, and Ontario First Nations leaders.

Changfoot, Nadine - nadinechangfoot@trentu.ca
Theorizing Political Forgiveness: An Important Component for the Legacy of the Indian Residential Schools
In 2008, Prime Minister Harper stated: "the Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly" in relation to the Indian Residential Schools. Aboriginal leaders thanked the Prime Minister for the apology, yet, they also made clear that the actions of the state during the time of the Schools and afterward have not been resolved. This paper develops and argues for the concept of political forgiveness that would take into consideration the need for the state to incorporate elements of redistributive justice and make space for hearing aboriginal demands borne of anger and resentment building from the colonial legacy before and beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Specifically, there is a need for a concept of political forgiveness in that current theorizing focuses primarily on forgiveness as a private matter and as a normative act of benefit to individuals and society. Absent from these interventions are aboriginal concepts of forgiveness as well as the change in the scale and dimension of forgiveness when requested publicly, of a specific group, within a historical context of ongoing devaluation of aboriginal peoples, violation of treaties, and social and economic inequalities. To make apology and forgiveness meaningful, responses from the population to whom apology is directed as well as the state response not just in the form of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission need to be considered. I locate this proposal within ongoing aboriginal demands of the state and social justice.

Chater, Andy – achater@uwo.ca
Tardy Explorers: Academics and the "Problem" of Canadian Arctic Sovereignty
The goal of my presentation is to determine why academics who study Canadian Arctic sovereignty care about the issue. I discuss how various writers securitize the Arctic based on the critical security tradition. I also discuss what writers see as the key geostrategic issues and regional concerns from a Canadian perspective. Even those actors who profess not to securitize the region do in fact engage in securitization. To accomplish my goal, I draw on existing literature and extensive interviews that I conducted with academics and other actors who articulate Canada's Arctic security concerns. The goal of the issues was to determine what underlying factors motivate researchers to study the Arctic and whether these motivations provide part of the explanation for Canadian concerns about Arctic sovereignty. In the interviews, I asked each respondent about his or her career path, their views on the important issues in the Arctic and their impression of the importance of the Arctic to Canadian culture. I find that for Arctic researchers, a visit to the Arctic was a formative experience. They encountered a group of people who live differently from how they are accustomed in Canada. For many, Arctic sovereignty is not an issue about threats to Canada, but rather an issue of providing a high standard of living to Arctic residents.

Chapnick, Adam - chapnick@cfc.dnd.ca
The Action Memorandum: An Assignment with Infinite Possibilities
The challenges of teaching political science at the university level have never been greater. Increases to class size have added significantly to faculty workload, forcing many professors to adjust, or shorten, assignments to compensate. The combination of the increasing accessibility of the internet and rising pressures on the student body to achieve superior grades appears to have led to an increase in findings of academic misconduct. Not only has cheating damaged the reputation of the academy, it has also added yet again to faculty workloads by causing professors to prosecute greater numbers of their students. In today's challenging academic environment, teachers of political science need efficient assignments which nonetheless preserve academic standards. This paper therefore offers an innovative, flexible, and efficient means of assessing student learning. Drawing from the instructor's experience teaching public policy, public administration, and history at the undergraduate and graduate levels, this paper discusses the benefits of assigning action memorandums – sometimes known as policy options papers – in a variety of courses and contexts. It explores how such assignments might be adjusted to reflect a variety of expected learning outcomes while emphasizing the relative ease with

which they can be graded. This paper would be well-suited to a panel on innovations in faculty teaching; on unique assignments in political science courses; or on making political science real for the millennial generation.

Chen, Zhiming - zhiming.chen@umontreal.ca
Japan's Security Strategy: between Security Dilemma and Alliance Dilemma
The "New Path for Japan" proposed by former Prime Minister Hatoyama aimed to maintain an independence between the US and China, a significant change from Japan's reliance on the Japan-US alliance in the past 50 years. Subsequently, the Sino-Japanese relationship was markedly improved. Several months later, the Kan administration returned to reinforce the Japan-US alliance and the Sino-Japanese relationship plummeted in the recent island dispute. What have caused this bi-polar swing in Japan's foreign policy? The author argues that Japan's debates over security strategy are mainly influenced by two dilemmas: security dilemma and alliance dilemma. Japan faces a security dilemma with regard to China, and an alliance dilemma with regard to the US. Japan's alliance dilemma is particularly strong due to the alliance's peculiar structure: usage of Japanese bases for "Far East" security in exchange for the US protection of Japanese territory. During the Cold War, Japan feared implication in conflicts by the US; immediately after the Cold War, Japan feared abandonment by the US since the major enemy has disappeared. However, as China becomes increasingly powerful, Japan's security dilemma intensifies, which in turn exacerbate its alliance dilemma with the US. On the one hand, Japan fears abandonment by the US with China's increasing strategic importance, and the notion of G2 is the epitome of this nightmare; on the other hand, Japan's greater role in the alliance after the Cold War risks a direct conflict with China, whose increasing power will post greater costs for Japan's involvement. Therefore, Japan faces both abandonment and implication at the same time. As Japan is now searching for a new consensus on security strategy, these dilemmas will continue to manifest themselves in seemingly contradictory Japanese foreign policies.

Chen, Zhiming - zhiming.chen@umontreal.ca
Why The World Should Not Be Afraid of A Revisionist China
As China is reemerging as a great power, many wonder whether China will pursue a "peaceful rise" as it proclaims or follow the path of Wilhelmine Germany to a hegemonic war. Most research so far concentrates on whether China is a status quo or a revisionist power, without reaching any consensus: China's foreign policies seem to be following the logic of both types. The reason of this confusion is not the irrationality of China's behavior, but the underspecification of current analytical framework. The notion of "revisionism" is closely related to the concepts of "status quo" and "dissatisfaction", which are ill-defined and underspecified in most research. Dividing "status quo" into "institutional" (international system), "operational" (working mechanisms of the system) and "positional" (status inside the system), we can understand why certain Chinese "dissatisfaction" with the "status quo" can be non consequential (status quo), some can lead to relatively mild "modifications" (revisionist) of the existing systems, while still some Chinese "dissatisfaction" can result in challenging the entire system all together (revolutionary). If a rising China is denied any chance of "revising" (modifying) the current system to accommodate its interests, it will be forced to choose the "revolutionary" road: either try to overthrow the existing system or try to establish a competing system. Thus, "revisionism" is in fact a mechanism that can encourage China to rise "peacefully". The world should not fear, but welcome a "revisionist" China!

Chiose, Simona - simona.chiose@sympatico.ca
Dual Migrations: Insecure Migrants, Temporary Workers - The Political Uses of border Control Policies
In the fall of 2010, Canada's Conservative government introduced Bill C-49 which would increase restrictions governing the entry and settlement of refugee claimants. The bill, which followed the arrival by sea of 500 asylum seekers from Sri Lanka, is the latest indication of how the social question of migration is being transformed into a question of border integrity, or of the securitization of refugee policy. Programs governing the entry of temporary workers, however, have moved in the opposite direction, with a
significant expansion in the number of such migrants. Through a comparative analysis of Canadian and British migration policies, this paper advances the hypothesis that these dual tracks are the product of political interest. State actors aim to meet business demands for flexible labour, while responding to public opinion on refugee policy and may also utilize asylum regulation for electoral gain. The analysis compares Canadian developments to Britain's experience of "managed migration" over the last five years, and attempts to make some predictions about the probable course Canadian policy changes are setting. As Britain's "managed migration" has replaced non-EU migrant labour with workers from the A10 accession countries, non-European citizens or "3rd country nationals" have been marginalized, and the political climate become prone to anti-migrant sentiment against both refugees and non-British workers. As such, following dual tracks of migration policy does not promise certain electoral gains while generating
considerable societal differentiation between citizens and non-citizens, and is a route Canada should be cautious about following.

Chiose, Simona - simona.chiose@sympatico.ca
The Flavours are the Same: What Migration Policies Tell us About the Decreasing Variety in National Varieties of Capitalism
This proposal will focus on the comparative political economy of migration and investigate what British and Canadian developments in this area – probed through primary interviews and secondary research - can tell us about the persistence

of national variations in liberal capitalism. While recent work argues that arrangements between capital, the state and labour continue to present national differences (Hancke, Rhodes and Thatcher 2007), this paper will argue that policies governing the entry of migrant workers exist in an ideational stream where interests have been defined as existing outside domestic schemes. Two factors are detrimental to such policies being embedded in national political economies. The first, as identified by Georg Menz (2009), is that firms have successfully expanded the notion of security to include secure access to temporary foreign workers on an almost just-in-time basis: It may be said that state actors have adopted a "corporate state" orientation. The second factor is the influence exerted by transnational institutions in policy setting and also in the creation of an ideational environment. Reference is made here to the shift at the EU level from the ideals of a "social Europe" to a "free-market" EU, a shift that is demonstrated in the migrant worker area through the Laval quartet of legal cases which have limited the scope national governments have to set conditions for the employment of temporary foreign workers.

Chouinard, Stéphanie - s.chouinard@hotmail.com
La société civile acadienne comme communauté d'histoire
Notre communication visera à (re)tisser les liens entre l'Acadie et le Québec à partir de la notion de « communauté d'histoire » telle qu'élaborée par Joseph-Yvon Thériault. S'inspirant de Fernand Dumont, Thériault souligne le danger de l'atomisation de l'homme et fait de la mémoire la base de la refondation de la société porteuse d'un destin. Or, au Canada, la mémoire acadienne est aussi la mémoire canadienne-française, au sein de laquelle le Québec est central. Le projet de « faire société » en français en Acadie suppose un devoir de mémoire qui permette de se distinguer d'un « rassemblement utilitaire d'individus » dépolitisé. Cette mémoire, la mémoire de la tradition française et catholique en territoire d'Amérique, ne permet pas seulement d'être un parlant-français sur ce continent anglophone, mais soutient aussi une compréhension de la modernité politique différente. C'est pourquoi nous relisons les travaux de Thériault sur l'américanité à partir de l'Acadie: la présence de francophones en Amérique à l'extérieur du Québec, comme en Acadie, renvoie à l'impossibilité québécoise de fonder une nation sur son territoire à partir de la langue française comme seul bien culturel commun. Par ailleurs, puisque l'Acadie n'est pas, comme le Québec, majoritaire et n'exerce pas un pouvoir étatique qui lui soit propre, le rejet de la mémoire canadienne-française, réclamé par l'américanité, sonnerait le glas de l'Acadie en tant qu'entité collective à caractère national, et la repousserait dans la définition chartiste de « groupe ethnique », au même titre que les autres minorités multiculturelles canadiennes.

Clapp, Jennifer - jclapp@uwaterloo.ca
The Politics of Governing International Food Aid
Food aid has long been a contentious issue that has sparked heated debates in the international arena. In the 60 years since large-scale international food aid programs began, the amount, form, delivery and motivations for donating food aid have seen considerable change. While reform to food aid governance has been prominent on the international agenda over the past decade, bringing about such reforms has been highly political and extremely slow. This paper seeks to explain why attempts to reform international governance of food aid have sparked such heated political debate over the past decade. I argue that major differences in donor policies, particularly with regard to the tying of food aid to commodities produced in the donor country, goes a long way toward explaining the continued politicization of food aid even as it becomes less significant in terms of overall aid flows. The paper first outlines the various arenas in which international food aid has caused political clashes in recent years. The second part of the paper maps out the policies and positions of the key food aid donors regarding food aid governance reform, demonstrating a major split in policies between the US and other major donors. The paper ends with a discussion of the current efforts to renegotiate the Food Aid Convention, and shows how the dynamics amongst donors have played out in this context.

Clarkson, Stephen - stephen.clarkson@utoronto.ca
Caught in the Middle: Middle-Power Canada in the Conflict among Global Regions
Having hitched its wagon to the US star by signing on to an economic integration project which reinforced the political asymmetries in North America (CUFTA 1989, NAFTA 1994, the WTO 1995), Canada finds itself caught in a number of intersecting crises.
- The economic decline of the United States and the rise of US protectionism which threaten its major export market.
- The American shift to an anti-terrorist security paradigm which raises trade costs and lowers economic flows across political borders.
- Pressure from China to increase the export of unprocessed resources.
- Pressure from the European Union to liberalize its federal, provincial, and municipal public sectors.
All these issues can be analysed on their own merits, but they can also be framed within a broader context of the contradictory but deepening competition among regions. The competition is contradictory because the regions are becoming more dependent on each other's well-being. The competition is deepening because the stakes seem ever higher.
Canada thought that it had become integrated within the region of North America, but the dual wave of US isolationism suggests that North America does not really "exist." Instead, the United States which is a region-state like China, is disregarding its neighbour's interests.

Should Canada distance itself from Mexico to reactivate its bilateral interdependency? Should it ally itself with Mexico and use the two countries' considerable weight to revive the moribund North American integration project? Can it find a third way by opening its protected public sectors to European companies? Can it diversify its economic relations by reversing its decline in Asia?

Clarkson, Stephen - stephen.clarkson@utoronto.ca
The New Comparative-Regionalism Challenge: Distinguishing between Global Regions and Region-States
After the Cold War, some scholars maintained that multi-state regions were emerging as coherent entities that were becoming the new drivers of international relations. This presentation will challenge this argument by proposing that the movement towards regionalism is losing momentum in the face of the resurgence of huge 'region states.' American border-building actions in the last decade (thanks to its wars on terror and drugs and more recent protectionism) suggest that the United States is re-emerging as a region-state, while North America is disintegrating as a global region. Among the regions under consideration will be four that are generating a regional presence that is greater than the sum of its parts: Europe/EU, South America/Mercosur, Africa/OAU, South-East Asia/ASEAN. But three putative regions are merely the geographical space within which region-states predominate: besides North America/USA, South Asia/India and East Asia/China will be considered. The prime variable under consideration will be asymmetry -- whether political, economic, military, or socio-cultural. The hypothesis to be examined maintains that, when extreme asymmetry distinguishes the most powerful state in an area from the weakest, the hegemon remains a region state if it refuses to give up sovereignty or to accept the constraints of supranational governance which are the defining elements of true global regions.

Clow, Erin - erin.clow@queensu.ca
Stories of Microcredit: A Case Study of the Saint John Community Loan Fund and PARO Centre for Women's Enterprise
This proposed paper will describe and analyze the community economic development organizations of PARO, located in Thunder Bay, Ontario and the Saint John Community Loan Fund located in Saint John, New Brunswick. Although both organizations diverge in relation to mandate and clientele, they can be generally characterized as organizations which provide small loans to individuals experiencing financial hardship and/or inequality and therefore can be characterized as microcredit organizations. This presentation will provide a case study analysis of these two organizations and the themes/questions arising from this investigation.
•   What is the impact of a gendered mandate?
•   Does the rhetoric of the organization match its practical application?
•   Are there differences in terms of outcome in relation to individualized vs. circle loans?
PARO self identifies as a not-for-profit charitable organization which employs a women-centered, community economic development approach. The provision of strictly economic resources, through its peer lending circles, is an important aspect of PARO but this is not the exclusive mandate. Integral to this organization are the values of cooperation, ownership, integrity, responsibility, simplification, and peer support. The Saint John Community Loan Fund provides business, back to work and shelter loans to its male and female clientele. Built upon the principles of community economic development the Loan Fund manages a socially responsible investment fund where money collected is dispersed through loans to individuals wanting to start a micro-enterprise.
Using data collected through 20 semi-structured interviews with both employees and clients from the organizations, the following themes will be addressed in this proposed presentation.
•   Women, Neo-liberalism and Microcredit
•   Microcredit and Community Economic Development
•   Microcredit and Poverty Reduction

Cochrane, Christopher - christopher.cochrane@utoronto.ca
Islam and the Politics of Left and Right in Canada
The size of the Canadian Muslim population more than doubled between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, and this growth has continued apace. Worldwide population and migration patterns mean that Muslims will comprise an increasing share of immigrants to Canada over the next several decades. Many Canadians take pride in what they perceive as the country's welcoming and socially progressive traditions, notably its support for equality and its acceptance of diverse lifestyles and cultures. Yet, anti-Muslim rhetoric aims to turn this tradition on its head. Critics of Islam in Canada and across the Western world have long framed anti-Islamic positions as a defense of tolerance against intolerance, and of equality against inequality. This raises the question: does the ostensibly liberal critique of Islam attract otherwise tolerance citizens to anti-Muslim positions? Drawing on evidence from a public opinion survey of 36000 Canadians, this paper examines the views of Canadian Muslims about such left/right issues as same-sex marriage and wealth redistribution, and it examines the views of Canadian leftists and rightists about Muslims.

Cohn, Daniel - dcohn@yorku.ca
The Foreign is the Enemy: Using International "Experience" to Resist Change in Health Policy
"Policy-learning" is a well established if not always rigorously specified concept. When the concept is rigorously specified, as more than just adopting similar policies and/or strategies, but as engaging in a discourse or exchange that reshape an actor's understanding of an issue, empirical studies have found that policy actors sometimes fail to live up to its

requirements. Nevertheless it is a concept that has persisted and is used frequently. Among the most frequently cited types of policy learning is "international" policy learning, where one jurisdiction learns from the success of another. What is less well researched is the use that opponents of change make of international experience so as to rally resistance to policy reform. In a recent article, Lowry has proposed that this sort of resistive learning is sparked by "focusing events." These are proposed changes that are so far beyond the scope of ordinary reform, that the supporters of the status quo have no reference point within their own policy experience to draw on so as to meet the challenge of such proposals. A comparison of the politics surrounding the making of health policy in Canada and the United States provides an interesting venue to test this hypothesis as opponents of change in each country have held up supposed failures of the other to explain why sensible people ought to resist health policy reform. The study will specifically look for evidence that international exchange increases between opponents of reform and groups on the other side of the border at times when potentially significant reforms to the way health care is financed and delivered take centre stage on the issue agenda.

Conteh, Charles - cconteh@brocku.ca
The New Public Governance in Developing Countries: A Critical Assessment
Many public sector reforms around the world over the past three decades have been based upon a presumption that there is "one best way" of providing a particular public service rather than devising structures or processes according to the dictates of the situation. The proposed paper seeks to build on existing effort to rethink the preoccupation of mainstream public management theory with structural reforms in the developing world. Drawing insights from theories of public organization and the recent global experience with public sector reform, the proposed paper will argue that the challenge for public sector reform in the developing world is to embrace a holistic view of development management that takes into consideration the nature of power in developing countries and the situation that fragile states and their agencies face in the delivery public services. The focus of the discussion will be on examining the extent to which public sector reform in post-conflict societies have been influenced by critical factors such as environmental uncertainty, organizational technology, size, strategy, resource dependence and public accountability. The paper will examine the challenges and prospects of public sector reform in the post-conflict contexts of Sierra Leone and Liberia (in West Africa) over the past decade. The evidence from the experience of these two countries illustrates the importance of framing public sector reform beyond the preoccupation with structural configuration of service delivery to include process and cultural reforms that take into consideration issues such as environmental uncertainty, resource dependency and public accountability.

Conteh, Charles - cconteh@brocku.ca
Public Management in Dynamic Environments: Regional Development Policy Governance in Canada
Recent developments in managerial concepts under the broad banner of the new public management (NPM) and the new public governance (NPG) constitute social science amendments to the mechanistic orientations of earlier approaches to public management and policy delivery. A central thread running through these emergent frameworks over the past three decades is an underlying assumption about the permeable boundaries of the public sector in liberal democracies. The proposed paper will examine the nature of the interaction between environmental change and organizational strategy and structure, and their implications for public management theory and practice. The context of the discussion will focus on the changing structure of regional development policy governance in Canada over the past two decades in the face of global economic transformations. The present institutional configuration of regional development policy governance in Canada dates back to a 1987 restructuring that resulted in the creation of separate, stand alone regional development agencies for four officially designated regions, namely, Western Canada, Atlantic Canada, Northern Ontario and Northern Quebec respectively. After two decades of administrative reforms as well as seismic transformations in the character of the Canadian and global economy, a critical examination of regional development policy governance in Canada is in order. Key lessons will also be highlighted for public managers who must often navigate the murky waters of administrative and socio-structural changes. Public management scholarship and practice can benefit from conceptual lenses that closely integrate public agencies' mission, strategies and internal systems with the forces of environmental change and uncertainty.

Conway, Aidan - aconway@yorku.ca
The Political Economy of "Financialization": An Incorporated Comparison of Canada
This paper reports on research into the comparative history and political economy of financial systems in Canada and the United States, with particular attention paid to related post-war transformations in banking, institutional investment, and mortgage finance. The paper contributes empirically to the underdeveloped social science literature on the postwar restructuring of Canadian finance, intervenes from a Canadian perspective in the burgeoning inter-disciplinary literatures on "financialization" and patterns of mass integration of households into financial markets, and questions the capacity of the reigning paradigm in comparative political economy to adequately deal with (financial) change. Investigation of the Canadian case is found to provide an illuminating basis upon which to judge both the limits of the dominant "Varieties of Capitalism" approach to comparative political economy and the adequacy of traditional comparative procedures more generally.

Cooper, Andrew - andrew.cooper@sympatico.ca
Resisting and/or Accommodating: Societal Responses to the G20 Summit Process

A big under-explored question about the G20 concerns the societal response to this forum. As it has evolved the G20 is a state-based project. Leaders are paramount along with key officials from national bureaucracies. Because of this state-centrism the image of the G20 is more of a club than a network. Moreover what elements of a network are evident have a highly technical orientation. As the G20 has become embedded the response by civil society is more salient. On the one hand, resistance has grown as shown by the controversies surrounding the street demonstrations in London, Pittsburgh and Toronto. There are signs, however, that another significant component of civil society is accommodating itself to the G20, paralleling albeit not replicating the 'inside' orientation of select business groups operating through the G20 Business Forum. This paper looks at the societal dimension of the G20, through a close look at how groups connected to the Global call for Action against Poverty relate to the G20. Particular attention is given to the hybrid style in which criticism is mixed with a search for procedural access and agenda influence. Taking the Seoul G20 as the main case study, an assessment is made about whether the approach used by this component of civil society is unique or representative of a more general trend featured in the relationship between civil society and global forums.

Cornut, Jeremie - cornut.jeremie@uqam.ca
Dialogism, Pragmatism, Pluralism: The "Dialogic Turn" in IR Theory
The recent TRIP reports indicate that the "dialogical turn" identified by Lapid (2003) is probably the next step in the evolution of the discipline. But it is not clear what this turn is about and names to designate it flourish: authors of IR alternatively called such an approach pluralism, ecumenism, amalgam, eclecticism, pragmatism, multiperspectivism, dialogue, integration, synthesis etc. Between and inside these various tendencies, numerous convergences as well as oppositions can be found.
Trying to go beyond the tendency to fight for legitimate appropriation of labels, this paper will focus not on what dialogic internationalists claim they are, i.e. "pluralists", "prone to dialogue" or "pragmatists", but on what they actually stand for in regards to the relations that exist, could exist or should exist, between theories or theoretical approaches in IR. Therefore, following Bernstein for whom pluralism is open to many interpretations (1997, 396), this paper will first attempt to draw a typology of pluralist and dialogic approaches in IR. Then, it will focus on the status of the "dialogical turn" in the discipline, in the context of weariness for the long-lasting debate that opposes positivism and post-positivism. It will attempt to clarify what the dialogical turn is and what is innovative in it. Finally, new disciplinary dichotomies will be underlined, which we think have the potential to become a new focal point for disciplinary debates.

Côté, Catherine - Catherine.B.Cote@usherbrooke.ca
Quebec Women's Attitudes Toward the Niqab
In 2009 the issue of reasonable accommodation was reignited in Quebec when a young woman refused to comply with her CEGEP instructor's request that she remove her niqab. It was a French language class and the instructor maintained that she needed to see students' faces in order to evaluate their French pronunciation. The young women refused on the grounds that there were men in the room. The Quebec government's response was Projet de loi no 94, a bill introduced in the National Assembly in March 2010 which effectively bans women from wearing the niqab when working in or receiving services from a number of public sector institutions. Using data from the Quebec Women's Political Participation Survey, an original telephone survey that went into the field in June and July of 2010, the paper investigates francophone women's thinking on the issue of the niqab, and attempts to identify the key arguments that lie behind their positions on the issue. More specifically, it examines the role of religion and feminism in shaping women's positions on the issue. What it finds is that Quebec women's thinking on the issue of the niqab is complex and driven by a mix of factors that are not always easily explained.

Cotton, Simon - src34@cornell.edu
Exploitation in International Trade: Taking Advantage of Need, Inequality, and Injustice
Most people accept that there would be international obligations of assistance and/or redistribution in a world without ties of trade, even if these obligations would be limited. It remains unclear, however, why it might be that the establishment of such ties extends our obligations, as Charles Beitz maintained. In this paper, I argue that ties of trade between private actors reshape their moral obligations even in the absence of international or global political institutions. First, trade with needy foreigners—people who fall below some absolute minimum—grounds an obligation to assign them a greater weight in distributing assistance. This is because reasons that justify privileging compatriots in the absence of trade—reasons of efficiency, insult, and reciprocity—justify greater assistance to foreigners once trade is taking place. Trading with the needy also grounds an obligation to ensure that the distribution of the gains of trade minimises need. Second, trading with the relatively (as opposed to absolutely) disadvantaged grounds an obligation to ensure that the distribution of the benefits of trade does not simply reflect the arbitrary differences in bargaining power that are an accident of national origin, even if these differences do not represent an injustice in the absence of trade. This obligation, however, is subject to the limitation that the benevolent trader not be undermined by the unscrupulous. Thirdly, trading with people living under injustice is normally impermissible unless if furthers justice. When it is permissible, a proportion of the gains must be devoted to appropriate political efforts.

Craft, Jonathan - jonathan_craft@sfu.ca
Political Advisers and Policy-Making in Canada: Currency in the Policy Process or a New Public Governance Bargain?

Roles, activities, and impacts of political advisers within the traditionally bilateral relations of political (Minister) and administrative (Deputy Minister) actors remain understudied in Canada. Theorized shifts from traditional public administration and management paradigms to those rooted in the governance approach compound the need to test assumptions regarding the policy-making activities and advice functions of these actors. This small-n comparative study sets out a framework for analysis of these newly institutionalized actors. The paper reports on early results from dissertation case work flowing from Canadian interview findings from sub-national elite interviews in four policy sectors: agriculture, environment, health and finance. Interviews were conducted with Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and political staff from minister's offices as well as premier's offices. The research questions driving this study are: (1) what, if any, role do political advisers play within the policy-making process? (2) If involved, at what 'stage(s)' of policy-making is their involvement pronounced? (3) To what extent are political advisers affecting traditional notions of policy advice? (4) What, if any, variance related to the above questions is related to policy sector or institutional location of such actors? The paper begins by situating political advisers within the broader politico-administrative relations literature. It subsequently sets out a typology for assessing the typical policy-making activities and advice-giving functions of political advisers. The paper concludes by reporting on initial interview findings and their broader implications related to traditional notions of political-administrative relations. Roles, activities, and impacts of political advisers within the traditionally bilateral relations of political (Minister) and administrative (Deputy Minister) actors remain understudied in Canada. Theorized shifts from traditional public administration and management paradigms to those rooted in the governance approach compound the need to test assumptions regarding the policy-making activities and advice functions of these actors. This small-n comparative study sets out a framework for analysis of these newly institutionalized actors. The paper reports on early results from dissertation case work flowing from Canadian interview findings from sub-national elite interviews in four policy sectors: agriculture, environment, health and finance. Interviews were conducted with Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and political staff from minister's offices as well as premier's offices. The research questions driving this study are: (1) what, if any, role do political advisers play within the policy-making process? (2) If involved, at what 'stage(s)' of policy-making is their involvement pronounced? (3) To what extent are political advisers affecting traditional notions of policy advice? (4) What, if any, variance related to the above questions is related to policy sector or institutional location of such actors? The paper begins by situating political advisers within the broader politico-administrative relations literature. It subsequently sets out a typology for assessing the typical policy-making activities and advice-giving functions of political advisers. The paper concludes by reporting on initial interview findings and their broader implications related to traditional notions of political-administrative relations.

Crew, Mallory - cmarose@gmail.com
Northern Notes on the Intersections of Aboriginal Health, Identity and ICTs
The paper explores the distinctive, diverse and often disregarded needs and interests, values and approaches of Aboriginal women, with a focus on the fundamental relationship between health, identity and ICTs. The health of Indigenous women is situated in Canada within a policy environment that emphasizes cost-centric health policy and an evidence-based medical approach. For this continually marginalized population, health is much more complex than the overtly clinical and dichotomous Western perspective, which often separates the mind from the body in diagnosis and in treatment. By contrast, Indigenous health and well-being is traditionally understood holistically, reflecting an overall worldview that emphasizes balance. Cultural conceptualizations of health ideals extend beyond the physical body and are defined through and consonant with cultural beliefs and valuations of Aboriginal identity (Adelson 2000; Kirmayer et al. 2000b). In the 21st century, the voices of Indigenous women and their health policy needs and interests have been masked by internal colonialism. From this contextual foundation, the authors investigate the relationship between information and communition technologies (ICTs), health and identity in northern communities in Canada, from the premise that such systems are not value-free. Aboriginal leaders, policy analysts and decision makers are exploring ICT applications in health policy, access, and communications domains in ways that push beyond questions of access toward critical considerations about quality of life. The value of ICTs in health care services and information transfer for northern Indigenous communities may be as critical to growing individual resilience and sustainable communities as is the adoption of ICTs for the continuity and transfer of language and cultural practices. The authors adopt a socio-technical approach in their exploration of the intersection of ICTs, health and identity.

Crookshanks, JD - jdcrook@shaw.ca
Aboriginal Women as Investment Strategies
With this paper, I wish to explore whether Canada can be said to be in a post-neoliberal (social investment) period when it comes to providing social and economic 'development' for Aboriginal peoples. To do so, I examine political-economic, social, and cultural power relations in two urban housing fields. I make use of the data I have collected from approximately 60 interviews with decision-makers in Edmonton and Winnipeg's housing sectors, and from focus groups with the Aboriginal communities that seek to be self-determining while living out elite-driven, government policies. Although some aspects of the neoliberal era persist (an individualistic emphasis on self-reliance) my work demonstrates that many government decision-makers now see Aboriginal people, notably Aboriginal women and children, as profitable, key targets for strategic social investments. The impact that this has on Aboriginal communities' goals for self-determination is vital to consider if such strategies are being developed not by Aboriginal people themselves, but imposed by state and market forces. To demonstrate the implications of social investment approaches, I ask why, exactly, development money

and funding for housing is targeted toward Aboriginal women. Are these strategies intended to (re)create racial and gender identities or are they the reactions to perceived needs of particular groups? With my case studies I will demonstrate, in the context of urban Aboriginal (self?)governance, instances where states select certain identities as more deserving of limited and purposeful support while still responding to others as 'special interests.'

Cross, William - bill_cross@carleton.ca
The Fourth Canadian Party System Revisited
A decade ago, Carty, Cross and Young (2000) argued that a new (4th) Canadian party system was emerging. This argument centered around change in five dimensions of the Canadian party system: the emergence of new parties, regionalization of party competition, diversification of party type, increased democratization of party organization and increased fragmentation of the electorate. This argument was based largely on evidence from the 1990s and the general elections of 1993 and 1997. Four elections have taken place since the advancement of this thesis and we propose to revisit it in light of events that have transpired in the past decade. Some of the changes justifying a reexamination are the merger of the two parties on the right of centre, the replacement of the Liberals by the Conservatives as the governing party and the reemergence of minority governments after six consecutive majority results.

Cruickshank, Neil - neil.cruickshank@algomau.ca
The Curious Case of Rospuda Valley: Comprehending Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union
European integration could easily be construed as an asymmetrical process, with the Union's acquis communautaire affecting some accession states more profoundly than others. This assumption, if it's indeed true, should apply most acutely to post-communist states, i.e. Poland and the Czech Republic etc., which tend to be lacking both mediating institutions and a robust third sector, for example. Drawing on several discrete episodes of contentious politics, this essay will ultimately determine if the EU is: (a) actually practicing subsidiarity and governance, opposed to just recommending it; (b) ensuring that democratic standards are adhered to, opposed to just requesting that they are, and (c) taking steps to improve input legitimacy, opposed to just assuming tacit compliance. While mainly focusing on Rospuda Valley, Poland, the site of acute contentious politics, this essay will also explore and analyse what occurred at Temelín Nuclear Power Plant (TNPP) in the Czech Republic, with respect to nuclear energy policy in the EU, and also how European Roma, in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia, are reacting to and/utilising new and/or reconfigured European institutions. Now that the Lisbon Treaty is in force, it is time to take a more critical look at European decision-making, and the norms, ideas and framework(s) that shape it. This essay argues: (1) the EU's lack of a cohesive 'governance' strategy (and policy) is, in effect, causing a schism to form between it, i.e. the Commission, and sub-states constituencies, and; (2) a failure to adequately address this legitimation problem could exacerbate existing cleavages.

Curran, Dean - d.curran@queensu.ca
Liberal Capitalism as a Collective Action Problem
This paper argues that capitalism realizes a collective action problem between economic agents. It is openly acknowledged that capitalism entails a collective action among producers; Adam Smith argued that when the institutional framework of a market society is maintained, economic agents qua producers compete, realizing the 'invisible hand' of maximal provision of goods and services at minimal cost, thus benefitting all as consumers. Utilizing Amartya Sen's account of the purpose of commodity acquisition as the realization of key functionings and his theoretical concept of 'exchange entitlement', it is shown that consumers equally face a state of incessant competition amongst each other. For those goods whose supply is fixed within certain limits and for certain key social functionings it is the maintaining of a certain level of wealth and purchasing power vis-à-vis others that is necessary to continue to be able to acquire what one needs. Hence, contra Smith, individuals exhibit an antagonism of interests insofar as they pursue the individual acquisition and use of commodities via the unregulated accumulation of wealth. This competition qua consumers forces individuals qua producers to continually increase their wealth merely to maintain a certain level of purchasing power vis-à-vis others' level of wealth. Consequently, capitalism can be viewed as constituting a collective action problem in which all individuals must continually make sacrifices as producers in order to continue increasing their level of wealth so as protect themselves from the way in which each individual's activity, as a consumer, threatens to disrupt the functionings of all.

Dandashly, Assem - assemd@uvic.ca
Euro Adoption Messy Strategies in Central Europe
In the Treaty of Accession, the signatories agreed that all New Member States (NMS) that joined the European Union (EU) in 2004, would adopt the euro, even if no timetable was provided. Why have some NMS not been able to join the euro area even if they made serious attempts at the outset? What are the circumstances and policies in these countries that have led them not yet to adopt the euro? There is no consensus among economists regarding whether or not adopting the euro in the short run is a good idea (Buiter, 2000; De Grauwe and Schnable 2005; Schadler 2005). An economic cost-benefit analysis would suggest that in the long run euro adoption is positive for NMS. Yet macroeconomic analyses do not explain change in government policies that may lead to euro adoption. Constructivist analyses (Dyson, 2006, 2008; Johnson, 2006), focusing on collective identity, policy learning, knowledge transfer among central bankers and other political elites, as well as adjustment to global pressures and Europeanization, are also unable to explain the speed of euro adoption. This paper adopts a domestic politics approach to analyze the euro adoption process in the

Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Based on an examination of government documents, reports, academic literature and face-to-face interviews that we conducted in order to assess the role of domestic politics in explaining euro adoption process in NMS; government policies, electoral cycles as well as constitutional rules, turn out to be crucial in explaining the lagging euro adoption process.

Danesi, Silvina L. - sl.danesi@umontreal.ca
Unveiling New Traits of The Cartel Theory: Committee Assignments in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, 1946-2001
To date, there has been limited scholarly attention devoted to the functioning of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, and the role played by political parties in its organization. This paper relies on a new data set of Argentine deputies between 1946 and 2001 in order to fill this gap in the literature. First, we introduce basic notions on the Chamber and its standing committee system. After observing how ruling parties have managed to gain control over the committee appointment process, we discuss various predictions stemming from U.S.-based theories of congressional behaviour, particularly the Cartel Theory. We propose an adaptation of this theory to multi-party contexts, showing why even minority ruling parties can be expected to secure over-representation in committees. Using a codification of committees based on their importance in the legislative process, our regression-based analysis confirms the thesis of party dominance: ruling parties succeed in securing leverage on committees, a result that would go unnoticed without controlling for committee relevance. Those results stand despite changes in the electoral system. Moreover, we find that minority ruling parties exhibit dominance over committees as much as majorities do. Besides, we use logit regressions to look at the determinants of committee chair assignments. Although seniors are rather rare in the Chamber, we find evidence that committee-specific seniority matters in the selection of chairs, but only inside the ruling party. This analysis confirms that legislative institutions reflect the interest of ruling parties.

Dauda, Carol - cdauda@uoguelph.ca
Re-globalizing Consent: International Protocols, Public Policy and the Regulation of Young People's Sexuality in Canada
Expansion of the regulation of young people's sexuality in Canada has followed on the heels of two international protocols, on Trafficking in Persons and on the Sale of Children, Child Pornography and Child Prostitution, activated in 2000. I consider their relationship to the national political process in two pieces of legislation: Liberal Bill C-2 (Protection of Children and Other Vulnerable Persons) of 2005; and, Conservative Bill C-22 (Age of Protection Act) 2006, later Bill C-2 (Tackling Violent Crime) of 2008. The former extends regulation through expanding definitions of child pornography and sexual exploitation, the latter through raising the age of consent. In both cases, framing in relation to the protocols calls attention to the need for a multi-scalar analysis (Mahon 2006) in order to understand the complex ways in which regulation of sexuality arises currently. I present an ideational dimension of a multi-scalar analysis as I focus on multi-scalar use of idealized, normalized and gendered ideas of childhood in relation to adulthood in discourses leading to interscalar agreements and how they shape and are shaped by discourses in national policy debates. I contend that multi-scalar agreements take place within a complex set of ideas, attitudes and relationships that may be both constant and fluctuating and that are forged through political contention. What happens at each scale may exploit, reproduce or change the characterization of young people as having vulnerability or strength, needing protection or having the capacity for increasing autonomy, judgment and agency. In this case, I argue that the extent of regulation tends to be enhanced at each scale as constructions of vulnerability and incapacity are reproduced.

Dauvergne, Peter - peter.dauvergne@ubc.ca
Biofuels and the Politics of Mapping "Unproductive" Land
Is the current investment in biofuel production in the developing world a "global land grab"? Some critics certainly think so, and question a core assumption of many of these schemes: that vast swaths of "marginal" and "unused" land exist. For them, efforts to take control of such land are little more than a renewal of colonialism, and disputes over land allocation processes are a predictable consequence. Although clearer maps of land uses and claims could help resolve some of these disputes, in much of the developing world such maps remain fragmented, incomplete, or simply absent. Ongoing contestation over mapmaking and land availability reveals tensions among ways of measuring and allocating territory, valuing land uses, and demarcating ownership. In this paper, through a case study in Tanzania's Rufiji Delta, we explore a series of questions related to these claims of "empty" land, to draw out the implications for state-society relations. Building on political geography and critical theory, we ask: how is state control created and reinforced through mapping? How are corporations implicated in these processes? Which maps guide land allocation, especially in rural areas? How does territorial mapping relate to the concepts of "productivity" and "efficiency"? And how are these discursive dynamics driving the expansion of biofuels in the developing world? The answers to these questions have consequences not only for agriculture, food security, and biofuel production, but also for politics within the state linked to contestation over resource control, and for the trajectory of development in the global South.

de Costa, Ravi - rdc@yorku.ca
The Politics of Reconciliation in Canada: A Discursive Analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission is nearing the half-way point in its mandate to document the history and legacy of Indian Residential Schools, to support the recovery of those affected, and to renew "the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. This paper focuses on the third aspect of the mandate and draws on

empirical research to consider the TRC as a vehicle for the communication of political identities and norms. That is, to examine its ability to connect the "macro-level" discourse of an agenda-setting national institution with everyday or "micro-level" discourse. In so doing, it seeks to answer two related questions: first, has the TRC succeeded in providing a coherent understanding of what "reconciliation" will constitute? Secondly, to what extent has the TRC been able to engage non-Aboriginal Canada? These questions allow a critical examination of the work of the TRC in light of reconciliation processes in other settler societies.

de Larrinaga, Miguel - mlarrina@uottawa.ca
The Peacebuidling Commission's 'Strategic Frameworks': Therapeutic Global Governmentality in-Formation
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'. 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. Recent international interventions around peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction have often relied on a similar discursive labour of pathologizing the targeted governments and populations. 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 by adopting 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). More specifically, the paper will assess the documents outlining the Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding for the four country cases currently on the PBC's agenda as programs of governmentality in-formation.

Dembinska, Magdalena - magdalena.dembinska@umontreal.ca
Ethnopolitical Mobilization: a Complex Adaptive Process to Opportunity Structures
How to account for the persistence of identity particularisms, despite assimilationist pressures (Laitin) and an integrating Europe (Hobsbawm)? The paper compares political mobilizations by two ethnolinguistic groups: Silesians and Kashubs in Poland. Silesians are unrecognized as a distinct group, Kashubs have been recently granted the status of a regional linguistic group. Establishing why and how minorities mobilize despite being socially disadvantaged by doing so, may shed light on group reinforcement and on the underlying stimuli that account for ethnic movements. The paper shows the advantage of adding Weber's value-rationality into the existent repertoire of tools for understanding ethnopolitical mobilization, as well as of adopting the Complex Adaptive System approach. Existent models for ethnic mobilization are tested and proved insufficient, followed by an analysis of the two cases. It is argued that in order to be recognized and attain the valued good (cultural development), groups adjust to opportunity windows, changing laws/institutions/discourses. They enter inter-ethnic coalitions and negotiate with local/state representatives; adapt their strategies to European structures to legitimize their claims. State laws and European institutions provide new arenas for action. Ethnic groups act as any other interest group taking advantage of opportunity structures, adapting strategies and seeking 'boomerang effects'. This in turn corresponds to the CAS approach which supposes a never-ending process of adaptation, where groups, states, and the international system are engaged with each other, affecting structures within which ethnopolitical mobilization develops. While adapting, groups reinforce the constitutive elements of their identities. European norms and institutions unexpectedly multiply identity claims.

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Constructing de facto States and Nations: Fluctuating Images of Enemies and Friends
Since the 2008 Russian-Georgian war, journalists talk about the colonization of Abkhazia by Russia. Although welcomed by the Abkhaz elites while building their political entity against Georgians, parallels with the Turkish Cyprus developments over the last 30 years appear. Turkey sponsored the construction of the TC de facto state and considerable resources were used to construct the enemy image of Greek Cypriots and friendship with the sponsor-State. However, studies show how living with settlers from Turkey modified the 'kin' image. Three reasons are referred to: (1) they took over proprieties after fleeing Greek Cypriots; (2) they outnumbered us; (3) they occupy high administrative and military positions. Over time, resentment is clear; Turkish Cypriots distinguish "us" Cypriots from "them" the settlers. This has implications for political cleavages as new options for (de)constructing the de facto state and new party programs emerge. Enemies and friends are constantly re-interpreted, and their (re)construction account for "our" territory, justify collective claims, mobilize collective action. These fluctuations adapt to the needs of the moment: external threats, structural changes. When do fluctuations in perceiving the 'Other' occur and how do they translate into the political construction of de facto states? The objective is to compare the 'colonization' processes in TC and Abkhazia, and to detect changes of the image of 'enemies and friends'. Although the latter case is recent, establishing parallels with TC and looking into historical politics and political discourse sheds light on patterns of fluctuating nation-building and (de facto) state-building processes.

Descheneau, Philippe - philippe.descheneau@uottawa.ca
Commodification and Resistance in Carbon Markets
The carbon markets and the clean development mechanism (CDM) have grown rapidly since Kyoto. The commodification of carbon is a key process that takes place in this context. But as Polanyi (1944) would anticipate, this commodification

doesn't go without resistance. Resistance has to be understood as a moment along others in the creation of markets (invention, monetization, financialization). The resistance to carbon markets has been expressed differently and the discourse changed according to the evolution of markets. Some NGOs have for example been really favorable to carbon markets (Greenpeace) while others have been radically opposed to it (Carbon Trade Watch). But this resistance also makes markets (Paterson, 2009) in defining acceptable projects and criteria for environmental additionality (with Gold Standard for example). The moments of commodification and evolution of the carbon markets alters the resistance towards carbon markets and command a different strategy with each development. The financialization for example commands a strategy that is focusing on the financial crisis (FOE, 2009). Every dysfunction in the production of carbon money can also be used to fuel resistance towards commodification. The CDM projects in the South have received different responses while some have been criticized by grassroots organizations who have been directly affected. The resistance can also be conceptualized from the point of view of non-humans that inconciously resist the commodification and their inclusion into (ac)counting systems. Accounting carbon involve a social facor and a blackboxing of scientific knoledge that is sometimes contested (Mackenzie, 2009).

Desimini, Natalie - nndesimini@hotmail.com
Centralization of Power in Ontario Provincial Cabinets: Its Impact on Ministers
Political observers have maintained that power in Canadian legislatures has become increasingly centralized, and has shifted away from cabinet as a collective, toward the First Minister and the centre. Theorists support that the full cabinet has been overshadowed as a decision-making center. This raises interesting questions for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario: How much power do ministers actually have? If less power lies with cabinet, what impact has this had on ministers? What do unelected advisors actually do? The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of centralized power with the Premier on ministers, and to assess whether centralization of power with the Premier has increased, decreased, or remained constant in the last five cabinets in Ontario. Past and present cabinet ministers were interviewed to supplement views of political theorists available from the literature.

Di Gregorio, Michael - digregmn@mcmaster.ca
Sovereignty, Security, and the Affect of the Political
Given the recent fascination with affect and the political emotions, this paper addresses the relationship between affect and theories of sovereignty. Specifically, this paper addresses the relationship between emotional or affective reactions to the political, and the response the institution of sovereignty represents to these reactions, as manifested in the very idea of the security state. The science and theory of sovereignty (first articulated in Hobbes's Leviathan) is built upon a specific political understanding of emotion, of one's affective reaction to what is "foreign" or "outside" of one's immediate experience. This link between sovereignty and affect has already made its way into security studies via the integration of political psychology into International Relations; however, this initial link between affect, psychology, and sovereignty is premised on the idea that affective responses represent a problem for which sovereignty is the solution, or that emotions are a problematic disturbance to the rational order of politics, and are a security threat as such. Consequently, the capacity for affect and the political emotions to be the site of a critique of sovereignty rather than a threat to sovereignty has yet to be fully developed. This paper treats affect as a site of critique by returning to the first systematic presentation of political psychology in Aristotle's Rhetoric—the source for Hobbes's theory of sovereignty as guarantor of security— arguing that sovereign power is itself better understood as an affect of the political rather than as a attempt to moderate, control, and manage political emotions.

Dietsch, Peter - peter.dietsch@umontreal.ca
Tax Competition, Distributive Justice, and the Role of the State
Fiscal policy is traditionally considered as the prime instrument of redistribution from the haves to the have-nots. Today, this capacity is undermined by the interdependence of tax policy in different countries. In particular, tax competition for mobile capital both undermines the fiscal sovereignty of states and has significant effects on the distribution of social advantages within states and across borders that are often neglected. The purpose of this paper is twofold.
First, it aims to set out the challenges to distributive justice that tax competition presents. Different forms of tax competition targeting portfolio capital, productive capital, and paper profits respectively, raise normative different issues and vary in their effect on distribution. The questions raised here can be grouped into jurisdictional, allocative, and redistributive ones.
Second, and more importantly, the paper proposes a taxonomy and evaluation of a number of positions on global justice that may be invoked to respond to these challenges. Within a family of moderate cosmopolitan views, some put the relative emphasis on justice narrowly construed while others highlight the importance of democratic considerations. As documented in the literature, different views on institutional design follow, varying importantly in the role they assign to the nation state. The paper analyses three such views, a sufficientarian position, a liberal egalitarian one, and one that emphasises the importance of background justice.

Dion, Michelle - dionm@mcmaster.ca
Explaining Outcomes: Leadership Experience and Saturation as Determinants of Elections on a Comparative Basis

Existing studies of voter behaviour and electoral outcomes highlight the increasing importance of party variables and the significance and preeminence of leadership factors in particular. However, such studies do not identify the specific attributes of leadership that serve to influence voter decisions. This paper presents an examination of one aspect of leadership that may impact election outcomes, namely experience in conducting elections campaigns, and tests various hypotheses in relation to its effect on the success of both major and minor parties in parliamentary systems. Drawing on election results in fifty-two national election campaigns from four countries (United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and Australia) and applying standard regression techniques, it is anticipated that the paper will find that electoral success of both major and minor parties can be partially explained by leadership experience. However, the results will also point to a saturation effect; that leaders reach a zenith in terms of their appeal and then become an electoral liability for their party. These findings suggest that parties may be too quick to replace some initially unsuccessful leaders and retain others that are of declining value to their party's chances at electoral success.

Doberstein, Carey - carey.doberstein@utoronto.ca
Institutional Creation and Death: Urban Development Agreements in Canada
Public policy issues in urban settings typically involve intersecting governance mandates with several levels of government—homelessness, immigration settlement, crime, and economic development are clear examples in which multiple orders of government possess legitimate claims of jurisdiction and policy interest. Urban development agreements (UDAs) in Canada represented an innovative governance approach that involved all three levels of government and civil society organizations jointly deliberating and setting policy to address enduring and seemingly intractable issues like homelessness and economic development. By 2010, all UDAs in Canada have been terminated. This paper applies a new institutionalism framework to analyse and explain the creation and termination of UDAs in Canada. First, we argue that the creation and termination of these institutions are most productively explained by applying both historical institutional and discursive institutional analytical frameworks, as several scholars have recently advanced. Second, we examine the specific UDAs in Vancouver and Winnipeg to illustrate the historical, institutional and ideational context under which they emerged, with reference to the socioeconomic, intergovernmental, partisan and normative ideological climate. Third, we consider the institutional termination literature to frame our discursive institutional analysis of the 'death' of UDAs in Canada, in which we examine speeches, newspaper coverage, party platforms and bureaucratic literature to identify a powerful discursive shift. We argue that there was an ideational or discursive turn stemming not simply from political turnover, but cognitive (how to do it) and normative (what is appropriate) ideas with respect to policy approaches and instruments in urban governance. Finally, we offer some tentative implications of this research for discursive institutionalism more broadly.

Docherty, David - ddocherty@wlu.ca
Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition: The role of Opposition Parties in Canadian Legislatures
Opposition Parties are an intrinsic part of Westminster democracies and this is nowhere more true than in the Canadian case. While accountability includes the role of government backbench members, high levels of party discipline in Canada, both nationally and in the provinces, renders much of the internal scrutiny function more theoretical than real. As a result, Opposition Parties perform the most critical part of the accountability and scrutiny function of legislatures. In many ways, Opposition Parties are well suited to this task and have at their disposal many resources to allow them to perform this role. The paper examines the role of Opposition in Canada, both nationally and in the provinces. It argues that despite the obstacles facing them, Opposition Parties have managed to effectively challenge the government and force cabinets to be accountable for their actions. At the same time, the lack of resources and institutional rules that favour government has meant that the level of critical analysis offered by Opposition Parties is often reduced to negative attacks and attempts to embarrass the government. As a result, Opposition Parties rarely spend time developing and explaining their own policies and squander their chances to present voters with a viable positive alternative to the party in power. As a result, Opposition Parties have helped to lower the debate in Canadian political discourse and not generate support for parliamentary government.

Dolgert, Stefan - Stefan.Dolgert@utoronto.ca
Sacrificing Justice: Suffering Animals, the Oresteia, and the Masks of Consent
Aeschylus' Oresteia is a key text that reveals the scapegoat mechanism underlying our received notions of wisdom, consent, and human exceptionalism. The trilogy foregrounds the importance of legitimate procedures for ending the cycles of retributive clan violence which preceded the polis, but behind this proceduralism hides the violence of sacrifice. The old world of vendetta justice is superseded by a juridical violence that obscures its brutality by selectively targeting nonhuman animals, and by fashioning an imaginary procedure whereby these sacrificial victims consent to their deaths. This provides a paradox for contemporary democratic theorists who return to Greek tragedy for inspiration. Tragic political theory resists current orthodoxy by tempering liberal projects of mastery with an awareness of the woundedness that haunts the human condition, yet it is complicit in producing suffering in nonhuman animals while simultaneously repressing awareness of this violence.

Doucet, Marc G. - marc.doucet@smu.ca
The Peacebuidling Commission's 'Strategic Frameworks': Therapeutic Global Governmentality in-Formation

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'. 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. Recent international interventions around peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction have often relied on a similar discursive labour of pathologizing the targeted governments and populations. 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 by adopting 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). More specifically, the paper will assess the documents outlining the Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding for the four country cases currently on the PBC's agenda as programs of governmentality in-formation.

Dowsett, Julie - jdowsett@yorku.ca
The Feminism/Femininity Contradiction: Mary Wollstonecraft's "Feminist Misogyny"
Conventional histories of Western feminist theory have long celebrated Mary Wollstonecraft's harsh critiques of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's gender politics. Many feminists have read Rousseau as a misogynist (although his reputation as such is controversial) and have approvingly cited Wollstonecraft. Whether or not Rousseau was a misogynist, Wollstonecraft's well-known critiques of him may have contributed to a lack of interrogation of certain aspects of her gender politics: namely, the misogynistic aspects, which can be found in her understanding of femininity. This paper contends that Wollstonecraft sets up a contradiction between feminism and femininity using arguments that are at times misogynistic. Underpinning her misogyny is her Cartesianism (a belief that the mind is separate from the body). A clear danger of adopting the Cartesian subject is masculinism, given that abstract, disembodied subjects have tended to allow men to stand in for people in the history of Western thought. Yet Wollstonecraft's treatment of femininity is not masculinist, but, rather ironically for a feminist, misogynistic. Her "feminist misogyny" is not a hatred of women per se but a hatred of almost everything that is associated with women. Wollstonecraft is feminist in the way she fights for women to be included in the category of the rights-bearing (abstract disembodied) subject, but misogynist in has assessment of women who (almost inevitably) remain gendered subjects. In examining Wollstonecraft's feminist misogyny, this paper seeks to not only rethink her framing in the history of political thought, but also intervene in contemporary feminist theory debates about femininity.

Drake, Anna - anna.drake@gmail.com
Problems of Democratic Legitimacy in Deliberative Mini-publics
Recent attempts to employ the normative benefits of deliberative democratic theory in real-world settings have inspired the growth of deliberative mini-publics (groups small enough to be genuinely deliberative). The trend is to make these mini-publics as inclusive as possible and in order to facilitate this theorists focus upon representative strategies such as random sampling and statistical representation. These efforts at inclusion, however, come at a price. Because mini-publics are designed to represent what the public would think if deliberation at large was possible (Fishkin 2009) mini-publics make a strong claim to democratic legitimacy. The problem with this, however, is that the selection process risks excluding or marginalizing particular groups and concerns (Parkinson 2006) and, ultimately, mini-publics fail to meet deliberative democracy's "all-affected" principle. This problem is compounded by the role that deliberative mini-publics play in policy formation; largely serving as a recommending force to institutions, the lines of accountability between mini-publics and the larger public are very weak. In this paper I examine the connection between democracy and deliberation in mini-publics. I question the extent to which mini-publics can uphold principles of deliberative democracy, examine why broader public input is important, and argue for the importance of contestation and the role of agenda-setting. Proposing an alternative to the current structure of mini-publics I look to ways that we can foster lines of accountability between small deliberative groups, the larger public, and institutions. A conceptual account of these links is necessary for a stronger form of deliberative practice and democratic legitimacy.

Drake, Anna - anna.drake@gmail.com
Deliberative Consociationalism, Outsiders, and the 'All-Affected Principle'
At least two strands of thought come out of recent work on the design of power-sharing institutions for divided societies. One looks at the contributions from theories of consociational and deliberative democracy (Addis 2009; Dryzek 2005; O'Flynn 2007, 2009) while the other addresses the role of international and regional actors in the design, implementation, and maintenance of post-conflict institutions (Barnett 2010; Paris and Sisk 2009; Zaum 2007). In this paper, we look to the benefits of combining these two strands and we examine methods for resolving the tension between local interests and international considerations in divided societies. Of central importance is the need to balance the risk of outsiders usurping domestic political authority with the normative and practical benefits that minority groups in divided societies – because they face additional obstacles to effective participation – gain from outside assistance. We argue that the success of deliberative consociations depends upon strong institutional protections for all groups and that outsiders can play an important role as mediators/facilitators. Specifically, we ask whether and how a model of deliberative consociationalism can accommodate outsiders without violating the deliberative "all affected" principle. At the same time,

can a model of deliberative consociationalism work without the participation of outsiders? Can the normative and practical difficulties of allowing outsiders in be resolved?

Dubois, Janique - janique.dubois@utoronto.ca
The Limits of Land Claims: Fulfilling Nunavut's Political Project
The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) is the largest land claim settlement in Canadian history. It covers 1.9 million square kilometres and is nearly one-fifth the size of Canada. Signed in 1993, the NLCA includes a cash settlement, the devolution of title of 18 percent of the land to Inuit organizations, the representation of Inuit on five co-management boards, and the creation of the territory of Nunavut. While the NLCA marks an important milestone in Inuit and Canadian history, the land claim settlement only satisfies part of the Inuit's desire to regain control over their lives and their land. Unlike most land claims, the NLCA identifies sovereignty, rather than property, as its objective. Yet, the relationship between territorial and political sovereignty in the NLCA and the processes that surrounded the creation of Nunavut is not evident. While Nunavut has undoubtedly been shaped both by its territorial and political aspirations, this paper identifies the legal and political context that influenced the weight given to each of these elements in the development of Nunavut. Using interviews conducted with Inuit political leaders, Inuit community members and federal politicians, this paper examines the relationship between Nunavut as a territorial project and Nunavut as a political project.

Dumitrescu, Delia - delia.dumitrescu@umontreal.ca
Anxiety, Duty Appeals and the Vote: An Experimental Study
How do moral appeals to duty influence one's strategic voting calculus and behavior? We hypothesize that moral appeals to duty will reduce election-related anxiety when they reinforce an individual's prior attitudes, and increase individual anxiety when suggesting a strategic vote. We also hypothesize that extreme anxiety depresses likelihood of voting strategically. We replicate a newly developed hybrid experiment in which individuals have to vote for one of three parties, each carrying a payoff for a real NGO. Participants will have to vote in repeated elections in which various vote distributions provide them with incentives to vote strategically. The between-subjects manipulation focuses on duty messages: half of the participants receive an appeal telling them it is their duty not to defect from their preferred party; the other half will receive the reverse appeal, telling them it is their duty to switch. We measure anxiety and anger levels in every election, as well as individual sense of duty to vote in elections. Participants are citizens living in a large urban area, recruited outside the university.

Dupeyron, Bruno - bruno.dupeyron@uregina.ca
Let the Pills be Gilt: European Multilevel Governance and Cross-border Health Policy
This paper examines the dynamics between European multilevel governance and cross-border health policy. The problematic creation – legal, administrative and budgetary – of a joint French-Catalan hospital, in the Pyrenees at the beginning of the 2000s, is scrutinized in order to understand the diversity of relations among actors, their power relations and their cross-border production of health care goods and services. This case-study offers the opportunity to examine three main issues: first, how Euro-regional political identities emerge, and contribute to shape a cross-border health policy network, with its European cooperation objectives but also with its national and sub-national competing interests; second, how this health cross-border initiative redefines the existing bi-national health policy space, for both residents of the area and "touristic migrants"; third, how this cross-border operation facilitates the creation of a new legal framework in European health care.

Dwivedi, O.P. - odwivedi@uoguelph.ca
Meeting the Challenges of Public Administration in the 21st Century: Canadian, Comparative and Development Administration Perspectives Considered
Public administration, along with comparative and development administration, is facing a worldwide challenge from the new public management (NPM) and governance paradigms that have emerged in the past few decades. States and their respective bureaucracies are no longer the first line of defense for addressing critical societal issues; instead, we have witnessed a contraction in the size and scope of the state and, when governments do act, they tend to do so in concert with a variety of non-state actors. This shift towards a variety of private sector business principles in the operation of government and the inclusion of a much wider array of networked partners has given rise to a number of new challenges for public administration. This transformation in public administration necessitates some consideration of a number of critical questions: First, what should be the role of public administration in the 21st century? With the increasing relevance of market-based economy and globalization, do we need to redefine the role of the state? What are the implications for the discernible in the role of the state from production functions to policy regulatory functions? Most likely there will be a continuing need and demand for greater transparency and accountability in government, a greater emphasis on efficient and effective service delivery, and an increasing need for ethical governance. In this panel discussion, the three panelists (Mau—Canada, Nef—development and Dwivedi—comparative) will discuss how the future public administrators may cope with the new realities associated with NPM and governance.

Dwivedi, O.P. - odwivedi@uoguelph.ca
Comparative and Development Administration in Canada: Advancing a Teaching and Research Agenda

Dwivedi and Mau (2009) wrote about the state of comparative and development administration in Canada, arguing that there are is a glaring paucity of teaching and research in these areas in public administration programs and schools in this country. As they clearly demonstrated, much of the public administration scholarship is inwardly focused—a problem that has been similarly identified in the US and the UK—which is especially problematic given the importance of globalization and the attendant need to tackle some of our most pressing problems more collaboratively at the international level. At the end of the day, public administration scholars and practitioners alike will only be able to effectively understand and address domestic problems if they are viewed within a broader world perspective. This workshop session proposes to assess the current status of comparative and development administration in Canada, with the intent of engaging participants in a discussion around how we can promote greater scholarly interest (both teaching and research) in these areas. The workshop presenters will help spur the discussion by identifying potential opportunities for fruitful comparative and development administration research for those working in the area of public administration as well as some of the pitfalls associated with doing research in/on different countries.

Eagles, Munroe - eagles@buffalo.edu
What's the Border For? Canadian and American Public Perceptions of the Sources of Economic and Consumer Security Threats and Support for Border Cooperation
Since the terrorist events of 9/11/2001, the Canadian-American border has experienced a significant process of securitization. Despite the hopes of some Canadians, the arrival of the Obama administration's secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano as done little to reverse the "thickening" of the border. While the most obvious objective of much of this border activity has been targeted at Islamic terrorists, there are also threats that emanate from the continental neighbor (illegal immigration or the importation of dangerous consumer products and food for example). This paper represents an exploratory analysis of the public opinion dimension of border security. Specifically, we use a pooled series of six years of parallel surveys of representative samples of American and Canadian citizens (conducted annually 2005-2010 by Nanos Research) to identify the segment of these countries who number the other country (Canada or the US, out of their top 7 trading partners) among the most significant sources of threat (and hence in need of careful scrutiny by border officials). Pooling respondents over the period, we seek to profile these individuals who sense a proximate threat from either side of the Canadian-American border in terms of their demographic characteristics (age, education, region, gender, etc). Secondly, we explore whether these respondents who feel the need for border security for goods and people coming from their neighboring country are more likely to feel closer to other major trading partners than Canada/the US. Finally, we inquire whether these respondents are more likely to resist measures of border security cooperation measures.

Earles, Kimberly - kimearles@hotmail.com
Unintended Consequences: Gender and the European Union's Pensions Policy
Since 2000, the European Union (EU) pensions policy has focused on four interrelated goals: 1) financial sustainability, 2) adequacy of pensions, 3) portability across member states, and 4) adapting to changing labour market and social conditions. These goals are to be met in the context of the demographic pressures facing Europe today, such as low fertility rates and increasing life expectancy, resulting in an overall ageing population. While the EU pensions policy might appear on the surface to be gender neutral, the resulting pension reforms enacted in a number of EU member states have had particular gendered consequences as men and women tend to occupy different sectors of the labour force, receive different wages, and face different life course risks. As a result, women have been disadvantaged by recent pension reforms in EU member states, and their risk for old-age poverty has increased due to these reforms.

Eidelman, Gabriel - g.eidelman@utoronto.ca
Two Plus Two Equals Five: Why Toronto's Waterfront Defies the Federal-Provincial-Municipal Equation
Scholars of urban governance often discount the role and influence of multiple levels of government in local affairs, instead stressing the dominance of private development interests and local political alliances. Brenner (2009) recently described this tendency as a form of "methodological localism" wherein national or extra-local considerations are inappropriately and unjustifiably taken as self-evident background conditions for the study of urban governance, rather than suitable subjects of study in themselves. This paper goes beyond such methodological localism to examine the historical influence of multiple orders of government in shaping urban waterfront development in Toronto between 1960-2000, a period in which at least three comprehensive redevelopment plans were devised, each only partially implemented. By demonstrating how prevailing institutional dynamics evolved to either facilitate or obstruct redevelopment efforts over this four decade span, the paper sheds light on the political goals, resources, and normative frameworks that have defined each level of government's urban agenda over time — observations that may well challenge conventional interpretations of federal, provincial, and municipal jurisdiction in Canada.

Ejobowah, John Boye - jejobowah@wlu.ca
On Ownership Rights to Natural Resources
Who ought to have rights to natural resources? Is it the state or the landowner under whose land the resources are located? Drawing mainly, but not exclusively, on Lockean principles of property acquisition, this paper makes a normative argument that takes account of the rights of the landowner and of the state. It proceeds by first evaluating three existing

accounts of resource rights and why these accounts are not satisfying. The three accounts are Henry Sidgwick's utilitarian views, the cosmopolitan idea that territorial boundaries are morally arbitrary and that resources belong to everyone globally (Pogge 1994; Steiner 2001), and contemporary conceptions that regard the territory and resources within it as belonging to either the state (McCorquodale 2001) or the people (Wenar 2008; Nine 2010). The paper then discusses the reasonable grounds that would disqualify the state and the landowner from having ownership right to natural resources. It proceeds further to create a tension by discussing the principles that would justify ownership claims by the state and the landowner. Finally, it bridges the tension by working out the requirements of justice. Here, it argues that justice will require meeting the reasonable claims of the landowner and of the state and simultaneously reward the entrepreneur who takes the risk of discovering and appropriating the resources.

Erk, Jan - Erk@FSW.leidenuniv.nl
When Good Theories Make Bad Politics: New Institutionalism and the Risks of Exporting Federalism
As it is the case in many sub-fields of Comparative Politics, new institutionalism has become the dominant explanatory perspective in Comparative Federalism. This has brought in a degree of conceptual and theoretical clarity to our sub-field as well as allowing scholarly links to other areas of study informed by new institutionalist perspectives. This has helped Comparative Federalism grow into a dynamic sub-field committed to objective scholarship and help shed its earlier normative preference for Jeffersonian small government. Such theoretical growth has coincided with the growth in the supply of federalism. However, new institutionalism tends to leave out the uncodified factors that may have also played a role in the success (or failure) of federalism. This means that while institutitional/constitutional engineering takes prominence in exporting federalism, societal factors like ethnicity, language, demographics, and the socio-economic class structure are likely to be underappreciated in devising prescriptions for new federations. This paper seeks to show how the shortcomings of the explanatory perspective new institutionalism multiply as these become prescriptions for new federations.

Esselment, Anna - aesselm@uwo.ca
A Little Help from My Friends: The Partisan Factor and the Meech Lake Accord Negotiations
Can the role of partisanship affect how governments in Canada negotiate agreements across the federal-provincial divide? By examining the Meech Lake Accord, this paper takes a new approach to the study of intergovernmental relations by focusing on the partisan factor as an explanatory variable for conflict or cooperation between federal and provincial governments.
Partisanship is an important consideration when traditional variables, such as 'provincial interests', cannot wholly explain positions taken by provincial governments when bargaining with the federal government. As the Meech Lake Accord debates will demonstrate, partisanship is likely to be more important in terms of the process of negotiating intergovernmental agreements as opposed to the substance of the agreements themselves. The partisan factor is apparent when politicians and political staff use political channels across the levels to either help or hinder negotiations; when politicians and political staff use political and partisan arguments to bolster their position; when appeals are made to a cousin's caucus and/or rank and file members; when electoral success could be boosted (or diminished) by forging an agreement (or not); when a cousin wants to help or hinder the success of leaders at the other level; or when there is a need to maintain party unity and decisions are made to that effect. In fact, where traditional factors fail to provide an adequate reason for conflict or cooperation, the consideration of partisan factors can provide additional understanding and may, in fact, override the usual explanatory variables.

Esses, Vicki - vesses@uwo.ca
Local Perspectives on Immigration and Diversity in 15 Ontario Municipalities
A growing number of small and mid-sized municipalities outside Canada's three largest census metropolitan areas are becoming involved in the attraction, settlement, retention and integration of immigrants and cultural minorities. Case studies and comparative research have identified several factors driving local and regional interest in an area that is not formally within their constitutional or legal mandate. These drivers include local political leadership, economic development imperatives, demographic pressures to replace aging populations, the desire to avoid social unrest and promote harmonious intercultural relations, pressure from civil society organizations, and provincial government incentives. In Ontario, a federal-provincial partnership to strengthen the role of local governmental and non-governmental actors in settling immigrants has provided further impetus for more municipal activity in this domain. This paper presents evidence from semi-structured interviews with 150, randomly-selected opinion leaders in 15 small and mid-sized Ontario municipalities about the factors that have driven municipal and/or regional interest (or lack of interest) in this policy field. The study explores their perceptions about whether immigration and diversity are seen to contribute to the city's identity, economic, political/civic, and social/cultural life, as well as their views about whether local publics are receptive to immigrants and visible minorities. This comparative study will contribute to theory building on why the immigration and settlement policy domain increasingly involves a multilevel governance approach. It will also provide descriptive evidence on whether there is a congruence between community leader and public opinion about the benefits and disadvantages of immigration, and whether local opinion leaders themselves are drawn from diverse backgrounds.

Ettinger, Aaron - aaron.ettinger@queensu.ca

Coalition of the Billing: Neoliberalism, and the Rise of the Private Military Industry
The US-led wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are the first wars in modern history to be significantly privatized. However, academic research into military contractors is considerably underdeveloped. Though scholars have inquired into the operations of private military actors for two decades, IR and IPE literature has focused on a narrow range of related issues. Currently, literature focuses principally on global governance and law, control over force, norms and military operations. Moreover, these inquiries do not develop a strong theoretical understanding of how the private military industry relates to other actors and processes in world politics, leaving many dimensions unexplored. To correct this deficit, this paper will take a critical approach to the rise of the private military industry and its interactions with the advanced capitalist "competition state." The paper aims to develop a theoretical understanding of interrelationships between the privatization of military force and the evolution of the post-industrial state. Specifically, it addresses the influence of economic neoliberalism on the United States during the war on terrorism. First, the paper charts the emergence of the private military industry in the post-Cold War period. Next, it discusses the far-reaching impact that private military firms have had on US foreign policy during the 2001-2010 period. Finally the paper will identify the role of the private military industry in the context of the post-industrial state.

Evans, Bryan - b1evans@politics.ryerson.ca
Ontario's Return to Public Sector Austerity: The Second Common Sense Revolution?
Since its election in 2003, the McGuinty Liberals have presented a politics of pragmatic centrism for neoliberal times. While public investments in social policy grew, the fiscal capacity of the Ontario state remained constrained by the McGuinty government's refusal to depart from the budget policy orthodoxy of the Common Sense Revolution. This paper explores the unraveling of the 'One Ontario' politics that has marked the Liberals nearly 8 years in government and in particular the apparent rapprochement with labour and the Ontario trade union movement . The government's proposal for a two year public sector wage freeze is understood as the beginning of a new period in Ontario politics that is both familiar and still qualitatively different from pervious austerity regimes.

Everitt, Joanna - jeveritt@unbsj.ca
Women in Politics in New Brunswick
In the October 2010 New Brunswick provincial election eight women representing 15 per cent of the seats in the legislative assembly were elected. While 15 per cent was slightly better than the 13 per cent that was elected in the previous election, it by no means represented a high water mark for women's representation in the province. Yet at no point had women held more than 18 per cent of the seats. This paper examines the electoral experience of women in New Brunswick and attempts to account for why so few women have been elected in this province. In doing this it examines the impact of the electoral system, the party system, party selectorates and the presence of advocacy organizations such as Equal Voice on women's opportunities and success (or lack there of) in New Brunswick election campaigns.

Fafard, Patrick - pfarard@uottawa.ca
Towards a more robust theory of public health federalism
In the last decade the re-emergence of the threat of infectious disease has led to a renewed interest in public health governance and, in Canada and elsewhere, the implications of federalism for public health governance. Much of the recent work on public health federalism tends to focus only on infectious disease and, in so doing, laments the fact that government efforts are (or at least were) uncoordinated and ineffective and make it more difficult to meet international obligations. The response among scholars has been to call for a much stronger federal role in infectious disease management and public health more broadly. This paper will offer a critical appraisal of this argument. The first section will take a broader look at public health federalism and establish who does what and why and not just with respect to pandemic planning. The second section will assess the claim that infectious disease control is sub-optimal in the absence of a strong federal role. The third and final section will suggest that public health writing on federalism tends to operate with an implicit theory of federalism that emphasizes efficiency or citizen equality, reinforced by the fact that science and social justice are the core animating ideas of the discipline. Thus, the paper concludes with some thoughts on what a more robust theory of public health federalism might look like.

Fafard, Patrick - Patrick.Fafard@uOttawa.ca
Debating INSITE and the Politics of Public Health
INSITE, a safe injection site in Vancouver that opened in 2003. Drawing on the European experience, proponents argue that these sites reduce the negative impact of drugs and seek to reframe drug use as a matter of health and harm reduction. In contrast, influenced by the American conservative arguments for a "war on drugs", under Stephen Harper the Government of Canada has tried the remove the legislative exemption that allows INSITE to operate. Following the American example, the Conservative Government argues that the best possible response to illegal drugs is a policy of prevention, treatment, and especially law enforcement. This paper, while generally supportive of safe injection sites, offers a critique of the strategy of both proponents and critics who emphasize the scientific evidence that purports to demonstrate the benefits or the harm of safe injection sites. Drawing on analysis of the "Bush war on science" and the politics of climate change, I argue that an evidentiary approach is ineffective given the propensity on all sides to "bend" the science and engage in "advocacy by stealth". Second, I argue that such this approach obscures the fact that that this is a

normative rather than an empirical debate. Finally, I make a larger argument about the politics of public health and the need for practitioners and scholars to supplement the transnational arguments of science with a more robust theory of domestic politics and the policy making process and with clarity about the social justice roots of public health theory and practice.

Fairie, Paul - pfairie@ucalgary.ca
The Structure of Roll-Call Votes at Toronto City Council
This analysis of Toronto City Council roll-call votes between 2006 and 2010 sets out to explain the determinants of councillors' voting behaviour. In examining the personal, ward-level, regional and external factors that shape the legislative behaviour of the 44 city councillors, the use of factor analysis and linear regression to analyze roll-call data provides a more systematic analysis of their behaviour than the more commonly found journalistic accounts in local newspapers. The Toronto case provides several opportunities for analysis, as data are available to test multiple explanatory factors such as ward-level factors taken from the 2006 census and personal characteristics such as gender, region of Toronto represented, and informal partisan leanings of individual representatives. Furthermore, unlike major cities such as Vancouver and Montreal, no municipal parties have emerged; however, institutional factors such as membership on the Executive Committee will be examined to see if this structures the vote to reflect the preferences of the mayor. Finally, the role of campaign finance will be considered by accounting for the percentage of donations from the developers comprises the total money raised for each candidate.

Fenna, Alan - A.Fenna@exchange.curtin.edu.au
Rethinking Federalism
Is federalism akin, as Feeley and Rubin (2008) insist, to having abdominal surgery? Is federalism, as Davis (1978) reluctantly concluded, a 'phylogenetically senile' concept? What would a 'theory of federalism' look like and how do existing theories look? Is federalism essentially an anachronism or is it the answer to many of the 21st century's governance dilemmas? This paper examines these and related questions via a reflection on the possibilities and limitations of comparative analysis in federal study, disentangling empirical and normative theory and relating the study of federalism to challenges of political science more broadly.

Fenwick, Tracy Beck - tracy.fenwick@gmail.com
The Ties that Bind?: National/Local Social Protection Programs in Comparative Perspective
During the past two decades, a plethora of non-contributory social protection initiatives emerged in many decentralizing countries--North and South alike. Were these "new" localized programs intended to compensate for where the national welfare state was otherwise shrinking? What institutional incentives later conditioned their nationalization? In contrast to what federal theory predicts, namely, that states and municipalities will reduce their policy responsibility in a policy area in which the central government expands its involvement (Peterson 1995, 119), I have found the opposite in this policy arena. Based on evidence from the cities of Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, and one additional North American case, this paper will explore whether there was in fact a contraction of policy responsibility in the area of social protection at the local level; preliminarily, the evidence points in the opposite direction. The goal of this paper is to explore from an institutional perspective why within these particular national-local relationships there appears to be a race to the top in welfare provisioning set within the context of a decentralized federation, yet played out within very different national games and producing very different consequences for the territorial 'evenness' of public goods provisioning.

Ferry, Leonard - l.ferry@utoronto.ca
Is Particularity a Requirement?
Political obligation continues to attract the attention of supporters and opponents. For the defenders, there are primarily two categories of justification: transactional and non-transactional accounts. Both have their problems. Non-transactional accounts tend to focus on what we owe to each other apart from any voluntary agreements. Critics argue that these accounts fail to satisfy the particularity requirement [A. John Simmons, Moral Principles and Political Obligations (Princeton, 1979), Justification and Legitimacy (Cambridge University Press, 2001)]. The complaint is that the duty that these theorists defend tends to apply to all people in any reasonably just state without requiring that each citizen in particular is bound to obey the laws of her or his specific state. Christopher Wellman has recently proposed a Samaritan natural duty account of the duty to obey that, he argues, is capable of satisfying the particularity requirement ["Political Obligation and the Particularity Requirement," Legal Theory 10, 2 (June 2004); see also, A. John Simmons and Christopher H. Wellman, A Duty to Obey the Law: For or Against (Cambridge University Press, 2005)]. In this essay, I begin by spelling out in general the strengths of non-transactional defences of political obligation before turning to describe the particularity requirement. I argue that Wellman's Samaritan account, however attractive it is, also fails to satisfy the particularity requirement. It is at this point that I ask the meta question about whether or not particularity is a requirement. It is widely accepted as such by non-transactional theorists who successively fail to meet its challenge. Strangely enough, no one seems to have questioned whether or not it is a requirement at all, but there are good reasons, I argue, for believing it not to be a necessary requirement of an account of political obligation.

Findlay, Tammy - tammy.findlay@msvu.ca

Gender, Democracy and Multilevel Governance: Early Childhood Development Roundtables in British Columbia and Ontario

With their edited collection, Federalism, Feminism and Multilevel Governance, Haussman, Sawer, and Vickers begin to fill in a significant gap in feminist and public policy scholarship. The relationship between gender, political architecture, and multilevel governance has thus far been an underexplored area of inquiry (Haussman et al. 2010), and my paper aims to make a contribution. It argues that the lens of multilevel governance is particularly suited to feminist analysis in public policy and administration. Multilevel governance has become an influential framework in public policy and administration, stressing that modern policy-making involves a complex set of jurisdictions, governmental, and non-governmental actors (Bradford 2005). Less focused on traditional forms of representation, this conceptualization of governance is compatible with the longstanding feminist insistence that a broader definition of 'politics' is necessary in order to understand policy processes and outcomes. Multilevel governance provides an opening for much-needed feminist analysis in the field of public policy and administration. My paper demonstrates this using the case study of governance in early childhood development (ECD). In this policy arena, since the early 2000s, community infrastructure has been created in British Columbia and Ontario to facilitate collaboration between public (municipal and provincial government, health authorities, school boards) and community (NGOs, advocates) partners. A unique case of feminized governance arrangements, where women are numerically dominant, these ECD roundtables present an opportunity to extend the reach of feminist influence beyond research on formal institutions and electoral politics to a consideration of the gendered nature of administrative and community-based structures.

Fitzsimmons, Dan - dpfitzsi@ucalgary.ca
Zaire and Canadian Defence Policy: The case of Operation Assurance
This paper analyzes how the Government of Canada made the decision to lead a peacekeeping mission in eastern Zaire in 1996, which ultimately failed to materialize. Although studies of defence policy decisions are common in the United States, research on how the Government of Canada decides to go to war has received very little attention in academic literature. In an effort to help address this gap, this study engages two questions: how does the Canadian government decide to go to war? In addition, which influential factor(s) best explain Canadian defence policy decisions towards going to war? By examining the case of the proposed Zaire intervention (Operation Assurance), this study concludes that the decision by the cabinet to approve the mission in mid-November was driven by the influence of the Prime Minister and suggestions that the United States would provide military backing for the mission. The missions' ultimate failure, the paper argues, was due to the United States government refusing to support the mission once the situation in Zaire began to change in late-November.

Fitzsimmons, Scott - sfitzsimmons@shaw.ca
Ideational and Materialist Explanations for the Outcome of Asymmetric Civil Wars
This paper seeks to evaluate the influence of military culture on the performance of the dominant armed forces involved in the Sierra Leonean Civil War, two phases of the Angolan, and two phases of the Congolese civil wars. Specifically, it tests the normative theory of military performance and neorealist combat-balance theory against the empirical record of these conflicts to determine which theory provides a more convincing explanation for the outcomes of the battles and the wars overall. It concludes that the interplay between the military cultures adopted by opposing military forces provides a more consistent explanation of their fortunes on the battlefield than does the interplay of their material capabilities.

Flanagan, Tom - tflanaga@ucalgary.ca
Monogamy and Democracy
In the British Columbia reference case on polygamy, UBC anthropologist Joe Henrich has submitted a report to the court detailing the adverse effects of polygamy upon women and children. His report also suggests, without going into much detail, that the social institution of monogamy helps support the political institution of democracy. This paper will draw on the biological literature about mating and the historical literature about marriage to examine that contention in more detail. Legally imposed monogamy first appeared among the classical Greeks and Romans, was adopted into Christianity, and has now been spread widely around the world as a result of modernization. Since democracy is also a development of Western civilization, there may appear to be a historical link between monogamy and democracy, but it is unclear whether this correlation amounts to causation. Some neo-Darwinian analysts, such as Kanazawa and Still, see monogamy as a consequence of social egalitarianism; others (e.g., Alexander, Betzig, and Herlihy) reverse the relationship and see monogamy as a necessary precondition of political democracy. Alexander, Wright, and Barash stress that monogamy is egalitarian because it reduces discrepancies in male reproductive opportunities, but they also acknowledge that divorce and widespread cheating make legalized monogamy less than perfectly egalitarian in practice. This paper will argue that, according to the historical and biological evidence, monogamy is an almost necessary, but not sufficient, condition for democracy.

Flynn, Greg - flynngl@mcmaster.ca
The Judicialization of Democracy in Canada: The Case of the 2008 Federal Election
The use of the courts as an option to contest competing policy preferences, as a form of venue shifting, is employed by political actors for a variety of reasons. The rationale supporting these efforts includes the seeking of more preferable

institutional settings to force policy change or, alternatively, as means of blame avoidance concerning controversial policy or political change. Less is known, however, about the impact that such strategies may have on the institutions involved in that process. This paper is concerned with the impact of venue shifting strategies on institutional decision-making settings and explores this topic through three case studies involving litigation and the 2008 national federal election. It is anticipated that the analysis will find that the judicialization efforts heightened partisanship within Parliament and served to further undermine its legislative purposes. Accordingly, the paper argues that the judicialization of policy and political disputes limits the space for coordination in the policy community and heightens tension and conflict between competing policy actors while also restricting the scope and authority of the institutions in which to resolve those disputes.

Flynn, Greg - flynngl@mcmaster.ca
Explaining Outcomes: Leadership Experience and Saturation as Determinants of Elections on a Comparative Basis
Existing studies of voter behaviour and electoral outcomes highlight the increasing importance of party variables and the significance and preeminence of leadership factors in particular. However, such studies do not identify the specific attributes of leadership that serve to influence voter decisions. This paper presents an examination of one aspect of leadership that may impact election outcomes, namely experience in conducting elections campaigns, and tests various hypotheses in relation to its effect on the success of both major and minor parties in parliamentary systems. Drawing on election results in fifty-two national election campaigns from four countries (United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and Australia) and applying standard regression techniques, it is anticipated that the paper will find that electoral success of both major and minor parties can be partially explained by leadership experience. However, the results will also point to a saturation effect; that leaders reach a zenith in terms of their appeal and then become an electoral liability for their party. These findings suggest that parties may be too quick to replace some initially unsuccessful leaders and retain others that are of declining value to their party's chances at electoral success.

Fontaine, Louise - louise.fontaine@usainteanne.ca
En matière d'immigration et de citoyenneté, comment peut-on penser le Canada avec ou sans le Québec?
Cette communication vise à réfléchir sur la problématique de l'immigration définie au Québec par rapport au reste du Canada. De manière plus spécifique, nous nous proposons de relier des concepts comme: immigration, citoyenneté, langue française, État québécois, communauté nationale, société distincte, etc pour mieux les déconstruire. Pour ce faire, tout d'abord, il s'agira de rappeler les ententes qui ont été signées entre le Gouvernement du Québec et celui d'Ottawa depuis le début des années 1970. Le but visé ici est de mieux saisir de manière succincte comment le Québec a acquis des pouvoirs en matière d'immigration au fil du temps. Par la suite, nous nous attarderons à la politique d'immigration du Québec définie au cours des années 1990. C'est au cours de cette décennie que la politique d'immigration du Québec est associée à la citoyenneté. Que signifie cette notion qui est plus sociologique que juridique dans le cas du Québec? Nous tenterons d'élucider cette question en la reliant à la politique d'immigration du Gouvernement du Canada. Comment ces deux États concurrents gèrent-ils cette question actuellement? Comment cette problématique peut-elle être imaginée autrement c'est-à-dire dans un Canada sans le Québec et dans un Québec sans le Canada? Enfin, nous avancerons quelques scénarios hypothétiques vus du Canada atlantique en mettant surtout en relief le cas de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Qui risque de gagner? Qui risque de perdre si le Canada est un pays reconfiguré? Nous tenterons de mettre en évidence quelques enjeux qui demeurent occultés à ce sujet par divers acteurs au Canada.

Fourot, Aude-Claire - audeclaire.fourot@sciences-po.fr
Une approche comparative en politique canadienne tenant compte de la spécificité du Québec : échelles, enjeux et méthodes
Plusieurs travaux récents se sont intéressés à l'interaction entre la politique comparée et la politique canadienne (White et al. 2008). Les politicologues auraient tendance à délaisser l'analyse traditionnelle de la politique canadienne, c.-à-d. axée sur un seul pays (Montpetit 2008) pour privilégier une approche comparative, une telle perspective étant par ailleurs un gage de citations plus importantes (Montpetit, Blais, Foucault 2008). Ce tournant de la politique canadienne vers la politique comparée a suscité d'importants débats au sein de la communauté scientifique. Certains s'en sont inquiétés, arguant que l'on « doit pouvoir compter sur des spécialistes de la politique canadienne », tandis que d'autres s'en sont réjouis estimant qu'on « ne peut vraiment comprendre son propre système politique sans le comparer à d'autres » (dans Tamburri 2009). Dans les deux cas, force est de constater le peu de place accordée au Québec au sein de ces débats, nous amenant à lancer une discussion sur la politique comparée au Québec. Concrétisée par la réalisation d'un numéro spécial pour Politique et sociétés (Fourot, Holly, Sarrasin, dir. À paraître), cette réflexion collective a traité de la place occupée le Québec au sein de la fédération canadienne grâce à une focale comparative. En partant de ces travaux, l'objectif de cette communication est de plaider pour une approche comparative en politique canadienne qui tienne compte de la spécificité québécoise à partir de trois thématiques principales : les échelles de la comparaison avec le Québec ; les comparaisons Québec-Canada et les manières de comparer au Québec.

Franklin, Jessica - frankljh@mcmaster. ca
Where Do We Fo From Here? The Afro-Brazilian Women's Movement in the Post Durban Context
The 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa was heralded as a significant turning point for the Afro-Brazilian women's movement. After decades of being marginalized by state doctrines and civil society actors, the

conference, and its extensive regional preparatory process provided a critical platform to expose and confront the intersectional forms of discrimination historically faced by this community. However, as the 10 year anniversary approaches, it is clear that many of the recommendations embodied in the Durban's Platform for Action have not been achieved in the Brazilian context. Much of the hope placed in the Lula administration to design and implement policies promoting the achievement of racial and gender equality has been dampened as the majority of federal ministries continue to place the specific needs of black women on the periphery of their agendas. Drawing on Elisabeth Jay Friedman's conceptualization of "transnationalism reversed", this paper will examine how the objectives, strategies, and positioning of the Afro-Brazilian women's movement have shifted in the wake of declining support in the domestic political arena and their mobilization at the transnational level. Particular emphasis will be placed on their lobbies for gender and race-conscious policies, specifically in the arena of reproductive health; their struggles for recognition in Brazilian social movement circles; and their dis/satisfaction with transnational activist alliances. It will also consider the future directions and possibilities for the movement and their capacity to develop novel configurations of feminist and anti-racist politics within the borders of Brazil and beyond.

Freeland, Valerie - valeriefreeland2013@u.northwestern.edu
The Domestic Politics of Self-Referrals: Uganda and the International Criminal Court
Of the four cases currently before the International Criminal Court (ICC), three are self-referrals: that is, they were brought before the Court by the states' ruling regimes. This presents a puzzle, since each of these regimes violates human rights on a regular basis in its domestic activities, and key regime actors could have been indicted by the Court for crimes committed in the regions under scrutiny. Through an examination of Uganda's self-referral, I argue that these regimes approached the Court with the aim of concealing and entrenching patronage practices at home, practices that frequently involve violation of human rights or even war crimes. Moreover, this pattern of using international institutions to enable practices contrary to those institutions' aims is characteristic of peripheral states' international relations. The self-referrals represent attempts by states with patronage-based internal orders to resist the pressures of an international system that presumes bureaucratic, Weberian statehood and rewards or punishes domestic behaviour accordingly. Finally, I suggest that the misidentification of regime actors as non-war criminals risks redefining what it means to comply with human rights norms in a way that erodes the norms' capacity to constrain actors, thus undermining the associated institutions' aims.

Friesen, Elizabeth - oehfries@connect.carleton.ca
Political Economy and the Power of Politics
This paper argues that, because political economy insists on addressing politics as well as economics, political economy based approaches provide an important way into understanding both existing power relations and the potential for effective challenges to existing power relations. In the face of the failure of the dominant paradigm of market fundamentalism, the role of political contestation in determining the rules and practices governing international financial relations has become more visible. Yet, in spite of the financial crisis of 2008 recent attempts to rein in international finance have been marginalized and, as public indignation wanes, exhausted publics are increasingly resigned to leaving these negotiations in the hands of experts. This is in sharp contrast to the transnational campaign for the cancellation of third world debt which orchestrated popular engagement and by 2005 successfully transformed both popular and elite attitudes with respect to debt cancellation. This paper explores the lessons the successes and failures of this campaign might provide for those engaged in the contestation over the rules and practices governing international finance at present. Finally the connections between environmental, social, and financial economic "externalities" are discussed. This paper argues that the common root cause of these negative outcomes lies in the privileging of the decision making logic of the free market mechanism. In conclusion, this paper argues it is misleading to consider economic relations in isolation from the political, the social, and the cultural and that this insight is one of the great strengths of contemporary political economy.

Friesen, Elizabeth - oehfries@connect.carleton.ca
Challenging Global Finance: Lessons from the Transnational Campaign for the Cancellation of Third World Debt
In the period from 1990 leading up to the G8 in 2005, both popular and elite attitudes to the cancellation of third world debt underwent a transformation. By the time the G8 met at Gleneagles in the summer of 2005, third world debt cancellation had become a moral imperative and few dared speak out against it. This paper explores how this transformation came about by exploring the involvement of transnational advocacy networks in the ongoing contest to mobilize public opinion, reframe the issues and thereby define the rules and practices governing finance. These events provide a way into addressing the question of the power of normative ideas in underpinning the rules and practices governing financial relations. Finally, this paper discusses what lessons the successes and failures of this transnational campaign might provide for those who are at present active in the contestation and ongoing efforts to reform the rules and practices governing international finance.

Frisbee, Stephanie J. - sfrisbee@hsc.wvu.edu
Local Tobacco Control Coalitions in the United States and Canada: Contagion Across the Border?
As efforts to enact tobacco control policy have evolved, so have the institutional arrangements supporting and promulgating these efforts. In the United States, the CDC has adopted as its 'best practice' networks of community-based

advocacy coalitions as the platform for prevention and policy advancement efforts. This arrangement, which progressed after the COMMITT, ASSIST, and Smokeless States trials, is implicitly consistent with a bottom-up approach to tobacco policy advocacy and adoption. In the United States, this network of coalitions is funded by both public and private sources. While some research has begun to emerge on the nature and structure of these coalitions, institutional arrangements and the institutionalizations of coalitions nevertheless remain one of the lesser-explored but important dimensions of tobacco control policy in the United States as an influence on state policy and even central policy. Although these local tobacco control coalitions were slower to develop in Canada, Canada did participate in the COMMITT study and funding by the central government since the mid 1990s has enabled their establishment and continuing consultative roles at the provincial and federal levels. The question arises as to the similarities and differences between these coalitions and institutional arrangements between Canada and the United States. This paper examines this question in terms of the funding and organizational characteristics of these institutions, the process through which they attempt to influence tobacco control policy at the provincial and federal levels, and the tobacco-related health outcomes in their jurisdictions. How much have the Canadian organizations borrowed from their counterparts in the U.S., or vice versa, in structure, and have the processes and outcomes been similar? What do the findings tell us about the possibilities of lesson drawing on various levels across borders in dealing with common global health problems?

Frost, Catherine - frostc@mcmaster.ca
Best Practices of Political Community: Can National Identity be a Resource for Minority Inclusion?
National identity can obviously be an obstacle to the inclusion of difference or cultural minorities if it is defined around what Geller would call "entropy-resistant" social markers such as religion, ethnicity and possibly even language. For this reason, most advocates of pluralism assume we must reject claims that involve national identity as harmful. But does this tell the whole story? Does the exclusivist or essentialist reading of national identity exhaust the possibilities for its role in contemporary politics? This paper starts from the premise that we do not need to concede the definition of national identity to those who use it in essentialist ways. Moreover, by refusing to accept this interpretation as the final word on the matter, we may be able to retain important resources for minority inclusion that already function within societies with strong national identity traditions. The experience of minority groups in Ireland are used to illustrate this latter point. Despite having a long tradition of activist and often exclusivist nationalism, minority groups report that they frequently draw on concepts of the national identity to advance their claims, often generating more-or-less conscious debate around national identity in the process. If minorities themselves report being able to coexist with, engage with, draw upon, and in some cases reform, concepts of national identity, is it wise to conclude we can eliminate this element from the political landscape without impacting on the resources these groups have available to them to advance their claims?

Frowd, Philippe M. - frowdpm@mcmaster.ca
SPOT the Terrorist: Body, Affect and Security
In April 2006, the US Transportation Security Administration (TSA) announced the deployment of Screening of Passengers through Observation Techniques (SPOT) at selected US airports. SPOT relies on the detection of behavioural cues linked to potential security threats. This new layer of airport screening is therefore consistent with a larger turn towards risk profiling in aviation security. However, SPOT practices go beyond common understandings of security screening. While some of the most visible forms of airport security focus on screening passengers' effects, SPOT makes passengers' affects – and emotions – key determinants of their level of risk to the aviation system. This paper is a three-pronged critique of SPOT. First, it argues that the program relies on tenuous links between imagined risk profiles and psychological research linking affect, emotions and facial expressions. Second, the paper argues that the TSA's SPOT database, which contains traveller information such as race, clothing and purpose for travel, makes such information storable, transferable and subject to inclusion in risk and behaviour profiles. Third, the paper argues that the TSA's Behaviour Detection Officers' cultural context and training modify and intensify their affective dispositions, which combine with the need for quick decision-making to make the SPOT program particularly pernicious. This paper addresses familiar questions arising in critical approaches to security and surveillance such as the role of futurology, the securitization of the body, and the changing relationship between citizens and law. To these, the paper contributes a sustained and novel attention to the use and abuse of affect in security practices.

Gabel, Chelsea - gabelc@mcmaster.ca
Towards Healthier Aboriginal Health Policies? Navigating the Labyrinth for Answers
Using community-based research, this paper compares two First Nations communities in their experiences with community-controlled health care. I examine the political relationships between Aboriginal communities and government in the development of Canadian Aboriginal health policy. This research explores a number of important questions. How are the concepts of community control and community-government collaboration defined by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal stakeholders in the health policy arena? How is community-controlled health acted out on the ground? Do Aboriginal communities feel empowered or disempowered when they adopt bureaucratic models and collaborative rather than adversarial approaches to government? To what extent do models of Aboriginal self-determination influence the formulation of Aboriginal health policy? This research examines the implementation and evaluation of the federal government's health transfer policy. The goals and objectives of this policy are intended to enhance Aboriginal self-determination in health care by providing First Nations control over the design, delivery, and administration of health

services. Although this policy has been marketed as a mechanism for healing and self-determination, I argue that Aboriginal health policy today is still fundamentally rooted in and informed by Canada's colonialist history with all of its consequent institutions, structures and practices.

Galleguillos, Nibaldo - gallegui@mcmaster.ca
What Reconciliation? Human Rights Take Steps Back in Chile's New Conservative Government
This paper discusses the political significance of a number of changes in the human rights field that have taken place in the first months of the new conservative administration of President Sebastian Pinera (2010-2014). It examines whether these changes (dismantling of a human rights office previously attached to the presidency; refusal by the president to address pending demands from human rights organizations; attempts to pardon military officers; appointments of diplomats and government officials associated with human rights abuses; appointment of a former commander-in-chief of the armed forces as deputy-minister in the Ministry of Defence, etc.) are a reflection of (1) right-wing sectors' attempts to bury once-and-for-all unresolved human rights violations; (2) the dominance these sectors appear to have on an otherwise center-right conservative government; (3) missed opportunities by center-left governments (1990-2000) to have done more to address human rights issues; (4) limits of the 'pacted transition' that characterizes Chile's return to democracy, and (5) continuous influence of the military over the political process, in spite of constitutional amendments that wrested away so-called "authoritarian enclaves". The paper will critically analyze the views of those sectors of Chilean society, such as relatives of the disappeared, victims of torture, and human rights organizations which persistently express doubts about the military's and right-wing sectors' genuine commitment to both atone for the systematic human rights abuses during the dictatorial regime they supported (1973-1990) and for a true national reconciliation.

Gammer, Nicholas - ngammer@shaw.ca
The Afghanistan Task Force and Prime Ministerial Leadership
The Afghanistan conflict is testing the capabilities of Western leaders to react effectively to humanitarian and geo-strategic threats to peace and security. Before the implementation of the Manley Report of 2008 Ottawa's Afghanistan policy was weakened by inter-departmental divisions, policy incoherence, and poor communications with the public. Interviews with Cabinet Ministers, high-level bureaucrats and military officers close to the Afghanistan file suggest that Harper has centralized control over foreign policy in an unprecedented manner by re-configuring the relationship between the political executive and Ottawa's bureaucracies.
The reshaping and centralization of Prime Ministerial-bureaucratic mechanisms in early 2008 was made possible by the creation of the PCO-based Afghanistan Task Force (ATF) which became the institutional spearhead driving policy on Afghanistan. This paper examines how, at the forefront of the ATF, a small elite of highly-skilled and daring public servants, supported by the PM and the Clerk of the PCO, succeeded in re-wiring the lines of authority between the political executive and Ottawa's bureaucracies to achieve an unprecedented level of policy integration and coherence in field operations and in Ottawa.
This paper will conclude by examining the implications this new policy-making approach will have on foreign and public policy. The streamlining of inter-departmental policies on Afghanistan challenge conventional trends in governance and accountability such as those related to the principles of ministerial responsibility. It also leads to questions about the appropriateness of enhancing the centralization of Prime Ministerial authority thought necessary to meet the new threats of intra-state conflict.

Garber, Judith - jgarber@ualberta.ca
Multilevel Governance and Public Policy in Edmonton: A Case Study
In this paper I will analyze how -- and how much -- public policy in Edmonton has in the past decade been affected by federal initiatives regarding cities. In particular, I look at the federal role in shaping Edmonton's policy in the areas of federal property located in the city, infrastructure, image-building, and immigration settlement. The federal role is discussed in the context of various factors, including the provincial influence on the city's policy and the political history and current political climate of Edmonton itself.

Garcea, Joseph - joe.garcea@usask.ca
Reforms to Funding Framework for Primary and Secondary Education in Saskatchewan:An Analysis of the Principles and Political
During the past two decades, in Saskatchewan, as in some of the other provinces, the system of financing the K-12 education system has been a matter of extensive negotiations and tensions between educational authorities and the municipal and provincial governments. After nearly two decades of debating the issue and some minor incremental changes over time, the Saskatchewan provincial government eventually adopted an interim funding formula in its 2009 budget. The provincial government usurped the local property taxing authority that had been vested in Saskatchewan's school boards since the founding of the province. During the past two years the provincial government has been developing a new formula that will likely be announced as part of 2011 provincial budget. This paper will examine the policy options that were proposed and implemented over time and the corresponding political dynamics created by the competing interests and principles of the boards of education, the municipal and provincial governments and other stakeholders (e.g., ratepayers, the teachers unions etc.). Some attention will also be devoted to the administrative values

at the heart of this issue such as local autonomy, tax and educational equity, stable funding, sound taxation, and accountability. As well the paper will provide some comparative insights on the funding frameworks and formulas that have been established in some other provinces in recent years.

Gaspard, Helaina - helaina.gaspard@uottawa.ca
Public Policy Formulation in Minority Nations: A Question of Institutions or Congruence?
At the centre of the principle of federalism lies the assumption of the worth and validity of diversity, which is why federations have proved to be useful in particular states at protecting territorial minorities. However, there can be tension between members of the federation where the central state wishes to increase its control and the minority nation seeks increased self-determination (Guibernau 2007). The quest for decentralization has been associated with the diversity of the modern nation-state with regional actors that have gained relevance as optimal providers of welfare (McEwen and Moreno 2005).   Using the cases of two federations, Canada and Belgium and two distinct areas of social policy, education and old age pensions, this paper will seek to answer the following question: how, when accounting for the constraints and implications of the multinational federal arrangement, can the formulation of social policy in internal nations be explained? This paper will seek to answer this question by evaluating the institutional (Béland and Lecours 2008; 2006; 2005) and congruence (Erk 2008; 2003; 2002) theories on policy development in order to uncover precisely which one can best explain public policy development within minority nations in multinational federal states.

Gaspard, Helaina - helaina.gaspard@uottawa.ca
Language Policy Transition and the Canadian Bureaucracy
The representation of minority groups in a federal bureaucracy can have important implications for the stability and democracy of a country. Shifts in federal language policy have necessitated changes in the bureaucracy's composition and operation. There have been two notable amendments to the 1969 Official Languages Act that have directly impacted the bureaucracy. The first change, in 1973, emphasised the importance of numerical representation of Francophones in the federal bureaucracy. The second amendment in 1988, focused on the individual performance of bureaucrats (following the 1988 amendment to the Official Languages Act, performance is defined here as the ability to work in the official language of one's choosing (Department of Justice 2009)). Should the transition from representation to performance be explained through the institutionalization of bilingualism in Canadian federal institutions (Smith 2002) or through the use of the bureaucracy as a tool to manage internal diversity in the country (Gagnon, Turgeon and DeChamplain 2007; Groeneveld and Van de Walle 2010)? By answering these questions, this paper will seek to determine which framework would be better suited to study the transition of language policy, either: a perspective that understands bilingualism as an embedded institutional fact that requires operational accommodation or a perspective that understands the bureaucracy as a symbolic space that can be used to manage linguistic diversity. The former would evidence a broader and deeper change in federal institutional character, whereas the latter's effects would be limited to the bureaucracy's operation.

Gellatly, Mary - GellatlM@lao.on.ca
"Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

Giasson, Thierry - thierry.giasson@com.ulaval.ca
Les partis politiques provinciaux québécois à l'heure du web 2.0 et des médias sociaux
L'avènement des médias sociaux et des applications diverses du web 2.0 propose de nouvelles façons de communiquer et présente plusieurs potentialités, notamment pour les organisations politiques désireuses d'entretenir des liens avec leurs divers publics. Au Québec, les partis politiques provinciaux commencent peu à peu à investir cette nouvelle sphère médiatique et à considérer les médias sociaux dans leurs stratégies de communication. Tout en étant un moyen d'outrepasser les médias traditionnels pour diffuser de l'information partisanes aux citoyens, ces nouveaux médias permettent également de mobiliser l'électorat et de susciter sa participation en offrant des outils de création et de

collaboration et des espaces d'échanges. Bien qu'ils proposent des moyens d'interagir avec l'électorat et de l'amener à s'engager politiquement, il en revient aux partis politiques de miser sur ces fonctionnalités. La recherche présente les premiers résultats d'une analyse de contenu et de discours d'un échantillon de 56 sites web, pages Facebook et Twitter des cinq principaux partis politiques provinciaux québécois. Elle tente de déterminer si ceux-ci utilisent le web et les médias sociaux de façon à favoriser l'engagement et la participation politique des citoyens. L'analyse pose que, selon la position de pouvoir d'un parti, c'est-à-dire qu'il soit un parti de gouverne ou un parti d'opposition, et selon son orientation idéologique, c'est-à-dire qu'il soit un parti de masse ou un parti d'élite, celui-ci privilégiera une approche marketing ou citoyenne de l'usage des médias sociaux.

Giasson, Thierry - thierry.giasson@com.ulaval.ca
Le Parti Québécois et le marketing de la confiance
La fluctuation du niveau de confiance des citoyens canadiens envers les acteurs et les institutions politiques que révèlent de nombreuses études d'opinion s'exprime entre autres par une montée du désengagement ou de l'indifférence envers le processus électoral. Les partis politiques sont ainsi les premiers concernés par ce désaveu des citoyens. En outre, la théorie du marketing politique pose que la confiance du citoyen envers un parti est un facteur déterminant dans la conclusion de la transaction électorale. Les partis doivent donc élaborer des stratégies permettant d'alimenter et de maintenir la confiance des citoyens en leur offre : leurs idées, leurs projets, leurs leaders. L'exercice de marketing politique devient alors un exercice de marketing de la confiance.
Au Québec, le Parti Québécois (PQ), doit faire la promotion d'un projet politique, la souveraineté du Québec, qui est constamment présenté et décrit par ses opposants comme porteur d'incertitude. Notre recherche tente d'identifier quelles sont les stratégies de communication mises en forme par ce parti afin de contrer ce discours d'incertitude et de relever la place qu'y occupe la notion de confiance. Par le biais d'une série d'entrevues réalisées auprès de stratèges péquistes ayant participé à l'élaboration des campagnes électorales du parti depuis 1995, l'étude permet de cerner les mécanismes tactiques mis en place par le parti souverainiste afin d'établir et de maintenir une relation de confiance avec les électeurs québécois. L'étude permettra de contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur la pratique du marketing politique au Québec et au Canada.

Gibson, Rachael - rachael.gibson@utoronto.ca
International Trade Fairs in the Global Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis of Inter-Firm Interaction Across Capitalist Systems
Much of the recent literature on comparative capitalisms engages in debates concerning the dynamic elements of capitalist varieties (Hall and Thelen 2005; Deeg and Jackson 2007). The need for better explanations of specific empirical episodes of institutional change has led to a substantial body of research on various aspects of globalization, including the rapid internationalization of economic activity, the spread of Multinational Corporations (MNCs), and the nature and consequences of multilevel governance arrangements. Focusing on the type of institutional arrangements that has received the least attention in the comparative capitalisms literature – inter-firm relations – this paper explores the processes by which new technologies, organizational norms and practices, and their associated knowledge bases are transferred between firms and across capitalist varieties in the context of international trade fairs. The paper presents the results from an Internet survey of over 500 firms that had previously attended such events. Based on an original data set that sheds light on the nature of the search and information processes of exhibitors at international trade fairs, the paper provides a dynamic and empirically grounded explanation of the ways in which inter-firm interactions at these events support processes of knowledge creation and transfer, which, in turn lead to distinct national patterns of technological specialization and/or standardization.

Gidengil, Elisabeth - elisabeth.gidengil@mcgill.ca
Quebec Women's Attitudes Toward the Niqab
In 2009 the issue of reasonable accommodation was reignited in Quebec when a young woman refused to comply with her CEGEP instructor's request that she remove her niqab. It was a French language class and the instructor maintained that she needed to see students' faces in order to evaluate their French pronunciation. The young women refused on the grounds that there were men in the room. The Quebec government's response was Projet de loi no 94, a bill introduced in the National Assembly in March 2010 which effectively bans women from wearing the niqab when working in or receiving services from a number of public sector institutions. Using data from the Quebec Women's Political Participation Survey, an original telephone survey that went into the field in June and July of 2010, the paper investigates francophone women's thinking on the issue of the niqab, and attempts to identify the key arguments that lie behind their positions on the issue. More specifically, it examines the role of religion and feminism in shaping women's positions on the issue. What it finds is that Quebec women's thinking on the issue of the niqab is complex and driven by a mix of factors that are not always easily explained.

Giles, Janine Lee - jlgiles@ucalgary.ca
The Structure of Roll-Call Votes at Toronto City Council
This analysis of Toronto City Council roll-call votes between 2006 and 2010 sets out to explain the determinants of councillors' voting behaviour. In examining the personal, ward-level, regional and external factors that shape the

legislative behaviour of the 44 city councillors, the use of factor analysis and linear regression to analyze roll-call data provides a more systematic analysis of their behaviour than the more commonly found journalistic accounts in local newspapers. The Toronto case provides several opportunities for analysis, as data are available to test multiple explanatory factors such as ward-level factors taken from the 2006 census and personal characteristics such as gender, region of Toronto represented, and informal partisan leanings of individual representatives. Furthermore, unlike major cities such as Vancouver and Montreal, no municipal parties have emerged; however, institutional factors such as membership on the Executive Committee will be examined to see if this structures the vote to reflect the preferences of the mayor. Finally, the role of campaign finance will be considered by accounting for the percentage of donations from the developers comprises the total money raised for each candidate.

Godbout, Jean-François - jean-francois.godbout@umontreal.ca
The Influence of Party Discipline on Electoral Outcomes.
It has been suggested by many scholars (e. g. Franks 1987) that Members of Parliament pay an electoral price for supporting their party unconditionally. Indeed, the high level of turnover in the Canadian House has often been linked to party discipline and the difficulties faced by elected members who fail to represent the interests of their constituency in Parliament (e.g. Docherty 1997). The following paper proposes to validate these claims by estimating the electoral costs of party discipline on incumbent vote share. We focus on the legislative behaviour of elected members of the Canadian House of Commons between 1993 and 2008. We use information about voting behavior, legislative career length, constituency type, political experience, ministerial appointments and electoral volatility, to develop a model of incumbency removal in order to measure the influence of party discipline on election results. Preliminary results suggest that partisan loyalty can reduce an incumbent's vote share, especially when members represent competitive electoral districts.

Godbout, Jean-François - jean-francois.godbout@umontreal.ca
The Probability of Pivotal Vote in Multi-Candidate Plurality Elections
This study is the first attempt to estimate the empirical probability of casting a pivotal vote in a Canadian federal election. The paper begins by reviewing the theory of pivotal voting in a two-candidate election, before extending the model to a multi-candidate race using the multinomial distribution function. We then examine the properties of this n-candidate pivotal vote probability function in order to draw some empirical predictions. Alternative models are briefly considered, such as Myerson's Poisson games pivotal vote probability calculations, Jerome Black's study relying on barycentric coordinates, and a novel multivariate Polya distribution model that can cope with voter interdependence. The empirical section relies on a data set comprising all Canadian election results between 1867 and 2009, with more than 10,000 observations. We use those data to examine the empirical distribution of the vote. We also use a probit model to empirically estimate the conditional probability of casting a pivotal vote in an election. Our model controls for the effects of the number of candidates, the number of voters, and riding electoral history. Since the act of voting is the main channel through which individuals can participate in democracy, the fact that this channel has virtually no consequence on the outcome of an election represents a puzzle for political scientists. The main contribution of this study is therefore to bring forth the first complete assessment of the probabilities of pivotal votes in multi-candidate/plurality elections.

Goodman, Nicole J. - ngoodman@connect.carleton.ca
An Assessment of Internet Voting in Canada: Evidence from the Town of Markham
In the past decade Internet voting has been used in hundreds of binding elections at multiple levels of government throughout the world. Though many European jurisdictions have established well-developed online voting models Canada is quickly emerging as an important research case. To date, there have been more instances of remote Internet voting in local Canadian elections than any other country - about 1.8 million Canadian electors have had the option of voting remotely online in over 80 municipal elections. This paper analyzes the effects of online ballots by examining the Town of Markham as a case study. Using survey data from the 2003, 2006, and 2010 Markham municipal elections and a 2010 survey of candidates the paper considers which electors are using Internet voting, whether it has developed a faithful following, is encouraging the participation of reported non-voters, its potential to positively impact voting turnout and assesses the implications for candidates. Finally, drawing upon data from the Canadian Election Study, Elections Canada and a recent special national survey it discusses whether there is a climate for Internet voting nationally in Canada.

Goncalves, Marcela Vecchione - goncalmv@univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca
Political Edges in a Racial Democracy: Indigenous Peoples, Expansion of Economic Frontiers and Limited Citizenship at Brazilian Borders
There are two facts about Brazil political scientists interested in the country frames quite often, albeit not promoting any interplay between them. One is that it is a racial democracy through which supposedly racial tensions were diluted in an open, intercultural democratic system. The other is the country is becoming an economic power, reducing poverty and bridging gaps where inclusive public policies were not outreaching. If we look at Indigenous Peoples at the borders, the interplay between these two factors becomes clear by the limited inclusion the economic expansion promotes to those not fitting into the diluted racial tensions allegedly decreased by the advent of citizenship rights. Especially when Indigenous peoples sit at the borders of a country committed to use its territory for developmental practices, the limits citizenship imposes on mobility and cultural dialogue are evident with cultural and political difference ending up being allowed as long

as it means no political mobilisation in traditional territories. The apparent natural conversation and coexistence present in the racial democracy is defied by the developmental state. In this sense, this paper aims at looking in how the contemporary nation rebuilding in Brazil through the developmental discourse is taming Indigenous peoples and their political practices, especially at the Amazon borders. The objective is to expose the limits of the so called racial democracy as well as of citizenship

Good, Kristin - Kristin.Good@Dal.Ca
The Politics and Governance of Immigrant Attraction and Retention in Halifax and Moncton: Do Linguistic Divisions Impede Cooperation?
Canadian immigration policy is dominated by positive discourses that stress the economic benefits of immigration as well as immigration as a solution to demographic decline. Nevertheless, most immigrants to Canada settle in the country's three largest cities – Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (MTV). Recently, a new immigration policy discourse emerged at the federal level and in many jurisdictions (provincial and municipal) outside these three cities that stresses the need to disperse the perceived economic and demographic benefits of immigration across the country. Local leaders in civil society in cities outside MTV have been mobilizing to develop strategies to compete to attract and retain a greater share of Canada's immigrants. These initiatives might be seen as part of a broader global trend of economic and political "rescaling". The paper presents the findings of a comparative study of the politics and governance of immigration in two similar cases outside of MTV – Halifax, Nova Scotia and Moncton, New Brunswick. The paper addresses two questions. First, it asks whether municipal policies and initiatives related to the immigration policy field as well as governance arrangements have emerged in the two cities and 'why'? Second, it asks whether a city's ethno-linguistic configuration matters to the local politics and governance of immigrant attraction and retention. It positions its analysis in what might broadly be called the political economy urban governance literature. Building upon the limited literature, the paper draws upon the following primary data sources: government documents, a variety of community reports and media sources, as well as more than fifty semi-structured elite interviews with municipal officials and a variety of leaders in civil society.

Goodfield, Eric - egoodfield@hotmail.com
Dual Devotions: Modernity and Destiny in Ali Shariati's Political Thought
Ali Shariati's writings seem to stand astride core Western as well as Islamic political discourses. On the one hand, he is the disciple of Heidegger through Sartre's and Fanon's influences on his notion of a self-creating and autonomous "new man". In the context of a revolutionary discarding of the colonial "veil", he is also the political descendant of Hegel through Marx; the negation of the master's domination is the slaves' creative auto-emancipation. At the core of both these perspectives, the Hegelian and the Heidegarrian, is a deeply humanist ontology; one which asserts the priorities of real political agency and will to freedom. Yet, and at the very same moment, an alterity and ambivalence resides within Shariati's work that seems to confront his commitment to the priority of human needs and ends. Shariati's brand of "red Shiism" endorsed resistance and revolt against the spiritual corruption of Western bourgeois influences –a colonialism of the body as well as soul- in order to bring about an end of history that would reveal the Hidden Imam and bring about an Islamic golden age. From this point of view, theological and historical teleology seems to direct his ideas of human political action and purpose and to subordinate them to a larger, providential plan. Considered comparatively against this background of diverse intellectual influences on Shariati's work, this talk will investigate his seemingly simultaneous and tense allegiances to humanistic and theological notions of historical and political agency and attempt to consider which holds priority in his thought. In so doing, this paper follows up on Roxanne Euben's work and looks to Shariati in order to raise questions regarding the secular and anti-foundationalist boundaries of contemporary social and political thought; can they be reconciled to the variety of foundationalist political practices and beliefs resurgent in the contemporary world?

Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth - egg@queensu.ca
Women in Politics in Newfoundland and Labrador
Canada's easternmost province shares much in common with other jurisdictions in the country and across the world on the issue of women's status in formal politics: the higher, the fewer and the more competitive, the fewer (Bashevkin 1993). This paper examines women in elite-level politics in the province, relying on comparative literature from other Canadian jurisdictions, the US, and elsewhere in order to understand the trends in NL over roughly the past decade. Women are under-represented in the NL legislature and in Cabinet, and this has been the case over the decade, with relatively little change. Recently, women's share of Cabinet positions has reached the so-called "critical mass" threshold. The implications of this will be discussed in the paper, for a critical mass in terms of numbers is typically thought to provide the mechanism or enabling condition for greater substantive representation of women's policy interests. This is not a paper about policy outcomes; rather, the paper will examine whether women are well-positioned in Cabinet to act for women if they are so inclined. Finally, the paper will examine the rise of two female party leaders in the province – Yvonne Jones (Liberal) and Lorraine Michael (NDP) – and their influence within the provincial political system. Overall, the paper provides a survey of women's political representation in the province, and seeks to situate the NL case within a broader framework focussed on general trends prominent in the Canadian and comparative literatures.

Gordon, David - david.gordon@utoronto.ca

Intergovernmental Relations and Allocation of the Cost of Climate Change Policy in Federated States: Comparing Success in Australia with Failure in Canada

Climate change is a complex problem requiring coordinated action across jurisdictional and sectoral boundaries. In the case of federated systems such as Canada and Australia, the existence of sub-federal governments motivated to protect their own economic interests makes policy co-ordination much more complex. Provinces with higher per capita emissions than others, such as Alberta, face higher reduction costs and are, understandably, motivated to block national, coordinated, policy making. To date, Canadian efforts to negotiate cost sharing and to coordinate federal and provincial policies have failed. Federal and provincial governments act unilaterally and there is no coherent national policy, making it impossible for Canada to achieve its international commitments. In Australia, on the other hand, the Commonwealth and the States successfully negotiated the Carbon Pricing Reduction Scheme, a national policy that allocated costs amongst both jurisdictions and sectors. The plan was defeated in the Australian Senate for partisan reasons but nevertheless is an example of successful intergovernmental coordination. Our purpose in this paper is to compare the Canadian and Australian cases and in particular the institutional context of intergovernmental relations in each. We ask: "To what extent does institutional context explain success and failure?" Drawing from the literature on federalism, intergovernmental relations, and multilevel governance, and taking into account other factors explaining the different outcomes, we hope to identify possible lessons that could be applied to the reform of Canadian intergovernmental relations. The analysis will be of value to scholars of federalism and to climate-change policy makers.

Grace, Joan - j.grace@uwinnipeg.ca
Gender and Intergovernmental Relations: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations

A vast body of literature analysing intergovernmental relations has highlighted significant features of the form and function of Canadian federalism. What has been less studied are the gender dimensions of federal- provincial relations and how this specific feature of both federalism and state architecture have shaped the political opportunity structure and women's policy advocacy. This paper proposes to add to a building literature which has contributed an important gender critique of federalism by appling a feminist-institutional theoretical framework, through a qualitative methodolgical approach to policial analysis. I intend to argue that intergovernmental realtions must be analysed through critical perspectives, that which is offered by feminist-institutionalism, in order to address the continuing democratic deficit in Canada in relation to the challenge of shifting the political agenda to address women's policy demands.

Graefe, Peter - graefep@mcmaster.ca
Canada's Two Federalisms

For a half-century, Quebec scholars have argued that Canada is undergoing a process of defederalization, as the use of the federal spending power serves to undermine central federal principles. These provocative claims have rarely been engaged by the English Canadian federalism literature, so much as relegated to "for a Quebec viewpoint see" footnotes. Where this argument has been taken more seriously, the response has been largely empirical, as in the production of league tables showing that Canada is among the more decentralized federations (Watts 1998). While this illustrates the continued relevance of the provinces, it does not distinguish decentralization from the federal principle of non-centralization (Osaghae 1990).

This paper accepts the Quebec critique of Canadian federalism, yet recognizes that empirical studies such as Lazar's and Watts' indicate that the defederalization of Canada has not resulted in a significant move towards unitarism. The opposed views on this question instead reflect different understandings of federalism, which can be unpacked using Hueglin's (2000, 2003) ideal-typical distinction of constitutional and treaty federalism. Building on Rocher's (2006) analysis of how both the Quebec and English Canadian academic communities refuse the federal ideal, the paper argues that the Quebec critique is camped squarely in an understanding of federalism consistent with the "constitutional federalism" category, whilst the recent practice of Canadian intergovernmental relations appears moves from "constitutional federalism" to something more consonant with "treaty federalism."

Grant, J. Andrew - andrew.grant@queensu.ca
Participatory Governance and Indigenous Peoples: A Neoinstitutional Understanding of Policy Changes in Ontario's Mining Sector

Governments have often viewed Indigenous peoples as obstacles to the development of mining sectors. For their part, Indigenous peoples have criticized governments for excluding them from decisions that impact their communities. The result has been protests, arrests, and violence. The paper addresses this political impasse by examining the mining sector in Ontario. Specifically, it focuses on recent changes to the Mining Act that aim to establish a participatory governance regime by making Indigenous peoples partners in the regulation of the mining sector. These governance shifts and policy changes are significant insofar as they represent the Ontario government's latest attempt to facilitate the reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests in this sector. The study draws on in-person interviews conducted in 2010 with members of the mining sector's six institutional stakeholder groups: Aboriginal communities and associations; local community representatives; employees of mining firms; employees of mining support sectors such as prospectors; investors and investment firms; and government officials. It assesses the extent to which stakeholders' interests and ideas shaped the content of the changes to the Mining Act. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of

participatory governance that includes Indigenous peoples as well as the broader theoretical insights for neoinstitutional approaches to understanding policy change.

Grant, John Arthur - jgrant2@brocku.ca
Canada's Republican Invention? The Political Ideology of Citizens' Assemblies
This article assesses the new democratic practice of citizens' assemblies (CAs) from the standpoint of political ideology, in particular liberalism and republicanism. I argue that in respect to the shared categories of liberty, citizenship, and democratic representation, CAs are primarily republican in character. More specifically, I try to show that aspects of positive liberty can be identified in the work of liberals (Isaiah Berlin) and republicans (Quentin Skinner) who otherwise disavow this tradition. I explain how positive liberty is intrinsic to CAs, as well as how CAs are radically non-representative bodies that work to formulate a public will rather than to represent an already existing one. My main finding is potentially muted by those who think that there is little to distinguish republican theory from liberalism, in part because the latter can absorb so much of what is supposedly distinctive about republicanism. The thesis concerning CAs depends on - and supports – a reconsideration of these ideologies that maps out a distinctive republican terrain while also establishing a new appreciation of their shared territory. The conclusions suggest that the CA model is a significant development for republicanism which has lacked institutional innovations to accompany its ongoing revival in political theory.

Grant, John - grantkj@univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca
The Efficacy of the Public Sector in Water and Wastewater Delivery: An Analysis of Four Canadian Municipalities
The debate over the most appropriate mechanism for the delivery of public services, especially delivery of water, continues unabated. Two schools of thought have developed, which now define the parameters of this often-contentious issue. The first school of thought, made up of mostly pro-market advocates believes that the public sector is not up to the task of water service delivery. The second school of thought consists primarily of pro-state supporters, and contends that the private sector is not the best mechanism or vehicle for service delivery, especially when it comes to water. Determining which school of thought has the greatest merit has not been an easy undertaking. In order to better understand the specifics of the debate, we will examine the public sector's involvement in the delivery of water and wastewater services in three municipalities in Ontario (York, Ottawa, and Hamilton), and the City of Winnipeg. The York and Ottawa cases are interesting because the municipalities have traditionally been responsible for service delivery. Hamilton has experimented over the past two decades with both mechanisms of service delivery. Since 2009, Winnipeg has been contemplating turning over its water and wastewater delivery to the private sector, and while this has yet to occur, it is negotiating with a private firm to provide advice and services to upgrade wastewater treatment facilities. Why have some municipalities eschewed experimentation with private-sector delivery, while others have not. We believe that examining these cases will help us contribute significantly to the debate surrounding service delivery in Canada.

Gravelle, Timothy B. - tim_gravelle@gallup.com
Mutual Perceptions of the Canadian and American Publics
The study of attitudes toward the United States has a long lineage in research on Canadian public opinion, though comparatively less research exists on American public opinion toward Canada. Further, most analyses in this area either neglect or measure only crudely proximity to (or conversely distance from) the other country, and thus do not adequately capture the effect of spatial proximity on attitudes toward the other country. This paper draws on data from the Canadian Election Study (1997-2008) and the Gallup Poll (2001-2010) in investigating Canadian public opinion toward the United States and American public opinion toward Canada. Substantively, the focus of the paper is on the roles of political party identification and political ideology (on one hand) and spatial proximity to the Canada-U.S. border (on the other) in shaping attitudes toward the other country. Methodologically, the innovation of this paper is the application of geocoding tools to existing public opinion datasets, thereby allowing for the calculation of proximity to the Canada-US border to be performed.

Greaves, Wilfrid - w.greaves@utoronto.ca
Mind the Gap: Technology, Resources, and Human Security in Atlantic Canada
        Practices of global capitalism, particularly extractive resource industries, are founded upon a belief in technological progress and humanity's ability to overcome the social and ecological 'externalities' that arise from its economic activities. This perspective is clearly enunciated by neoliberal 'economic optimists' who perceive human potential as virtually boundless and strongly reject claims of cognitive, material, or ecological limits upon human capacities for problem solving. This belief in progress and the 'technological fix' is one of the cornerstones of contemporary 'neoliberal market civilization', and provides a legitimating framework for widespread resource extraction in challenging, dangerous, or ecologically fragile circumstances.
        This paper critically interrogates the conceptions of progress and technology situated at the core of neoliberal market civilization. It draws upon critical international relations theory to suggest that rather than generalized technological progress, modern industries have a greater capacity to extract natural resources than to mitigate the negative social and ecological outcomes generated by the extractive activities. This gap between extractive and restorative technological capacity is manifest at both the local and systemic levels of the global economy, with the gap

particularly observable in the negative human security outcomes that arise when technological 'safeguards' fail and extractive activities cause ecological damage that affects the security of affected human communities. The processes and ideational underpinnings of contemporary global capitalism are thus centrally implicated at the juncture of many instances of environmental and human insecurity in the contemporary world. This claim is examined using the cases of the collapse of the Atlantic Canadian fishery in the early-1990s.

Green, Joyce - joyce.green@uregina.ca
Of Bullies and Cowards: Canada's Contemporary Avoidance of Indigenous Human Rights
The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP) is the gold standard for international and domestic protection of Indigenous human rights. Yet, Canada remains the lone UN member to not adopt and implement the DRIP. In this paper, I explore the nature of indigenous human rights, the Canadian context for Aboriginal human rights, and the implications of the DRIP for state compliance with international law, for domestic policies. I draw on the work of Richard Falk, S. James Anaya and Sakej Henderson with respect to international law; on the work of John Borrows, James Tully, Raiaiake Alfred, Ravi de Costa and Glen Coulthard with respect to Canada's practices and indigenous positions; and on the work of Rita Dhamoon, Renisa Mawani, Sherene Razack, Constance Backhouse and Carol Schick with respect to the critical race approach helpful in excavating the legal, political and cultural assumptions of the Canadian state. With these tools I consider Canada's contemporary record, and the implications of state non-compliance with the DRIP for Canada's own constitutional integrity and for its social cohesion.

Greene, Ian - igreene@yorku.ca
The Khadr case and Charter remedies
Omar Khadr was a15-year-old Canadian child soldier fighting for Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan in 2002. He was captured by U.S. forces, accused of killing a U.S. soldier, and was transferred to the U.S. detention centre in Guantanamo Bay. At Guantanamo Bay, he was repeatedly tortured, and after one period of torture was questioned by representatives of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and the R.C.M.P. In early 2010 the Supreme Court of Canada unanimously found that Khadr's Charter rights had been violated, but they left it up to the Canadian government to determine an appropriate remedy. The government – rather than requesting Khadr's return to Canada to be dealt with under Canadian law – requested the U.S. authorities not to use the evidence from Canadian the public servants. The request was refused. Next, Khadr brought an application to the Federal Court for the Canadian government to implement another remedy that would meet Charter requirements. The Federal Court accepted Khadr's application, and ordered the government to provide a list of possible remedies. Rather than complying with the order, the government appealed to the Supreme Court. As of the time of writing, the Appeal had not been heard, but it may well be decided by the time of the CPSA Meeting. The paper will argue that the Supreme Court's January, 2010 decision in Khadr has broadened the scope of remedies that courts may provide under S. 24(1) of the Charter, even though Khadr get the remedy he had hoped for. The continued litigation in the fall of 2010 opens new prospects to further broaden available Charter remedies.

Greene, Jonathan - jgreene@trentu.ca
Managing Crisis, Managing Dissent: State Strategies, Homelessness, and Collective Action
This paper is a comparative analysis of collective action in London, England and Toronto, Canada, two global "homeless hotspots" in the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing upon elements of strain/breakdown and political process theories, I trace a social movement trajectory that explains why, despite seemingly similar political, economic, and social circumstances, a sustained movement of disruptive collective action developed in Toronto in this period, but not in London. I argue that the manner in which the state manages homelessness has demonstrable effects on the visibility and urgency of social grievances and, in doing so, has an effect on the emergence of collective action. In London the state managed the crisis of homelessness effectively by attacking its most visible manifestations, if not its root problems. In Toronto, the government's persistent refusal to take any such action heightened the sense of urgency that I argue is central to mobilization.

Grenier, Felix - fgren027@uottawa.ca
Dialogism, Pragmatism, Pluralism: The "Dialogic Turn" in IR Theory
The recent TRIP reports indicate that the "dialogical turn" identified by Lapid (2003) is probably the next step in the evolution of the discipline. But it is not clear what this turn is about and names to designate it flourish: authors of IR alternatively called such an approach pluralism, ecumenism, amalgam, eclecticism, pragmatism, multiperspectivism, dialogue, integration, synthesis etc. Between and inside these various tendencies, numerous convergences as well as oppositions can be found.
Trying to go beyond the tendency to fight for legitimate appropriation of labels, this paper will focus not on what dialogic internationalists claim they are, i.e. "pluralists", "prone to dialogue" or "pragmatists", but on what they actually stand for in regards to the relations that exist, could exist or should exist, between theories or theoretical approaches in IR.
Therefore, following Bernstein for whom pluralism is open to many interpretations (1997, 396), this paper will first attempt to draw a typology of pluralist and dialogic approaches in IR. Then, it will focus on the status of the "dialogical turn" in the discipline, in the context of weariness for the long-lasting debate that opposes positivism and post-positivism. It will

attempt to clarify what the dialogical turn is and what is innovative in it. Finally, new disciplinary dichotomies will be underlined, which we think have the potential to become a new focal point for disciplinary debates.

Grisdale, Mackenzie - mngrisdale@gmail.com
Heckling in the House of Commons
Visitors and commentators on the House of Commons have long remarked on the prevalence of heckling in the Chamber. But we know little about the consequences or benefits of this behaviour. The presentation will outline key results of a survey completed by MPs near the end of the 40th Parliament. The survey addressed perceptions of heckling in the House of Commons as well as the impact MPs believe heckling has on their work and workplace.

Grondin, David - dgrondin@uottawa.ca
Robots and Drones to Secure Life: Biosecurity as Way of (Optimized) Life
A dialogue between technology and life asks for a conceptual move from the technological alteration of life to its optimization as techno-vitality of life. This paper seeks to problematize the use of robotics on the battlefield through one Pentagon's DARPA-funded project – the Trauma Pod program (robotized tactical biomedical interventions on the battlefield) – and the use of drones as part of the administration of biosecurity as way of an optimized life. Whereas these robotic material objects are both used to save lives, one (the drone) may end up taking lives (killing) while it saves lives only insofar as it is unmanned. Following Nikolas Rose and Paul Rabinow, we argue that the bipolar technology of biopower, centered simultaneously on the individual and the population and which Foucault identified as the anatomo- and biopolitics, operates as a politics of security in the robotization of war. In seeking to explore when and how an object does become, or cease being an object of security through a focus on robots used in war contexts as artifacts of security, this paper reflects on governmental modes that render both life as the object of security – the biosecurity – and enact other material mundane artifacts as security practices.

Gross, Andrew - andrew.gross@utoronto.ca
On the Political Implications of Death in Ancient Greek Epic and Tragedy: A Comparison of Homer's ILIAD and Sophocles' AJAX
In this paper I will examine respective accounts by Homer and Sophocles of heroic striving, mortality, and of human dependence on one's close attachments as well as the political community. First, in the ILIAD, Achilles desires to become immortal through deeds, by excelling as a warrior. This desire leads to dangerous consequences for his political allies and dear friends. When he finally realizes that his desire has been thwarted, Achilles turns from action to thought and words, that is, to the recognition of his mortality, his dependence on others, and the need to share this recognition with others. The general movement of Homer's epic is captured well in its closing image - the burial of Achilles' enemy, Hector – which lays to rest the long account of brutal deeds with the civilized act of public mourning. Second, Sophocles' AJAX spells out the broad implications of the ILIAD by marking the replacement of the warrior ethic. That is, the tragedy signals the turn from heroic striving for an impossible self-sufficiency, and the dangers to oneself and the larger community that result, to an ethic of political community, flexibility and compromise, which finds its deepest roots in the character Odysseus's thoughtful awareness of his own mortality. The comparison will present findings unnoticed elsewhere in the scholarly literature. The paper will show an ancient perspective that provides important alternatives to those of modern and contemporary political thought, and the proposed topic bears important implications for a wide range of ever-present political concerns and debates.

Grundy, John - grundy@yorku.ca
"Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

Grundy, John - grundy@yorku.ca

Employment Service Delivery and the Politics of Performance Measurement: The Case of HRDC's Results-Based Accountability Framework

Active labour market policy is now widely implemented across Anglo-European welfare states. While this development is amply studied at the level of formal policy change, the ways in which governments pursue and embed 'activation' through specific administrative reforms to employment service delivery has received less attention. This paper therefore probes the link between formal labour market policy change and administrative reform to federal employment service delivery, using critical policy developments in Canada during the mid-nineties as a case study. Alongside sweeping reform to Employment Insurance (EI), the federal government imposed a performance measurement (PM) system rendering federally-funded employment service providers accountable for the number of individuals returned to work and the amount of unpaid EI benefits that resulted from service interventions. Drawing on administrative records and interviews with HRDC staff, the paper demonstrates how this PM system gave rise to a range of dilemmas and tensions. It examines how PM imposed new pressures on service providers to privilege short-term, rapid re-employment service strategies that were uneasily reconciled with both the legislative entitlements of service users and the longstanding norm that service providers strive to meet individual and community need. The paper also traces deepening contestation between staff, administrators and policy stakeholders over the narrow measures of organizational activity embedded in the PM system and over the meaning and validity of the performance data it generated. The paper concludes by suggesting that addressing questions of policy administration can enrich our understanding of the contradictions and instabilities of neoliberal social policy reform.

Guzina, Dejan - dguzina@wlu.ca
Engaged Citizenship? The Role of Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina

In post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina various civil society organizations have increasingly started to play a role in the post conflict reconstruction projects. While the literature seems to agree on the need for stronger forms of citizen engagement in divided societies, it remains unclear how successfully engaged citizens actually are through the newly emerged civil society. The external funding of many organizations leads to a lack of reporting of unsuccessful initiatives, as well as, to the questionable involvement of external actors in local political space. This has led to the emergence of a new type of the "social" elite. These are representatives of various externally funded NGOs, rather than ethnic entrepreneurs. They are able to navigate the international non-governmental world and to regularly attract funding for their local NGOs despite little evidence of the validity of their projects. In turn this means that those who do not have the (language) skills or training necessary to communicate with the international representatives are being left outside and treated as passive members of civil society. However, Pickering in her research, but also Bougarel, Helms and Dujzings in their work on the emerging new Bosnian mosaic, uncover a whole range of activities at the local level that are not a part of the internationally supported civil society projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The purpose of this paper is to focus on this gray area of civil society in Bosnia and the extent to which civil society organizations themselves are able to engage citizens across ethnic divides as a prerequisite for a healthy multiethnic society.

Guzina, Dejan - dguzina@wlu.ca
Transcending Divisions? Transitional Justice through the Lenses of Institutional and Electoral Engineering in Bosnia and Macedonia

The transformation of conflict is considered to be central to the process of state-building in war-torn and conflict-prone societies. In this regard, particular attention is being paid to the mechanisms of transitional justice (trials, truth commissions, apologies…). The argument goes that these practices are instrumental to restoring justice and bringing closure to all affected by the crimes committed in the name of one group against the other. I argue in my paper that these hopes are not warranted for the very reason that they are either undermined by the externally imposed political system in transitional societies, or simply arrested by the political agendas of local ethnic entrepreneurs. Using the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia, I'll explore their respective political systems in relation to the very principles of restorative justice. The purpose of this paper is to provide a more balanced perspective to the study of dilemmas of state building in Bosnia and Macedonia by linking two strands of the literature that usually do not talk to each other: restorative justice and power sharing literature. Ultimately, the paper deals with several questions: first, what type of power sharing has been tried in Bosnia and Macedonia; second, whether certain institutional and electoral arrangements have been proved more successful in mitigating the conflict than the others; third, is power dividing approach, as developed by Philip G. Roeder and others in their recent book on sustainable peace, an important alternative to power-sharing and more in line what the principles of restorative justice. Finally, if this is so, what are the chances of dividing societies accepting this approach rather than power sharing that currently seems to be the most (trusted) and tried approach within the repertoire of ethnic conflict management

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Innovation in Canadian Governments: Reflecting on the Innovation Award of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada

Following the American example,the Canadian Institute of Public Administration has developed in 1990 an award for innovation in Canadian governments. Such awards have been considered important to aknowledge that public organisations are not the bureaucratic nightmares some politicians too often have described in order to win populist votes.

But what organisations apply to these awards, when, what type of innovation are built, etc? We have developed a data base of all the applications to this award since 1990. This paper offers an interpretation of these 1750 cases that offer an interesting perspective on innovation in the parliamentary system.

Haince, Marie-Claude - mchaince@yorku.ca
"Upstream" Borders: An Ethnographic Approach to Control and Management of Immigration in Canada
While states are struggling to control the movement of individuals arriving at their gates, they are, at the same time, locating their immigration controls in the countries of origin as a strategic means to "prevent" the departure of "unwanted" immigrants. Over the last few years, many changes have been introduced in Canada that seek to curb "unwanted" immigrants. This has resulted in the reinforcement of legislative measures and administrative procedures that complicate and disturb migration. Accordingly, the Canadian government has not only initiated a series of measures designed to police the borders and restrict access to Canada, but, more significantly, the control of migrants is increasingly carried out in countries of origin through embassies. This paper offers an ethnographic examination of the selection process of immigrants from within the category of "skilled workers." It focuses on procedures of exclusion/inclusion during the selection process and their underlying effects on immigrants who are subjected to this process. The ethnographic data sheds light on the strategies and daily practices that take shape within immigration institutions highlighting, on the one hand, the micropolitics at work, and on the other, the effects these produce on immigrants – processes of desubjectivation/resubjectivation, negation of personal life history, reduction to a simple preestablished category, etc. This understanding of the implementation of migratory control in turn reveals how the "subject-immigrant" is constructed in Canada.

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Iran's Foreign policy in Afghanistan: The Current Situation and Future Prospects
The overthrow of Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001 by the United States eliminated one of the most important threats Iran faced since the revolution of 1979. This article seeks to survey Iran's policy in post-Taliban Afghanistan in order to evaluate the feasibility of cooperation between Iran and the Western countries, particularly the United States. Our main question is that: what does Iran want in Afghanistan and what are the prospects of Iran's cooperation with the Western countries there? To answer this question, we first survey briefly Iran's policy in Afghanistan from 1979 to 2001. Then Iran's policy since the removal of Taliban from power will be discussed in the second section. In the third section, we will speculate on the possibility of future cooperation between Iran and the Western countries. Our main argument is that since Iran mainly seeks a regional solution for the current chaos in Afghanistan including its own role in state/nation-building there, the prospect for cooperation with the Western countries is not very bright.

Hall, Derek - dehall@wlu.ca
National Responses to Global Ecolabels: The Marine Stewardship Council and Marine Eco-Label Japan
The spread of global ecolabeling schemes like the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) has prompted actors in many countries to create competing national ecolabels. In this paper, I analyze two key aspects of an important example of this dynamic: the 2007 formation of Marine Eco-Label Japan, a capture fisheries ecolabel. First, while MEL-Japan's creators have promoted it in national(ist) terms by criticizing the MSC and arguing that the unique characteristics of Japanese fisheries require specific standards and processes, they also appeal to global sources of authority (such as the Food and Agriculture Association's fisheries ecolabeling guidelines), and are indigenizing a global form of regulation (environmental certification to a set of standards). Second, while MEL-Japan looks at first glance like an example of "private" or non-state governance, many of the groups that created it in fact straddle the public-private divide in ways that are specific to the Japanese political economy. This case thus shows the simultaneous mobilization in the ecolabeling sphere of appeals to national and global sources of authority, and demonstrates that drawing a line between "public" and "private" forms of regulation can be difficult if not impossible.

Hamilton, Paul - Paul.Hamilton@Brocku.ca
The Strength of Perceived Vulnerability: The Persistence of Cultural Insecurity in Quebec
This paper sees the persistence of cultural insecurity as the root cause of the inability of politicians and institutions to fully integrate Quebec within the Canadian federation. As a 'small people' (Abulof 2009) the powerful fear of cultural submergence makes almost any political settlement short of secession inadequate to satisfy a substantial portion of the Quebec electorate. Polling data shows that Quebeckers are feeling much more vulnerable as a minority than other communities in Canada.
The sources of cultural insecurity are local and global. Cultural globalization has a distinctively English quality and this is salient in light of Quebec's exposure to globalization via pop culture and technology. Locally, immigrants and minority communities are viewed as threats evident in the responses to the Bouchard Taylor Commission of 2008 and the Herouxville 'Declaration' of 2007. Quebec is more homogeneous, ethnically self-conscious, and anxious about newcomers than Canada as a whole.
There are many rational arguments put forward by Quebecois nationalists for secession, but ultimately all of these are deployed to resolve the ongoing craving for recognition and political independence. A kind of dialogue of the deaf about the origins of the Canadian state has emerged and this has further impeded mutual understanding and progress. Using

numerous examples of failed overtures to Quebec, the paper concludes that the powerful collective psychology of vulnerability is the core problem for policy makers.

Hanniman, Kyle - hanniman@wisc.edu
Fiscal Federalism, Financial Crisis and Subnational Borrowing Costs: Canadian Provinces in Comparative Perspective
The recent financial crisis has put enormous strain on provincial budgets, forcing provinces to borrow heavily in order to sustain their extensive spending commitments. Existing work on fiscal federalism suggests that provinces will pay a hefty cost for their increased borrowing needs. Unlike German states and other subnationals which depend heavily on national transfers and/or shared revenues, fiscally distressed provinces cannot depend on a national bailout guarantee. This makes provincial credit ratings and borrowing costs highly sensitive to rising deficits, debt burdens and other proxies of default risk. Yet since the onset of the crisis, provincial credit spreads and ratings have performed comparatively well, despite provinces' deteriorating fiscal performance. Why? The answer is that markets do, in fact, believe in a federal bailout guarantee. Investors and rating agencies do not infer the probability of bailouts from the level of revenue raising authority alone. National fiscal performance and recent measures to improve fiscal federal relations are also considerations. What is more, bailout commitments are not the only aspect of fiscal federal institutions that affect default risk. The match between and ability to adjust provincial revenues and expenditures are also important. These considerations go a long way in explaining provinces' favourable borrowing conditions since the crisis and variation in subnational borrowing conditions more generally. I back these claims with statistical analysis of provincial borrowing costs; cross-country analyses of subnational credit scores; qualitative analyses of rating methodologies; and interviews with subnational treasury officials, bond underwriters and institutional investors in Canada, Germany and Spain.

Harder, Lois - lharder@ualberta.ca
Love and/or Money: Parental Status, Monogamy and Citizenship in Canadian Family Law
While divorce and re-marriage among heterosexual couples have resulted in the extension of parentage, or parent-like relationships, beyond a sole mother and a sole father, this development has been restricted to child support. Parental status determinations are more complicated. Parental status requires people named as parents to consent to adoption, provides children with potential inheritance rights, grants citizenship and determines lineage. In this area of the law, both legislation and judicial decisions have largely maintained the legal fiction of the natural family in which the child of a relationship is the presumed biological progeny of the adult participants. Of course, adoption and single-parenthood have troubled this attachment, but it is the demand for the legal recognition of same-sex parentage that has pushed the law to confront the bases on which parentage is determined. After outlining the contemporary legislative and legal context governing parental status decisions, we consider the consequences of explicitly recognizing the biological ruse in parental status determinations. We focus our attention on child support, monogamy and the determination of citizenship. More specifically, we argue that the prospect of recognizing multiple parents may lead to a fracturing of the nuclear family model that undergirds both family law and Canadian citizenship. The consequences of such a development may enhance autonomy in the organization of familial lives, benefit children, and compel consideration of the kinship basis of national citizenship. But there may also be negative consequences associated with recognition, including a loss of freedom, to which we will also attend.

Harell, Allison - harell.allison@uqam.ca
Political Knowledge, Racial Bias and Attitudes toward Immigration
Past research suggests that citizens' attitudes toward immigration are driven, in part, by attitudes toward racial diversity. In this study, we draw on a unique online survey experiment conducted with a representative sample of Canadians (n=1000) to directly test this assertion. The analysis is based on a 2X2 experimental design embedded in a series of immigrant vignettes that vary the racial background and social status of an individual applying for immigration to Canada. First, we examine the extent to which implicit racial cues decrease support for immigration. Second, we test whether this effect is stronger when immigrants are portrayed as low skilled (and hence an economic threat) versus when they are highly skilled. And finally, we explore the effect of political sophistication, measured by an extensive battery of current political knowledge questions, with the expectation that sophistication may mediate the relationship between racial cues and immigrant attitudes. Results offer new and unique information on the structure of Canadians' attitudes on diversity and immigration.

Harland, Fraser - famharland@gmail.com
Codifying Constitutional Conventions: The Case for a Canadian Cabinet Manual
The proper functioning of Canada's system of responsible parliamentary government relies on the mutual acceptance of our constitutional conventions. However, in both the 2008 'coalition crisis' and the 2011 federal election, this acceptance was called into question as the Conservative Party of Canada attacked the democratic legitimacy of coalition governments. This new rhetoric highlights the fact that major actors in Canadian politics seem to hold markedly different views on the basic rules of Canadian democracy such that, "…a situation may arise in the near future in which lack of agreement on conventions governing the Governor General's reserve powers could plunge Canada into a serious constitutional crisis" (Russell, 2009: 207). This issue raises the question: how can our constitutional conventions be clarified to prevent a constitutional crisis?

A key example of how to codify constitutional conventions is the New Zealand Cabinet Manual, which was first drafted in 1979. In 2009, the Cabinet Office of the United Kingdom drafted its own cabinet manual. In both countries, these documents have proven valuable for explaining, negotiating, and forming coalition governments. Drawing on the examples of New Zealand and the United Kingdom, this paper presents a strong case for the implementation of a cabinet manual in the Canadian context. It suggests that Canada implement a cabinet manual to define our constitutional conventions in a clear and transparent fashion. This measure would provide much needed common ground during periods of highly partisan debate and election campaigns, while creating an important informational tool for politicians, public servants and the public.

Hassan, Zheger - zhassan@uwo.ca
The Future of Kurdistan
The Kurdistan region of Iraq has been functioning as a de facto state since 1991. Iraq's Kurdistan region holds elections and has a parliament, the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA). The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) administers the Kurdish territory and population not unlike the governments of sovereign states. International law and academic discussion on statehood provide the framework within which the Iraqi Kurds must work with. Moreover, Kurdish nationalism fits the model of Ernest Gellner's nationalist sentiment, setting the stage for Kurdish demands of independence. Prior to Saddam Hussein's overthrow, Kurdish political leaders have been disinclined to pursue independence in part due to fears of reprisal from the ruling Ba'athists. Iraq's neighbours, Iran, Syria and Turkey, all of which host large Kurdish minorities, also represent obstacles to an independent Kurdistan.
The elimination of the Ba'athist regime, following the 2003 US invasion, presents the Kurdistan region with unprecedented autonomy and opportunity for independence. Iraq's current federal structure provides the KRG with constitutional jurisdiction over three provinces deemed to be 'Kurdish.' The KRG is seeking to annex a fourth province into its region, Kirkuk. Full sovereignty over the oil-rich Kirkuk province will prove to be difficult as all interested parties hope to benefit from its natural resources. The KRG is now in a position of power to decide how the nationalist movement will advance. The options are simple: remain autonomous within a federal Iraq or pursue a policy of secession.

Hayden, Anders - anders.hayden@dal.ca
Sufficiency and the State: The Case of the UK's Decision to Cancel Heathrow Airport Expansion
Continued pursuit of economic expansion remains central to the dominant political responses to climate change and broader environmental challenges. One response has been to carry on with business-as-usual, pursuing endless economic growth while downplaying the severity of environmental problems. A second, increasingly common response has been ecological modernization, or green growth, which aims to decouple economic expansion and environmental impacts while using environmental reforms to stimulate new technologies and growth sectors. A third, more politically-challenging perspective, is the idea of sufficiency, which questions the relentless expansion of production and consumption. A macro-level critique of economic growth clearly faces daunting obstacles in the current political-economic and cultural context, but is the idea of sufficiency making inroads in other, more limited ways? Under what conditions is this possible? One of the most significant examples of a sufficiency-influenced political decision is the UK Conservative-led coalition's decision to cancel plans to construct a third runway at Heathrow. Environmentalists had long argued that aviation expansion conflicted with the UK's aggressive carbon-reduction targets, a position that the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties embraced despite arguments that Heathrow expansion was essential to the UK economy. This paper will examine the political forces behind this decision. The theoretical goal is to gain a greater understanding of the limited conditions in which sufficiency-based policies can emerge, notably by overlapping with other core political imperatives faced by states and political actors. It will draw on interviews and an analysis of documents produced by key political actors.

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Greens, Browns and Water Policy Reform in Southern Alberta
Since the early 1990s, a remarkable water policy shift has taken place in southern Alberta. Beginning with the introduction of the Northwest Irrigation Act in 1892, successive federal and provincial governments pursued 'expansionary' water policies in southern Alberta for almost a century, using regulatory and financial policy instruments to assist the development and growth of large-scale irrigated agriculture. Since the early 1990s, however, there has been a gradual but unmistakable shift from 'expansionary' policies to 'mature' policies in which the emphasis is no longer on continuous growth, but on environmental limits to growth and adaptation to these limits. Using a qualitative case-study method, this paper proposes an explanation for the shift from 'expansionary' to 'mature' policies using the advocacy coalition framework. It argues that water policy in southern Alberta has been shaped by two predominant advocacy coalitions, the Browns and the Greens: the Browns value the economy ahead of the environment, and the Greens value the environment ahead of the economy. For the century spanning 1890 to 1990, water policy in southern Alberta was dominated by Browns, resulting in expansionary policies. Greens did not arrive on the scene until the late 1960s and it took them another two decades before they could gain enough political influence and garner enough scientific evidence to discredit expansionary policy options and put forward mature ones. Although the Greens have not displaced the Browns

as the dominant advocacy coalition, they have prompted significant policy-oriented learning amongst Browns, resulting in the 'mature' policies that now exist.

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Morality, Care, and International Law
   The value of international law is in dispute. It is attacked by the left as merely promoting the interests of powerful states. It is dismissed by the right as irrelevant and an interference with the mission of the U.S. And it is thought by many liberals to be inapplicable in practice. This article reviews arguments against respect for international law, and shows how they can be answered. It considers how the thinking of Hobbes, Locke, Kant, and Rawls, among others, may be useful in deciding what our position regarding international law should be. It concludes that, among these, Locke provides the best traditional source for its support, but that all such thinkers' views are weakened by their reliance on dubious analogies.
   The article then turns to the ethics of care, a recent addition to moral theory, to consider what its view of international law would be. It shows how this new moral outlook is compatible with various current trends, and how thinking about greater international interdependence and globalization would benefit from attention to the ethics of care. It argues that the ethics of care would clearly support international law, but would support even more strongly addressing current problems in ways that would make appeals to law and its enforcements less necessary.

Helleiner, Eric - ehellein@uwaterloo.ca
After the Crisis: Global Governance the Regulation of OTC Derivatives
Before the 2007-08 global financial crisis, the dramatic growth and lax official regulation of global OTC derivatives markets was invoked by some scholars to support arguments that a global political transformation was underway involving the rise of private transnational authority and erosion of the power of sovereign states. This line of argument deserves a closer look in the post-crisis period since the G20 countries have committed to tighten official regulation of OTC derivatives markets. Although policymakers are now demonstrating their power to regulate the markets, the situation is complicated by fact that they are asserting public authority in a manner that relies heavily on the regulatory role of private bodies such as private industry associations, clearing houses, private exchanges, and trade depositories. These bodies are been strengthened as sites of governance through which the markets will be made more accountable and transparent to public authorities. This paper seeks to explain this pattern of regulation and explore its implications for broader theoretical arguments about the "reconstitution of the public" in the post-crisis world.

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Righteous Litigation: An Examination of Christian Conservative Interest Group Litigation before the Appellate Courts of Canada, 1982-2009
The study of Canadian interest group litigation has flourished since the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Much of how Canadian researchers go about studying these groups and their interactions with the courts on issues of law and policy has been influenced by our more established American counterparts, who have been able to collect data on interest group litigation since the early years of the 20th century. However, also inherited were their flaws, which Baumgartner and Leech (1998) describe: only specific groups are studied; researchers focused their attentions on too few cases or issue areas; or finally, the time period in which they examine group influence is too short. Segal and Spaeth, additionally, state, "Few people want to spend a year or two studying losing litigators" (1993; 241). In Canadian research, we see these criticisms realized as liberal feminist, gay rights, and official language minority litigant groups have collectively received generous amounts of attention (e.g., Manfredi 2004; Smith 1999, 2005; Riddell 2004) while others, typically conservative groups, have not. This has resulted in entire theories about how courts work and how they interact with these groups being formed. This paper seeks to begin addressing these criticisms by examining the litigation efforts of the Evangelical Christian Fellowship, a conservative Christian group, since the adoption of the Charter in an attempt to provide missing data and to force a re-evaluation of our uniquely Canadian theories that focus on the courts.

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Indigenous Peoples Escaping Multiculturalism
What escapes multiculturalism is its inability to come to terms with the challenges of the marginalization of indigenous peoples who share urban spaces with other cultures. Not only are urban Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Travellers in Ireland indigenous to their respective countries, but they are also considered atypical groups because the model of self-determination does not fit into urban centres where most Aboriginal people live and because society expects Travellers (a nomadic Irish minority) to have fixed residences. Over time these groups have been marginalized because their traditional practices left them outside of mainstream society and the social and political rights that citizenship bestowed on the rest of society as well as on the newcomers that multiculturalism embraced. As first inhabitants Aboriginal peoples and Travellers have claims on the state that are not shared by other cultural groups. Carrying out lifestyles that have been recognized by the state yet not accommodated in practice creates tensions between these atypical groups and the state. Also, their urban transition further accentuates their marginalization to the extent that these atypical groups are essentially communities in crisis rather than the cultural communities that multiculturalism accommodates.

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Particularizing Obligation
Reconciling particular or special political obligations towards co-citizens with universal cosmopolitan moral entitlements is a major concern of global justice debates. This paper develops a critique of Richard Vernon's approach to the problem of particularizing universal obligations of justice in Cosmopolitan Regard. Vernon's innovative and compelling approach draws on a distinction between political justification and legitimacy, according to which efficiency gains justify political cooperation in general (and general responsibilities for individuals to support these structures), whereas legitimacy functions to ground obligations of justice in our own political societies (though without obviating obligations of different sorts to other peoples). Unique obligations to fellow citizens are legitimate because of the unique sort of risks ('dynamic' risks) involved in political membership, and of the complicity of fellow members in exposure to membership risks. The paper raises concerns about the capacity of dynamic risk exposure to trigger unique obligations of justice against the backdrop of a more general concern regarding 'single-trigger' theories of obligations of justice. It suggests further that legitimacy can plausibly and usefully be theorized without obligation. An alternate view of legitimacy without obligation is presented that moves in the direct of a more 'sociological' conception of legitimacy, which addresses modes of stability of justified regimes. It is argued that this alternative conception can be defended against criticisms of its capacity to secure stability and justice without obligation, and further that it is particularly useful in allowing for continuous theorizing of the legitimacy of institutions of global governance.

Hiebert, Janet - hiebertj@queensu.ca
Can Parliament Protect Rights?
Conventional understanding of a bill of rights assumes that a bill of rights protects rights principally by restricting government and parliament; treats the determination of rights as a legal exercise; portrays legislative decisions that differ from judicial rights interpretations as deviant or exceptions to rights; and authorizes a juridical approach to constitutionalism, in which judicial interpretations of rights are assumed to have greater authority and legitimacy than political judgment. Under this juridical view, rights protection assumes that rights are protected from, not by, parliament. But the United Kingdom's Human Rights Act differs in two important ways from this conventional model. First, judicial power is constrained, which restricts the scope of remedies that judges are able to grant. Thus, the determination of remedies for rights violations occurs in the political rather than judicial arena. Second, parliament is assumed to play a more important rights-protecting role than is normally associated with a bill of rights. The paper will ask the following questions. Is Parliament up to the challenge? And if not, why not? Parliament's capacity as a rights-protecting institution will be assessed by examining i) the role of the Joint Committee of Human Rights and ii) parliamentary deliberation in two specific bills where rights issues were central: the recognition of civil unions and the authorization of identity cards.

Hindmarch, Suzanne - suzanne.hindmarch@utoronto.ca
Threat and Securitization: The case of HIV in the UN system
This paper considers the securitization of HIV in the Security Council's 2000 debate on HIV as a threat to security. Through discourse analysis of UN texts and field interviews with UN staff, it argues that understanding how securitization occurs in practice, and especially the way that security is invoked using the idea of threat, can explain why it was possible to securitize HIV. Security is consistently defined through reference to threat, and 'speaking security' depends on prior agreement about what things, populations or states possess threatening properties. This has consequences for which issues can be successfully securitized, and the possibilities and parameters of this securitization. HIV as a security threat was thinkable, I argue, because there was already consensus, within and beyond the UN, that it had threatening properties, as did the populations and regions it predominantly affects. Thus ideas of 'threat' successfully united HIV and security – but they also shaped (and narrowed) the range of possible policy responses. The paper makes a theoretical contribution to securitization theory, illuminating unacknowledged foundational assumptions in the Copenhagen School's approach and suggesting that security has inherent conceptual and practical limits even when theorists seek to avoid assigning a fixed meaning to the term. It also contributes to politics of global health literature by examining some of the practical consequences of securitizing HIV. The paper is part of a larger project examining HIV and security in the UN system, and the interaction of material, ideational and institutional forces in international policy-making.

Hoberg, George - george.hoberg@ubc.ca
The Political Economy of Clean Energy Trading in Western North America
This paper explores transnational influence in the context of multi-level by examining electricity trade in Western North America. In particular, the paper focuses on the link between policies for electricity trading and policies for reducing greenhouse gases. While the paper will adopt a broad regional focus, it will pay particular attention to two jurisdictions: British Columbia and California. The paper will build on the authors earlier work on North American integration and more recent work by Gattinger and Gale (Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America). The electricity system is North America is regulated by quasi-governmental multilateral entities. The reliability of Western North America's electricity system is maintained by the Western Electricity Coordinating Council (WECC) made up of the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia and 14 western states. Despite the significance of these governance arrangements, they have not been adequately addressed by political scientists. Due to its vast hydroelectric resources, British Columbia produces significant quantities of carbon-free electricity, and is implementing policies to expand its supply for export. A number of jurisdictions in WECC have policies in place to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the

most stringent of which are California. Despite its dire need to reduce GHG emissions from electricity production, current California rules disqualify that vast majority of BC resources (because they come from "big dams"). This paper will analyze the multi-governance dynamics revealed by this dilemma.

Hoffman, Steven - steven.j.hoffman@gmail.com
Making International Law Matter: Promoting Universal Compliance through Effective Dispute Resolution
While many scholars have studied state compliance with international law, few have assessed the adequacy of existing dispute resolution processes or explored whether there are alternative mechanisms available to strengthen them. This study combines legal, political economy and public policy analysis to help fill this gap in the research literature and serve as a starting point for addressing this fundamental weakness in global legal architecture. Specifically, this paper first systematically examines the strengths of existing international dispute resolution processes and highlights its weaknesses. Various alternative dispute resolution options are explored and possible improvements proposed. An innovative model of global multi-tiered dispute resolution is developed based on insights from past research and put forward as one potentially feasible option to strengthen existing and future international legal instruments. This model will be shown to meet six essential criterion, namely, a guaranteed resolution, quick process, transparent and fair, authoritative, maintains friendly relations, and realistic implementation, and perhaps most importantly, it will be shown to enhance negotiation, mediation and conciliation efforts that naturally take place in the shadows of obligatory resolution systems. Finally, political strategies for operationalizing this new model of dispute resolution will be proposed for consideration.

Holloway, Steven - shollowa@stfx.ca
Canada and the Financial Crisis: the perils of a trading state in times of trouble
The Financial Crisis of 2007 and 2008 and the recession it produced have been widely blamed for a slide by the global trading system back towards protection. An often-cited example is the failure of attempts to save the Doha round of trade negotiations. Therefore, as a "trading state" Canada might be expected now to be suffering many more negative economic consequences of these events than its trading partners. This paper will analyze recent Canadian trade and foreign investment performance and speculate on the longer-term impacts of the crisis for Canada. In addition to recent business reports, the national accounts will be heavily referenced for this investigation.

Holly, Grant - grant.andrew.holly@umontreal.ca
Changing Social Policy Instruments: The Increasing Use of Tax Pre-paid Savings Plans
The federal government has increased its use tax expenditures as instruments to deliver social policy since the 1970s. Even more markedly, it has increased its use of tax pre-paid savings plans over the last 15 years. The federal government began expanding the Registered Education Savings Plan, which had largely gone unchanged since its creation in 1975, in 1996 and it added the Canada Education Savings Grant and Canada Learning Bond to encourage uptake. It has also introduced two new tax pre-paid savings plans, the Registered Disability Savings Plan (2007) and the Tax-Free Savings Account (2008). The introduction and expansion of these tax pre-paid savings plans encourages individuals to plan for their own income security by building their private savings. While informed by observations of a wider change to asset-based social policy in Canada and abroad, this article examines only the case of these federal tax pre-paid savings plans, describing and accounting for their increased use. I make the claim that the introduction and expansion of tax pre-paid saving plans implies a new vision for income security policy: it is about future income security, individual choice and less welfare-state bureaucracy. I attribute the increased use of this instrument to a new policy goal of increasing domestic (and personal) saving rates but also to the work of a social-learning network, one that is centered around bureaucrats in the Department of Finance and favors using tax expenditures as social policy instruments.

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Une approche comparative en politique canadienne tenant compte de la spécificité du Québec : échelles, enjeux et méthodes
Plusieurs travaux récents se sont intéressés à l'interaction entre la politique comparée et la politique canadienne (White et al. 2008). Les politicologues auraient tendance à délaisser l'analyse traditionnelle de la politique canadienne, c.-à-d. axée sur un seul pays (Montpetit 2008) pour privilégier une approche comparative, une telle perspective étant par ailleurs un gage de citations plus importantes (Montpetit, Blais, Foucault 2008). Ce tournant de la politique canadienne vers la politique comparée a suscité d'importants débats au sein de la communauté scientifique. Certains s'en sont inquiétés, arguant que l'on « doit pouvoir compter sur des spécialistes de la politique canadienne », tandis que d'autres s'en sont réjouis estimant qu'on « ne peut vraiment comprendre son propre système politique sans le comparer à d'autres » (dans Tamburri 2009). Dans les deux cas, force est de constater le peu de place accordée au Québec au sein de ces débats, nous amenant à lancer une discussion sur la politique comparée au Québec. Concrétisée par la réalisation d'un numéro spécial pour Politique et sociétés (Fourot, Holly, Sarrasin, dir. À paraître), cette réflexion collective a traité de la place occupée le Québec au sein de la fédération canadienne grâce à une focale comparative. En partant de ces travaux, l'objectif de cette communication est de plaider pour une approche comparative en politique canadienne qui tienne compte de la spécificité québécoise à partir de trois thématiques principales : les échelles de la comparaison avec le Québec ; les comparaisons Québec-Canada et les manières de comparer au Québec.

Holman, Chris - cholman@yorku.ca
Reconsidering Hannah Arendt's Reading of Marx: From the Critique of Totalitarianism to the Critique of the Dialectic
Perhaps the most often criticized element of Hannah Arendt's political theory is her insistence on the necessity of constructing and maintaining rigid boundaries between various activities of the human condition. Less often, however, is the attempt undertaken to determine the philosophical motivation stimulating this project of distinction. This paper will attempt to demonstrate the extent to which Arendt's imperative is rooted in a certain misreading of the Marxian dialectic. The first part of the paper will outline the contours of Arendt's erroneous interpretation of Marx's understanding of labour, demonstrating the degree to which the latter breaks down the tripartite structure of the vita activa. The second part of the paper will read Arendt's affirmation of distinction as being a response to what Arendt will take to be the problems of the dialectic, specifically the dialectic's allegedly necessary positing of conceptual contingency and logical necessity. Finally, the third part of the paper will demonstrate, through an examination of two key passages in the work of Marx, the extent to which Marx himself was just as concerned with overcoming the type of homogenous and abstract universalism rejected by Arendt. The ground will thus be provided for the overcoming of the necessity of Arendtian distinction, and perhaps also for a more fruitful engagement between the Marxian and Arendtian theoretical problematics.

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No More Assuming: Mobilizing Traditional Knowledge to Build Indigenous Governance
To date, it has been assumed that traditional knowledge is present within co-management institutions and self-government negotiations by virtue of the presence and participation of First Nations peoples within them.   Consequently, traditional knowledge is incorporated into governance through a "top-down" process, whereby authorities such as the federal government create a space within already-established institutions for Aboriginal peoples to participate. This model attempts to defuse conflict between government and First Nations through the creation of more inclusive regimes of governance over areas of mutual concern.
Departing from this premise, this paper shifts away from this assumption and instead considers how traditional knowledge can be mobilized to build new governance regimes. It contemplates such questions as: If a traditional knowledge process takes place as part of the broader project of building a self-government regime, will the governance that results be different? Given that traditional knowledge is a process by which a relationship is fostered between the past and present, how does this process enable an adaptation of knowledge within the modern governance context? I posit that, in order to reflect Aboriginal world views and cultural values, governance regimes must be designed through a "bottom-up" process, rooted in the oral tradition and traditional knowledge. I conclude this is the only way to achieve what Kalt and Cornell (1998) refer to as "cultural match", thereby granting greater legitimacy to new governing institutions and structures.

Hoogenboom, David - dhoogenb@uwo.ca
Examining the Visions and Visionaries of Transitional Justice
Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has come to consensus that a response is required when a country has experienced mass human rights violations, putting an end to the impunity of the past 50 years. In response to this, the field of transitional justice has emerged to study this growing phenomenon of justice after mass atrocities. However, defining justice is a matter of interpretation, with varying perspectives both between cultures and within them. Despite the multitude of differences, the international community, as well as the field of transitional justice, has become a legitimating force in the "business" of justice. While these actors have supported a variety of approaches that emphasize both traditional and non-traditional mechanisms, the desired end point appears to be a liberal democratic state. That is, the political and economic models of state-society relations seem to be pre-determined before the rebuilding of society begins. In response, this paper will examine the leading models of state construction and those influential in their development. Further, this paper will research whether or not a pre-determined model has taken hold within the transitional justice literature and, if so, whether or not this has restricted the credibility of alternative approaches.

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Multilevel Governance in Domestic Regulatory Conflict: Raw-Milk Cheese in Canada
The production and consumption of raw-milk cheese is a politically charged issue in Canada. The production of raw-milk varieties of cheese are heavily regulated and consumption is largely discouraged by federal food safety and health agencies. However, the regulation of these types of cheeses has been subject to a tension between the levels of government with Health Canada adopting strict production requirements and emphasizing the need to use pasteurized milk. In contrast, authorities in Quebec place more emphasis on the use of hygienic raw-milk collection practices as a means to prevent dangerous bacteria from being present in cheese varieties. The regulatory tension between Health Canada and authorities in Quebec results from the shared competency that these two jurisdictions maintain over food safety and health regulations. The case of raw-milk cheese offers insight into how authorities might try to reconcile this shared prerogative and influence policy change proposals. The opportunity to engage in international standards setting is seen here as a chance for federal level officials to assert their preferred policy outcome and attempt to impose it in contexts of shared competency, resisting calls for regulatory change in areas like food safety. Applying a Multilevel Governance (MLG) lens, the study suggests that regulation in Canada is not solely a federal dynamic. Rather, international organizations like the Codex Alimentarius can be used as tools in contexts of domestic policy conflict to

circumvent shared competency and achieve the preferred policy outcome by the level of government responsible for international negotiations.

Hossein, Caroline Shenaz - carolinehossein@yahoo.com
Politics of Caribbean Microfinance: Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti Compared
Racial and class politics are entrenched in Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti; however, microfinance sub-elites in Jamaica and Guyana ignore the role of social class and are blind to identity biases in the allocation of microfinance. The very act of privileged people conferring monies to the poor in these social contexts is highly political; yet Jamaican and Guyanese local sub-elites deny that politics is relevant within microfinance. This political ethnographic study of 460 people finds that sub-elites inaction in Jamaica and Guyana results in the exclusion of poor businesspeople - the very people micro-credit is intended to help. Despite Haiti's corrupt state, class and race conflicts, sub-elites in cooperatives and credit unions have micro loan programs which are collective and inclusive.

Hove, Jennifer - j.hove@utoronto.ca
The Transformation of Political Attitudes in Afghanistan: A Gendered Analysis of the Influence of International Intervention
While violent conflict and state fragility have long been understood as profound development challenges, international attention has surged in recent years. However, in the broader literature on global responses to conflict, there is surprisingly little that explores how citizens in conflict-affected settings respond to their often fluctuating political environments, which are shaped and reshaped by external intervention. This paper steps into this void to investigate how the involvement of the international community in Afghanistan is transforming political attitudes among Afghans towards the changes brought about by state-building. Specifically, a gendered analysis of public opinion time-series data is used to explore attitudes towards three key dimensions: support for democratization, perceived legitimacy of the state, and trust in government institutions. Gender, it is argued, is a key driver of differential attitudes among Afghans, though the interface between international actors and domestic gender dynamics is under-analysed at present. The findings of this investigation are situated at the intersection of two areas of inquiry: a growing literature highlighting the institutional and structural challenges of peace- and state-building efforts (Paris and Sisk, 2009; Call, 2008; Chesterman, 2004) and an established body of research investigating how Western publics respond to military and humanitarian engagements abroad (Gelpi, Feaver and Reifler, 2009; Fletcher and Hove, 2010; Fletcher, Bastedo and Hove, 2009).

Howard-Hassmann, Rhoda - hassmann@wlu.ca
Reconsidering Property Rights: A Safeguard Against State-induced Famine
The history of the right to property as a human right is complex. It is recognized in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but not in subsequent international human rights documents such as the 1966 International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Although it is often though that its omission from subsequent documents was a result of opposition from the communist bloc, in fact, historical analysis of discussions of the right to property at the time reveals that there was disagreement between those who proposed a right to any form of property and those who proposed a right only to personal property. The debate continues to the present day. This paper will consider whether a human right to personal property should be introduced, as protection against state-induced famine. Personal property is defined as that property necessary to ensure that an individual can enjoy her individual economic human rights, without reliance on the state or other institutions. State-induced famine is defined as famine deliberately or recklessly imposed on citizens by governments. The paper will employ an historical and comparative methodological approach, focusing in particular on the Ukrainian Famine of the 1930s, the famine in North Korea in the 1990s, and the situation of semi-starvation faced by many citizens of Zimbabwe in the 21st century. The paper will also consider whether there should be a human right to property beyond that necessary for an individual's enjoyment of her own subsistence rights.

Howell, Alison - alisonr.howell@manchester.ac.uk
Life and Death in the American Army: The Biopolitics of Mental Fitness
This paper explores the complex ties that bind the making of both life and death in the American Army. Though Western militaries have increasingly been tasked with 'making life live' amongst the populations that they target (notably in Afghanistan and Iraq), such militaries are, ultimately, organizations purposed with the making of death: with the killing of others through the use of force. This paper will explore a related phenomenon: the making of soldiers as human life forms. Soldiers are made and re-made as particular forms of life in particular in their training. While military training may once have sought to deny the humanity of the soldiers, increasingly their humanity is worked upon in order to create an 'effective' population of soldiers. This paper will consider, in particular, the role of the new fitness paradigm introduced in the US Army – a paradigm that at once makes soldiers live life in prescribed ways, while producing soldiers such that they will make death.

Hudson, Alexander - a2hudson@uwaterloo.ca
The Relative Success of Partition in Resolving Longer Intrastate Wars
Long-term intrastate wars often involve a period of geographical division within the state. An insurgent group may control a portion of the country for a period of years. This happens most often in cases of regional ethnic struggle, but can

happen in ideological wars as well. When such a situation occurs it may be said that there is a de facto partition of the state. Formal partition has often been proposed by outside actors as a peaceful solution to an intra-state conflict. This paper will study the outcomes that partition has created following peace settlements in this type of long-term intrastate conflict. Specifically, has partition proved to be a long-term solution to the conflict in cases where the war has more than least two years? The study will analyze the success of partition in a peace settlement by testing the relative success of this strategy in several conflicts: Vietnam, Ethiopia, Somalia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Bosnia. The common denominator between these conflicts is a multi-year conflict during which the non-central government force occupies a part of the territory for an extended period. This paper draws on the existing scholarship to inform a new argument about the cases in which partition may be part of a lasting peace.

Hueglin, Thomas - thueglin@wlu.ca
Federalism and Democratic Governance
The classical verdict on federalism is that it is undemocratic because it obfuscates the will of the majority. But democratic majority rule as an expression of public reason resulting from competitive pluralism has itself come under attack: The rational convergence of competitive pluralism into majoritarian public reason does not work because the competitive nature of the process constrains deliberation and limits the inclusion of diverse voices. These are issues of institutional design. Yet while federalism is the political concept most directly associated with the institutionalization of plural political bargaining, it is mostly absent from political theory discourse. In this paper, I argue that global governance inevitably will have to resort to federalism because it allows for more institutionalized deliberation in pluralized forums, pluralizes choices rather than voices and hence reduces competition, lowers the threshold for rational convergence and therefore allows more inclusion, and increases public reason by bundling similar voices.

Hughes, Michael - michael.hughes@queensu.ca
Participatory Governance and Indigenous Peoples: A Neoinstitutional Understanding of Policy Changes in Ontario's Mining Sector
Governments have often viewed Indigenous peoples as obstacles to the development of mining sectors. For their part, Indigenous peoples have criticized governments for excluding them from decisions that impact their communities. The result has been protests, arrests, and violence. The paper addresses this political impasse by examining the mining sector in Ontario. Specifically, it focuses on recent changes to the Mining Act that aim to establish a participatory governance regime by making Indigenous peoples partners in the regulation of the mining sector. These governance shifts and policy changes are significant insofar as they represent the Ontario government's latest attempt to facilitate the reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests in this sector. The study draws on in-person interviews conducted in 2010 with members of the mining sector's six institutional stakeholder groups: Aboriginal communities and associations; local community representatives; employees of mining firms; employees of mining support sectors such as prospectors; investors and investment firms; and government officials. It assesses the extent to which stakeholders' interests and ideas shaped the content of the changes to the Mining Act. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of participatory governance that includes Indigenous peoples as well as the broader theoretical insights for neoinstitutional approaches to understanding policy change.

Hughson, Heather N - heather.n.hughson@mail.mcgill.ca
Big Changes through Small Reforms: The 1958 UK Life Peerages Act
In the mid 1950s, daily attendance in the British House of Lords was averaging only 97 out of more than 800 eligible Lords, with a historical low of only 22 attendees on one day in April 1956. When controversial issues came up for vote, however, the chamber would be flooded with so-called 'backwoodsmen' who would vote and then promptly leave. The absence of women from the Lords was also a subject of embarrassment for the chamber, since hereditary peerages could only be inherited by men. Increasingly, the House of Lords was seen as illegitimate and archaic, prompting a renewed attempt at reform of the institution. Where the 1911 and 1949 Parliament Acts had focussed upon the structure and powers of the Lords, the solution which was adopted by Harold MacMillan's Conservative government in 1958 affected its composition. Not only that, but rather than subtract from the Lords' existing membership by expelling members, the 1958 Life Peerages Act only added a new class of male and female Life Peers, who sat by virtue of a lifetime of public service, rather than heredity. This paper shows how the decision not to eliminate Hereditary Peers but instead add Life ones had monumental consequences not only for the Lords' membership, but also the quality of their work, and their status in the legislative process. It also highlights the adaptive capacity of the Westminster parliamentary system, in which a small, highly targeted reform can result in meaningful institutional change when accompanied by changing constitutional convention.

Hulme, Myles - mhulme@connect.carleton.ca
Chinese Sovereignty and the Structuration of the International Community
The international community is a system composed by its members. The key members are states, and states are connected to the international community by sovereignty. How sovereignty is articulated and practiced in these states helps to define how they are connected to the system, and this in turn influences the nature and quality of the international community itself. As an increasingly influential member, China defines its sovereignty in a very particular way. Unlike

many of the western states that have slowly but surely developed sovereignty into a multilateralist architecture, China has strongly resisted this because of a unilateralist bias forged during its experiences as a victim of how the international community operated during nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This paper uses a constructivist perspective to analyze the articulation of Chinese sovereignty and its potential impact on the international community. It asks whether it will have a corrosive impact on the contemporary multilateralist architecture, and if so, in what direction(s) it will influence the system.

Hutcheon, Mary - mhutcheon@start.ca
Ecological Negotiation: The Common Ground of Diversity
Environmental global governance problems are immense, given the number, scale, complexity and inter-connectedness of the issues which receive our attention. Treaties are negotiated in context to competition over resources, thus "ecological sustainability" more often serves interests of trade and industry rather than environmental protection and conservation. Policy objectives envision what can be done, privileging technological innovation over methods devised by farmers, peasants and indigenous peoples. Furthermore, attention is focused on cooperation, which global governance organizations serve to mobilize states towards negotiating treaties based on 'common ground'. Agreement, consensus and unity are objectives, assuming that states are equal; part of a global community; and without a diaspora; or disparate and dissenting communities. There is little discussion amongst academics about how diverse worldviews lead to a negotiated "agreement". Has the normative of 'common ground' silenced the exploration of different social and intellectual perspectives and objectives? Why are commercial interests paramount considering that consensus and collaboration reflect a broader spectrum of political ideals? Is it possible to reconsider environmental negotiation practice beyond agreement-making objectives to encourage treaties to prohibit, restrict or limit nation/state and capital interests? Drawing from feminist and indigenous research, this paper explores a broader context of understanding conflict and negotiation. In practice recognition of diverse perspectives fosters communication, thus broadening nation/states' negotiating positions in support of ecologically sustainable interests.

Irvine, J.A. Sandy - sirvine@wlu.ca
Regulating Overseas Immigration and Security Officials: Extending Border Enforcement and Migrant/Refugee Protection?
The deployment of state immigration and security personnel overseas to identify irregular migrants and prevent their departure has become an important and effective tool of interdiction. The Canadian state has been an innovator in this practice, being one of the first states to employ Migration Integrity Officers overseas in the early 1990s. Despite the effectiveness of these networks, the extension of Canadian border enforcement policy, far beyond its maritime and territorial borders, raises important questions about the regulation of Canadian officials' activities overseas. When dealing with irregular migrants at Canada's physical borders, border officials are bound by Canadian law, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and international agreements. It is unclear whether the same constraints apply to Canadian officials overseas. This paper seeks to map existing regulations that govern these activities and consider the implication of these for Canada's domestic and international commitments to migrant rights and refugee protection. To accomplish this the paper will uses the practices of other Canadian officials active overseas, such as Canadian military personnel, and the policy of other states, to provide insight to the Canadian case and to suggest areas where further work should be undertaken.

Irvine, Sandy - jasandyirvine@hotmail.com
Canadian Refugee Policy and the Role of International Bureaucratic Networks in Domestic Paradigm Change
This paper examines the role of a global government network (GGN) of bureaucratic actors in the transition of Canada's refugee paradigm in the late 1990s from one that emphasised refugee protection to one that highlighted the control of refugees and their threat to Canadian security. It argues that GGNs provide an important venue through which domestic bureaucrats can be socialized by its members into prevailing norms of the group, and then, because bureaucrats are uniquely positioned in the domestic policy process, especially as policy experts, to spread new ideas and have them accepted in the domestic policy realm. The paper outlines the paradigm change that has taken place in Canadian refugee policy, and demonstrates how Canadian bureaucrats' activities in a developing GGN on international migration resulted in their socialization and, in turn, shaped domestic debates and ultimately the broader Canadian refugee policy paradigm. The paper suggests the need to refine arguments in the literature that suggest that the domestic environment dictates which ideas from the international realm will be accepted. Instead it is important to consider that transnationalism (as GGNs), by offering alternative understandings of the domestic environment which re-enforce and increase the demand for those very international ideas and solutions, can accelerate the process of paradigm change.

Jacobs, Lesley - jacobs@yorku.ca
The Globalization of Human Rights to Health: Domestic Public Health Policy Dialogue With International Law and International Institutions
Over the past two decades, the health and human rights movement has successfully inserted into many areas of global health a distinctly human rights perspective that has challenged conventional approaches to health security. Increasingly, the health and human rights movement has utilized the language and instruments of international law to have this effect.

This paper proposes to (1) sketch out a theoretical framework for better understanding this globalization of human rights to health, and (2) illustrate how it has played out in some concrete cases in Asia Pacific Rim Countries.

Jagmohan, Desmond - dj89@cornell.edu
From Slavery to Self-Mastery: Booker T. Washington and the Liberal Tradition in America
The history of African American political thought is often divided into two enduring traditions: "assimilationist" and "separatist." "Assimilationists" hold out hope for a fully integrated, post-racial society, insisting it is both possible and desirable. Some separatists deny such a possibility. Other separatists view a conceptually or physically integrated America as undesirable. W.E.B. Dubois has been the exemplar of the assimilationist tradition while Booker T. Washington is understood as embodying the separatist tradition. But such a demarcation obscures more than illuminates what either thinker believed. While the view of Du Bois has been complicated and enriched by many, a caricature of Washington remains. I will challenge the conventional image of Washington as accommodating white supremacy by counseling inferiority. I begin by situating Washington within the Jim Crow South where African Americans are expelled from the public sphere and where lynching and other forms of racial terror dominate. Nevertheless, Washington remains committed to liberal democratic governance. I will argue that Washington's argument for independent institutions, especially African American colleges, were meant to create independent institutional contexts that foster liberal democratic virtues and practices through rule of law, order, and self-governance. By putting on display Tuskegee—the University he founded—for white Southerners, Washington was able to clearly undermine white supremacist claims and "justifications" for Jim Crow legislation. Tuskegee, I want to suggest, should be understood not simply as a university, but rather a alternative constitutional frame within which African Americans were capable of self-governance.

James, Matt - mattjame@uvic.ca
A Carnival of Truth? Ignorances, Knowledges and the Canadian TRC
This paper looks at the apparent approach to truth of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). On the basis of its mandate, its statement-taking activities, and its public events, the Commission appears to treat truth—quite properly in many respects—as the deeply personal multiple experiential reality conveyed by residential school survivors. It seeks to convey this truth through innovative public events that foreground multiple voices and make heavy use of the performance, visual, and narrative arts. In short, the Commission appears to embrace what the legal scholar Theresa Godwin Phelps (2004) calls a "victim-centred" and, following Bakhtin (1968), a "carnivalesque" approach to truth. This approach contrasts with the more monological and legalistic character of early truth commissions, which were primarily concerned to produce official accounts of the operational, command, and event histories associated with past abusive regimes. Focusing on the public activities and events of the TRC to date, this paper asks how the TRC's approach appears to be working in the Canadian context. The paper's provisional and tentatively offered judgment is that the carnivalesque approach fits too comfortably with the prevailing absence in Canadian society of precisely that which a more monological and legalistic focus might potentially provide: a detailed account explaining how the systemic violations of human rights that took place in and through the residential schools were planned, executed, and left for so long to persist.

Jansen, Harold - harold.jansen@uleth.ca
Partisan Blogging and Political Participation in Canada
Just as the number of online weblogs (blogs) has proliferated in recent years, so too has the number of academic studies of blogs. This is particularly true of blogs that are primarily political in nature. Scholars have explored the characteristics and activities of political bloggers as well as whether their activities qualify as a form of democratic deliberative engagement. However, what has been left unexplored is how political blogging is related to real-world engagement in politics. In this paper, we follow studies of bloggers in disciplines other than political science to ask: Does political blogging complement traditional forms of participation or is it in fact an alternate form of democratic engagement that has for bloggers superseded or even replaced real-world participation? Given declining levels of participation in politics, it is important to assess the extent to which alternate forms of political participation such as blogging may work to aggravate or counteract the problem. Drawing on an original survey of Canadian political bloggers, we explore how blogging (both writing on a blog and commenting on other blogs) is related to real-world participation in political parties and interest groups.

Janzen, Christopher - christopher.janzen@queensu.ca
The Changing Nature of Minority Politics In An Integrated Europe: The Cases Of Estonia and Latvia
The rapid consolidation of democracy within the Baltic Republics is often cited by academics and policy-makers to illustrate the positive influence of EU membership on successful democratization. The changes in citizenship and language policies that these governments adopted in an effort to satisfy the conditions of EU membership suggest that EU conditionality worked as an instrument of democratic consolidation. However, the hesitant attempts by Latvia and Estonia to integrate the Russian-speaking minority into the newly constructed demos raises questions about the effectiveness of EU conditionality and the changing nature of minority politics in an integrated Europe. This paper will develop an analytical framework by which the external and internal dynamics of minority politics in the EU can be understood. It will explore the interdependent relationship between four key issue areas. First, the changing nature of EU influence in the post-accession

era. Second, the changing nature of kin-state politicking, with a particular focus on the return of Russia as a regional hegemon. Third, the changing configuration of majority policy within these states. Finally, the changing nature of minority mobilization in an integrated Europe. This framework will be applied to the case studies of Estonia and Latvia in order to demonstrate the utility of such a framework for understanding the rapidly changing nature of minority politics within this regional context. This paper seeks to contribute to the existing literature on EU minority integration by developing a comprehensive and generalizable framework for understanding the increasingly complex nature of minority integration in Europe.

Jarvis, Douglas - djarvis2@connect.carleton.ca
Between Nature and Will in Western Political Philosophy: A Comparison of Aristotle and Hegel on the Family and its Sexual Relations
Despite the fundamental principle that both Aristotle and Hegel share in connecting the primal framework of the autonomous family with the political community, along with well laid out divisions in labor roles for men and women, a shift in sexual morality occurred in Western political thought. This has seriously disrupted the role of the natural law theory in family life and sexual ethics. For Aristotle, his biological studies of the differences between males and females was compatibly laid out with the 'natural' public-private distinctions he argued for in terms of both the political silence of women, and the economically productive ventures of the ancient household. Alternatively, in the development of a new 'modern' political economy, no longer based on agrarian terms as it was in the ancient and feudal era, Hegel connected the early modern era's development of consensual marriage with a new state-centric political system. This distinctly 'modern' system was to be based on a 'determined rationality' of heterosexual monogamy within the nuclear family. Besides its relevance to the development of modern feminism, this ethical shift in nineteenth century sexual morality also set the historical framework for the new social movements of the twentieth century. Consequently, these 'alternative' social movements have presented the greatest political challenge to the ethical positions of not only the Hegelian system of modernity, but the natural law theory approach to human sexuality as well.

Jeffrey, Brooke - b.jeffrey@rogers.com
Strained Relations: The Conflict Between the Harper Conservatives and The Federal Bureaucracy
This paper seeks to answer the question, "Is the Harper government's troubled relationship with the federal bureaucracy merely a continuation of a negative trend that began two decades earlier – with substantial cutbacks, wage freezes and the implementation of the principles of New Public Management – or does it reflect a significant departure from the norm, grounded in different values and beliefs about the role of public servants?" Using empirical evidence drawn from statements of ministers and the prime minister, legislative initiatives and government actions, the paper will analyse the Harper government's approach in the context of four fundamental principles of a modern bureaucracy in liberal democracies, namely, an expert and career-oriented workforce hired on the basis of merit, an anonymous and neutral public service, rules-based decision-making, and the arms'-length relationship of government to various independent watchdogs, boards and agencies. This record will then be compared with that of three previous administrations, (Martin, Chretien and Mulroney), to determine whether a similar pattern of behaviour can be identified, or if, indeed, the current government appears to have taken a new approach to it relations with its employees.

Jobin, Shalene - sjobin@ualberta.ca
Indigeneity and the Field of Canadian Politics: Beyond the Limits of Colonialism?
Indigenous politics and colonialism are considered the most dynamic areas in political science today with the principal task in the field, given during the Canadian Political Science Association 2009 presidential address, to move beyond the historical limits of colonialism in Canada (Smith 2009: 850), however, the literature remains grounded in a particular construction of state and society. In this paper, I argue that Canadian political science has created space for Indigeneity within the discourse; however, this space is bounded based on the premise of the nationalistic project. Canadian politics has dramatically shifted over the past twenty-five years, creating space for diverse views on Indigeneity; however, overwhelmingly it remains restricted to epistemologies, methodologies, and approaches based purely on western ontological assumptions. To have the field of Canadian politics move beyond colonialism would require the inclusion of knowledge based on Indigenous ontologies and serious consideration of self-determination options beyond municipal-style governments, perhaps challenging the institutional framework to its core. This paper divides the field into three areas; each examines current debates before analyzing how it addresses Indigeneity. Within each area I will begin to explore the types of questions one might ask to move the field beyond its current limits. At this point in time, the substantive debates within the field, with few exceptions, fails to engage with conceptions of Indigeneity. By understanding the key questions and perspectives within the field, future research on Indigeneity will be more equipped to insert itself in the literature or deconstruct debates based on Indigenous claims.

Johns, Michael - mjohns@laurentian.ca
The European Union and the Changing Understanding of Citizenship: The Impact of Intra-Europe Migration
This paper will examine the changing nature of migration and citizenship within the European Union. With the expansion east and the free movement of people throughout the Union, the EU is now faced with a unique and challenging problem. Mass migration of East Europeans into Western Europe is changing the receiving state's society and can potentially lead

to conflict in the future. One needs only look at the changing face of Dublin in the wake of large-scale migration of Poles and other East Europeans to see how a society must quickly adapt to a new understanding of citizenship and identity. Moreover, as these migrants are arriving from European Union member states, they have established EU citizenship rights which limit how countries such as Ireland can control their own immigration policies. This paper will examine how this change in the nature of migration is affecting not only the receiving states of the EU but also the states from where the migrants came and the EU generally. This changing definition of citizenship and migration may have larger implications elsewhere in Europe and elsewhere. This analysis, relying on both primary interviews and secondary sources, will shine a light on the concept of citizenship in a globalized world and will provide a means of comparison for other states attempting to cope with similar issues of identity and transnational borders.

Johnson, Heather - johnsohl@mcmaster.ca
"How They Come Here": Boat Arrivals, Offshore Processing and Interceptions – And What the Australian Model Means for Asylum Seekers
The arrival of boats to Canada carrying Tamil asylum seekers has reinvigorated debate about the Canadian asylum and refugee determination system and border control practices. It has been widely claimed that these migrants have ties to the Tamil Tigers, identified as a terrorist group. This association has led to claims that their asylum claims are illegitimate and that they represent a threat to Canada. Public debate has been raised in the media and by former government officials (such as former High Commissioner to Sri Lanka Martin Collacott) as to whether Canada should adopt a policy similar to Australia, either turning boats away before they enter Canadian waters, or through offshore processing for asylum seekers and developing regional partnerships in migration control.
Modelling policy after Australia involves high level practices of interception and interdiction and of assessing asylum claims offshore. These policies are often justified in terms of combating human smuggling and enforcing border security, including anti-terrorism activities. This paper assesses Australian migration control policy and offshore processing and its impact on the South Asian region, particularly the "special" relationship that Australia has with Indonesia in controlling unwanted migration. It also examines the impact of such policies on the mobility, political agency and life chances of asylum seekers and refugees. Drawing on field research and Australian and international migration law, the paper assesses Australian policies in light of international law and humanitarian obligations, to provide perspective regarding the wisdom of using the Australian regime as a model for Canadian policy.

Johnson, Tracy-Ann - tracyannjohnson@gmail.com
Legitimacy in Deliberative Democracy: A Case Study of Electoral Reform in British Columbia and Ontario
Deliberative democracy is often considered to be the most effective approach in strengthening citizens' voices on issues of governance. It does so by enabling a diversity of people to participate in the decision making process and in coming to a general consensus on issues affecting them, instead of leaving those responsibilities to a representative (Gutmann and Thompson, 2004; Fishkin, 2006; and Held, 2006). Critics however, have pinpointed several dynamics that might undermine the democratic legitimacy of this decision making technique. These include: domination of the deliberation process by those citizens with higher levels of education or social status; co-optation of citizens; potential for groupthink rather than authentic agreement and finally, that the deliberative process does not always reflect the diverse interests of the people that they are supposed to represent.
This paper will assess the effectiveness of deliberative democracy in producing legitimate outcomes on issues of governance. A more general concern to be examined is whether or not experiments in deliberative democracy have managed to generate better, more innovative solutions in comparison to other mechanisms geared at promoting citizen engagement or deepening democracy. It does so by exploring attempts made by the British Columbia Citizen Assembly and the Ontario Citizen Assembly in Canada to reform their electoral system. It will examine the establishment and structure of the assemblies, the consultation and learning processes employed and finally, the level of input the general public had in the final decision of the assemblies.

Johnston, Richard - rjohnston@politics.ubc.ca
The Origins and Disappearance of the Religious Basis of Canadian Elections
For many years, the best single predictor of major-party support in Canadian elections has been religious denomination. Catholics were much more likely than non-Catholics to support the Liberals and shun the Conservatives. The effect could not be resolved into the ethnolinguistic makeup of different denominations, nor into immigrant-native differences. But the policy basis of the relationship has been elusive in our time and proves to be so even for the decades of the 19th century that featured the most bitter religious controversy. This paper argues that the essential source of the relationship was Canada's connection to Britain, mostly for its foreign policy implications but also for the symbolism of nationality. In the absence of substantive information on voters' opinions, the argument rests on the time path of relationships as it relates to major events. Critically, it implies that as the British Connection diminishes in importance, so should the religious connection. This has happened, and so a further implication of the paper is that calls for explaining the current persistence of the denominational foundation of the Canadian party system are misconceived. The argument also has implications for the political strength of the Liberal Party. Evidence comes from ecological regressions of late 19th- and early 20th-century

census and electoral data, from Gallup data from the 1950s to the 1980s, and from Canadian Election Studies from 1965 to the present.

Jones, Charles - cwjones@uwo.ca
Motivation and Jurisdiction
This paper begins with a summary of three key ideas in Richard Vernon's Cosmopolitan Regard: the idea of cosmopolitan regard itself, the idea of removing the tension between co-citizen ties and cosmopolitan duties, and the idea of iterative contractualism as a way of both giving content to cosmopolitan duties and explaining those duties as political obligations. The critical sections of my paper address two problems. The motivation problem is that of ensuring that people who are to live by the institutional arrangements recommended by iterative contractualism are sufficiently motivated to meet the practical demands of the theory. The jurisdiction problem is the objection that Vernon seems in danger of presupposing the world of multiple jurisdictions that he sets out, conditionally, to defend. The criticism is that the argument for the legitimacy of special obligations to co-citizens should not favour those obligations without taking due consideration of, and answering the argument for, more institutionally cosmopolitan options. Otherwise the argument begs the question rather than offering independent reasons for its conclusion.

Keating, Tom - tom.keating@ualberta.ca
Securitization and Humanitarianism: The Project of Human Security and the Uneven Distribution of Life
Human security, as a project and doctrine, emerges as response to an uneven distribution of the human and the humane. Securitizing discourses of 'liberation' involve projects of self-determination and individuation institutionalized as human rights. It is my intention to investigate the ways in which the installation of liberty, as in the right to self-determination, reflects not merely an emancipation of empire, but is complicit in the governmentalization and securitization of empire as well. Here, the discipline of self-governance is fundamental to sustainable development as a de-ethicalized, therapeutic practice aimed at recreating and containing bare life as not merely naked, but self-reliant. The main focus is to investigate the technologies and practices neoliberalism endorses as self-governing and how these reproduce bare life. Indeed, freedom is both a legal status and a human practice; to understand the global consequences of liberty it is necessary to orient oneself towards the discursive, technical and administrative uses and ramifications of emancipation as autonomous self-government. Human security depicted as human freedom, must acknowledge that the practices of freedom somewhere vulnerablize and compromise such practices of those elsewhere. In what ways do the freedom practices of qualified lives, as techniques of citizenship, impose upon and limit the intended freedom practices of bare lives? Such inquiry must take place within the larger framework of human development as a governmentalized therapeutic humanitarianism which constitutes and responds to the continuing liberal problematic of security through freedom. Predominant referenced theorists:
Giorgio Agamben, Mark Duffield, Mark Neocleous, Vanessa Pupavac.

Kellogg, Paul - pkellogg@athabascau.ca
Quantitative Easing and the Fetishized Emergence of 'World Money' in the 21st Century
Quantitative Easing – treated with skepticism when used by the Bank of Japan from 2001-2006 – has become the policy tool of choice for the U.S. Federal Reserve. Trillions of dollars worth of debt in various forms have been moved from the books of financial institutions to those of the Federal Reserve in effect by "printing money" (although in fact all transactions are electronic). This aggressive increase in the supply of money in the world's biggest economy has been in response to the very severe recession of 2008-2009. This paper will examine this 21st century policy development by deploying the concept of "world money" (sometimes translated as "universal money" or "money of the world") developed by Karl Marx in the first volume of Capital. Marx speculated about conditions where money might acquire "to the full extent the character of the commodity whose bodily form is also the immediate social incarnation of human labour in the abstract." Quantitative Easing, it will be argued, is a) only possible when a currency already partially contains the characteristics of "world money" and b) is the latest in a series of phases of the attempt by the greenback to solidify its claim to "world money." However, because this process is unfolding in a "fetishized" fashion – driven by private property, corporate power and inter-state competition – it is rife with contradictions, and can have the effect of increasing, rather than decreasing economic instability.

Kenyon, Kristi - kristihkenyon@gmail.com
Advocacy in Context: Human Rights and HIV in Settings of Confrontation and Consensus
Despite being neighbours, South Africa and Botswana are strikingly different countries, particularly with respect to civil society advocacy. The former has gained an international reputation for its vibrant activism dating to the anti-apartheid struggles, while the latter is a small consensus-driven society, where aggressive criticism of the government is unusual, and generally unwelcome. Despite these differences, strong common threads exist between two dominant HIV advocacy organisations in the two countries: South Africa's Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS (BONELA). Both groups rely heavily on human rights language in their advocacy using it as a dominant frame. However, this common approach emerges from differing origins, and has critical and divergent linkages to integral local conceptions of appropriateness and legitimacy. Drawing on anti-apartheid activism and activists, TAC was borne of an activist culture and draws directly on apartheid-era techniques and the post-apartheid constitution in

mobilizing grass roots actors utilizing techniques uniquely situated in South African history. Grounded in a culture of consultation and dialogue, BONELA's approach was initially conceptualised by external forces, but the organisation has come to occupy a unique niche due to its domestically unusual approach, using human rights language strategically and making efforts to ground this language in elements of local culture. This paper will argue that while TAC in many ways appears a logical fruit of South Africa's political culture and BONELA appears to contrast with is surroundings, both groups are informed by and responsive to their settings, even as they draw on similar language in vastly differing contexts.

Kerby, Matthew - kerbym@mun.ca
Comparative Party Leadership Duration in Canada (1867-2010): An Econometric Extension
This paper builds on existing research on party leadership duration in the comparative and Canadian contexts. It attempts to build a bridge between these separate realms by applying the sophisticated econometric modeling techniques used in the comparative literature to the richly descriptive and well documented Canadian case. It advances the current scholarship on Canadian party leadership by extending the federal level data to include the population of provincial party leaders in all ten provinces dating back to their entry into Confederation.

Kerby, Matthew - kerbym@mun.ca
Government Behaviour and Talk Radio in Newfoundland and Labrador
Existing qualitative research on the relationship between talk radio and executive behaviour in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador highlights a number of key themes which set the province apart from its contemporaries. These themes include the following: line-stacking, the manipulation of scientific opinion polls and a strong sensitivity as far as purchased scientific opinion polls is concerned. This current research builds on
previous efforts by conducting a first round of quantitative analysis on freshly collected data. Specifically, we examine provincial politicians' talk radio presence with respect to frequency, discourse content and opinion
poll timing for the period 2003-2010. We also report on how the provincial government in Newfoundland and Labrador compares to other Canadian provinces as it relates to spending on public opinion data and collection. Our results shed further light on government behaviour in an often-neglected provincial
case.

Khan, Mohammed - ayubpathan@hotmail.com
Counting and Discounting:Census Debates in India and Canada
The past few years have seen a remarkable increase in the interest of politicians and academics over the direction and utilization of the official census programs and mechanisms in a number of democracies around the world. The most recent of these debates have emerged in Canada and India. The dynamics of the debate in both countries while being exclusive in contextual environments do share many similarities. This paper will provide a comprehensive exposition of these debates from two angles: public administration and group rights & individual freedoms. This will be done by first explaining the case selection. Second, historical and contextual groundings of the debate (s) will be provided. Thirdly, I will provide a summary of the arguments of the two sides in supporting or opposing the extensive census surveys in the two countries. An attempt would also be made to solve the puzzle as to why the Canadian government scrapped the long form despite its immense utility to formulate partisan political strategies. I will argue that the extensive collection of race/ethnicity based surveys is not inimical to civil rights, helps minority integration in the national mainstream, and is administratively & logistically feasible.

Khazaeli, Susan - susan.khazaeli@gmail.com
Managing Nuclear Threats: The Problem of Iranian Proliferation
Since the discovery of two unknown nuclear facilities in 2002, Iran's nuclear program has moved at a faster pace than the policy community's thinking of the problem. Over the years, the international community has struggled to conceive a coherent strategy to deal with Iran and has finally settled for a policy of penalizing economic sanctions and threats of force. However, this strategy of the "iron fist" has been unsuccessful. Until now, academic and policy attention have focused on Iran's attempts at developing nuclear capability and international efforts aimed at preventing Iran from acquiring the technology. Meanwhile, Iran can now enrich uranium to a purity level of 20 percent, which is higher than the 5 percent needed for energy, but lower than the 90 percent required for weapons. Every real policy option available at this point requires living with an Iran that knows how to enrich uranium. The new challenge is to persuade Iran to be transparent and stop short of the bomb. By increasing the likelihood that covert enrichment will be discovered, the international community can minimize the likelihood that Iran will pursue it. The Janus-faced nature of Iran's interactions mystifies the international community, influencing various policy approaches. Theories of rational choice and cost-benefit analyses are useful tools for understanding Iran's strategic calculations. This study posits that Iran is a rational actor, which can be expected to respond to threats of aggression and offers of assistance accordingly. It thus articulates the provisions needed for an effective containment policy toward Iran.

King, Hayden - kingha@mcmaster.ca

Compromise and Contradiction: Investigating Canadian Opposition to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) can be described as a compromise. The overwhelming endorsement of the Declaration in 2007 signaled a turning point in the tumultuous relationship between Indigenous peoples and states. It marked the inclusion of that former group into global governance for the first time, potentially shifting Indigenous peoples from objects of international law to subjects (Venne, 1998). Yet, I assert that the Declaration is still very much an instrument designed to buttress a state-centric world, the language and Articles within reinforcing state sovereignty as much at the rights of Indigenous peoples. Herein lay the compromise of the Declaration. Considering this, questions persist regarding Canada's ongoing opposition (one of only two states still rejecting the UNDRIP). As the current government moves away from the internationalism of previous administrations, it is becoming clear that Canadian foreign policy is increasingly state-oriented (Davis, 2009). Indeed, Canada's opposition, at least in official statements on the Declaration, implicitly focus on fears of the erosion of state sovereignty. Yet, given the UNDRIP compromise, this position is confusing, even irrational. So what actually guides Canada's ongoing opposition to the Declaration? In addition to demonstrating the state-centric nature of the UNDRIP, this paper seeks to investigate that seeming contradiction.

Kirshner, Alexander - alexander.kirshner@yale.edu
Tilting the Playing Field Toward Democracy: The Case Against Neutral Electoral Regulations
Is it legitimate for democratic procedures to disadvantage groups with specific ideological commitments? Traditionally, democratic theorists have held that democratic procedures should be neutral—i.e. they should not favor outcomes other than the outcomes preferred by the majority. In this essay, I challenge that intuitively attractive position. Using an interest-based account of the right to participate, I argue that given the non-ideal conditions in which representative institutions are normally employed, we have specifically democratic reasons for thinking that the background institutions of representative democracy should be designed to strengthen and maintain a political system that is legitimate and authoritative. By background institutions, I refer to the intricate regulatory structures—ranging from rules about how parties are funded to rules about who can be a candidate for political office—that give shape and form to every representative regime. Specifically, these regulations should discourage political actors and organizations from taking actions that undermine democratic institutions. Eschewing neutrality, democrats should tilt the democratic playing field against antidemocrats. To contextualize this abstract problem, I explore an Indian case in which leading members of the Hindu nationalist Shiv Sena movement utilized ethnic invective to stir political passions and fear on the eve of an election in India.

Kitchen, Veronica - vkitchen@uwaterloo.ca
Integrated Counter-Terrorism Institutions and Cross-Level Security Governance
It is now generally accepted that national security transcends internal and external boundaries. Multiple authorities at the local, state, and national levels have responsibility for national security, and emergency managers are increasingly involved in security planning. The need to co-ordinate across several levels of government and to integrate new actors creates important governance challenges and has led to the creation of novel security governance units which can generically be called Integrated Counter-Terrorism Institutions or ICTIs. In Canada, Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs) housed in local police departments or RCMP detachments bring together police, military, intelligence, and other agencies to focus on threats to national security. In the United States, "fusion centers" serve a similar function but range in design from information clearinghouses to elite task forces. In the UK, counter-terrorism units (CTUs) co-ordinate co-operation between central and local police, military and intelligence functions but recruit directly. The first part of this paper will map the landscape of ICTIs in these three countries, drawing on theories of multilevel governance to to highlight (and explain) similarities and differences. The second part of the paper will draw on theories from the Paris School and international political sociology to reflect on what the development of ICTIs can tell us about the changing nature of political authority and security governance.

Kitchen, Veronica - vkitchen@uwaterloo.ca
The Relative Success of Partition in Resolving Longer Intrastate Wars
Long-term intrastate wars often involve a period of geographical division within the state. An insurgent group may control a portion of the country for a period of years. This happens most often in cases of regional ethnic struggle, but can happen in ideological wars as well. When such a situation occurs it may be said that there is a de facto partition of the state. Formal partition has often been proposed by outside actors as a peaceful solution to an intra-state conflict. This paper will study the outcomes that partition has created following peace settlements in this type of long-term intrastate conflict. Specifically, has partition proved to be a long-term solution to the conflict in cases where the war has more than least two years? The study will analyze the success of partition in a peace settlement by testing the relative success of this strategy in several conflicts: Vietnam, Ethiopia, Somalia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Bosnia. The common denominator between these conflicts is a multi-year conflict during which the non-central government force occupies a part of the territory for an extended period. This paper draws on the existing scholarship to inform a new argument about the cases in which partition may be part of a lasting peace.

Kiyani, Asad - asad.kiyani@gmail.com

Addressing the Global South Through The Subject-Matter Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court
This paper uses a postcolonial critique to challenge the statutory jurisdiction of the ICC. The Court's near universal jurisdiction is a shift to a model where all actors in a particular conflict are liable to international criminal prosecution. Even so, the ICC remains disproportionately focused on actors from the global South, leaving the Court vulnerable to charges of a selectivity bias. Moreover, this jurisdictional expansion only affects the court's jurisdiction rationae personae. What remains relatively unchanged is the scope of the court's jurisdiction rationae materiae – the types of crimes it can prosecute. I argue that while Article 1 of the Rome Statute proclaims its jurisdiction as over the most serious crimes of international concern, this jurisdiction is insufficiently narrow. It fails to recognize as serious international crimes the conduct that gives rise to the mass atrocities that are the focus of the ICC. This decontextualizes the crimes that the Court does prosecute, and ignores the interests of the people of the South in having the ICC enforce a broader mandate. The paper proposes additional crimes to be included in the Rome Statute, and justifies that inclusion by reference to the distinct position of the ICC as a permanent, treaty-based court.

Kokallaj, Alda - AKOKALLA@CONNECT.CARLETON.CA
Ecological Governance in Post-communist Transition Countries: A Political Economy Perspective on the Interaction of Civil Society Networks and Multilateral Development Banks
Most global governance agencies have devised mechanisms to engage civil society associations, i.e increased release of information, arrangements for civil society later to attend their meetings, appointed civil society liaison officers etc. These arrangements have had their weaknesses as they have mostly reached and have been utilized by well institutionalized Northern- English-speaking civil society groups and have failed to reach wider and often more marginalized groups in the (global) South. This raises the question whether such policy changes are adequate to contribute to democratic governance. Provoked by the trend of putting economic growth before environmental and social issues, this paper will address the possibilities for democratic ecological governance that can emerge from the interaction of Multilateral Development Banks and Civil Society Networks. Relying on two development projects (an oil pipeline and a thermo power plant) in post communist transition countries as case studies, I will argue that significant change for democratic eco-governance requires the inclusion of the marginalized groups and of those masses that are not organized, yet very concerned when it comes to environmental and social destruction caused by development problems. Drawing on interviews with civil society and community members in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Albania that were engaged in organized environmental and social resistance against the two development projects and experts from the World Bank and European Bank for reconstruction and Development; I will follow a critical political economy approach to understanding and assessing the kind of eco-governance that emerged from this interaction.

Koning, Edward - edward.koning@queensu.ca
Politicizing the Economics of Immigration: Support for Welfare Chauvinism in Fourteen Countries
Recently, a large number of studies have addressed the possible nefarious effects immigration-induced diversity might have on support for redistribution. Most studies conclude that there is little evidence to suggest that immigration leads the majority population to withdraw its support for a redistributive state altogether. However, this does not necessarily mean that solidarity is unaffected by diversity. Unease about immigration is more likely to lead the public to question who should be entitled to welfare benefits rather than whether we need a redistributive welfare state in the first place. Indeed, welfare chauvinism – general support for social programs, but a desire to reform them in such a way to exclude outsiders – seems to have risen in popularity in many Western welfare states. This paper maps the variation in support for welfare chauvinism in fourteen countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States), and aims to dispel one of the possible explanations for this variation, namely that welfare chauvinism has made most headway in those countries where immigrants' overreliance on welfare benefits is highest. Using data from the Luxembourg Income Study, the World Values Survey, and the International Social Survey Programme, I show that there is no evidence to support this explanation. This suggests that the economic costs of immigration are not automatically translated into political discourse. Instead, this translation is contingent on the politicization of this issue, most obviously by political parties with a welfare chauvinist agenda.

Koop, Royce - royce.koop@queensu.ca
How do MPs present themselves to their Constituents? The Role of Parliamentary Householders
MPs communicate with constituents in several ways. They interact with them personally, such as at local functions, on the telephone, and by knocking on doors during election campaigns. But they also rely on mass communication to reach out, such as through advertising, direct mail, Web sites and media relations. Householders are a staple of MPs' mass communications. These newsletters are mailed to constituents throughout the year. They are produced by an MP's staff and the printing and postage expenses are covered within prescribed guidelines. This is an effective way for MPs to control how they present themselves to constituents in order to develop a distinct home style and engender a feeling of symbolic responsiveness. In this paper we draw on an original dataset of householders that were distributed by Members of Parliament in 2009 to answer: how do MPs present themselves to their constituents in their parliamentary householders? Working on the assumption that the front page of a householder creates the most influential impression on readers, we explore the extent to which text and images on these front pages correspond with three presentation archetypes: MPs as legislators, MPs as representatives, or MPs as community leaders. We then draw on an original

dataset of MPs and riding characteristics to explain the factors underlying these different presentations of self by Canada's Members of Parliament.

Koop, Royce - royce.koop@queensu.ca
Partisan Blogging and Political Participation in Canada
Just as the number of online weblogs (blogs) has proliferated in recent years, so too has the number of academic studies of blogs. This is particularly true of blogs that are primarily political in nature. Scholars have explored the characteristics and activities of political bloggers as well as whether their activities qualify as a form of democratic deliberative engagement. However, what has been left unexplored is how political blogging is related to real-world engagement in politics. In this paper, we follow studies of bloggers in disciplines other than political science to ask: Does political blogging complement traditional forms of participation or is it in fact an alternate form of democratic engagement that has for bloggers superseded or even replaced real-world participation? Given declining levels of participation in politics, it is important to assess the extent to which alternate forms of political participation such as blogging may work to aggravate or counteract the problem. Drawing on an original survey of Canadian political bloggers, we explore how blogging (both writing on a blog and commenting on other blogs) is related to real-world participation in political parties and interest groups.

Kostera, Thomas - Thomas.Kostera@ulb.ac.be
European dimensions of Health Politics in Austria: The Case of Cross-border Health Care
Health care has always been closely linked to national territory in Europe. The EU's free movement of workers principle and more recent rulings of the European Court of Justice have weakened this territorial principle in EU member states: health care has become available across borders and offers exit options for providers and patients. This paper therefore inquires if the EU rules on cross-border provision of health care change the politics of health care in EU member states and if health care providers will strategically "use" Europe to advance their own interests. Taking evidence from Austria, a proto-typical insurance based health care system, it is argued that while actors check if EU rules could be used strategically, institutional inertia and path-dependent interests prevent substantial change of health care politics.

Krawchenko, Tamara - tkrawche@gmail.com
Transparency and Accountability in Infrastructure Stimulus Spending: A Comparison of Canadian, Australian and US Programs
In the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, governments around the world adopted spending policies that focused on stimulating short-term growth and economic recovery. As a means of achieving these goals, countries chose to ramp up spending on public works and infrastructure. The injection of billions of dollars on infrastructure projects was expected to create thousands of jobs, particularly in the construction industry. While this investment has helped to fund many municipal infrastructure projects, the rapid infusion of public funding has raised serious concerns about accountability and transparency including how best to monitor and evaluate the allocation and impact of the funds and report back to citizens. These concerns have been fuelled by the lack of credible evaluation built into the stimulus programs. In the absence of transparent reporting and rigorous data analysis, meaningful accountability is seriously undermined and Canadians have no way of knowing what results have been achieved or if, as is claimed, the billions of dollars spent has been disproportionately channeled into Conservative (government) constituencies. In the absence of transparency, the government has asked the country to accept on trust that the money has been spent effectively. Our initial research into the governance, transparency and reporting of infrastructure stimulus programs in Australia and the US indicates there are significant variations in the levels of transparency and accountability achieved in their infrastructure stimulus programs and we believe these differences, challenges and concerns will make a direct and important contribution to the themes explored in this panel.

Kukucha, Chris - christopher.kukucha@uleth.ca
The Politics of Sub-Federal Gridlock: American States and Canada-US Trade Relations
There is considerable speculation that upcoming mid-term elections in the United States will create limited policy flexibility in Canada-US relations due to Congressional deadlock. In matters of cross-border trade policy, however, it is often forgotten that gridlock can also occur at the sub-federal level. Although Canadian provinces have greater constitutional legitimacy in this policy area, US states do exercise control in some sectors, most notably government procurement. Opposition to liberalized trade is also well organized and carries significant political legitimacy in some US states. Historically, these realities have resulted in trade agreements that are often less comprehensive than advertised, such as the Canada-US Buy American agreement on procurement. Therefore, it is important to consider sub-federal pressures, combined with Congressional factors, when evaluating "gridlock" in the US political system. Conflicting and delayed legislative agendas politicize an already partisan process, which increases the likelihood of bilateral trade tensions, including formal complaints launched under the dispute provisions of both the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In fact, sub-federal interests in the United States are already mobilizing political support at both levels of government to initiate new challenges against Canada's softwood lumber industry. Other trade agreements are also unlikely under these conditions. This emphasizes a need to promote strong bilateral linkages at the executive level in an effort to manage cross-border trade relations.

Lacombe, Sylvie - sylvie.lacombe@soc.ulaval.ca
Représentations du souverainisme québécois dans le Globe and Mail : un repoussoir pour penser l'identité canadienne(-anglaise) ?
Pour plusieurs politologues, le rapatriement en 1982 de la Constitution canadienne, avec sa Charte des droits et libertés enchâssée, est un événement charnière marquant le début d'une refondation politique restructurant les rapports entre les gouvernements provinciaux et le gouvernement central, et surtout ceux entre le Québec et le Canada. Tout en partageant cette analyse, nous posons l'hypothèse que sur le plan idéologique, la restructuration se serait amorcée un peu plus tôt, dans l'imaginaire anglo-canadien, plus précisément durant la campagne référendaire de 1980. Au cours de cette période, commence en effet à se mettre en place l'opposition idéologique entre fédéralisme canadien et souverainisme québécois qui emploiera les vingt-cinq années suivantes à se radicaliser. Par l'analyse de quatre-vingt-neuf chroniques de William Johnson, correspondant du Québec au Globe and Mail, publiées entre le jour où le Parti québécois fait connaître le libellé de la question référendaire (20 décembre 1979) et celui du scrutin (20 mai 1980), nous tenterons d'évaluer si, et dans quelle mesure, ce journal contribue à l'édification d'une identité canadienne-anglaise signifiante en valorisant, contre les critiques du mouvement nationaliste au Québec, le fonctionnement du fédéralisme canadien. Le souverainisme québécois servirait en quelque sorte de repoussoir pour construire l'identité anglo-canadienne. Cette communication s'inscrit dans la suite logique de nos travaux sur la comparaison entre le fédéralisme canadien et le souverainisme québécois, compris comme deux formes de sociocentrismes mutuellement exclusives.

Ladner, Kiera - ladnerk@cc.umanitoba.ca
In the End, What Does it Matter: Transforming Constitutional Reconciliation
For Indigenous peoples, the story of Canada is one of myth, magic, deceit, occupation and genocide. For Canadians, the story is one of discovery, lawful acquisition and the establishment of peace, order and good governance. These conflicting stories of Canadian history are representative of historical narratives of the colonized and the colonizer. But they are not just matters of historical perspective. The conflicting narrative is a contemporary reality that needs to be dealt with through dialogue and reconciliation. Political reconciliation is an absolute necessity given that there exists in Canada competing constitutional orders whereby both Indigenous and the Canadian constitutional orders and their respective nations claim jurisdiction over the same territory. The competing jurisdictional claims of Indigenous nations are argued to be vested in section 35 and thus it follows that the Canadian Constitution provides a framework for the constitutional reconciliation competing sovereignties and jurisdictional claims. But even if this is true, how do we move beyond the jurisdictional quagmire and the contestation of Indigenous sovereignty within the settler state? Is political reconciliation possible? How do we begin the process of political decolonization? How do we operationalize treaty constitutionalism at the community level? How do we rebuild good governance within the community and in intergovernmental relations between Indigenous nations and the state? This paper will examine such questions, arguing that while constitutional reconciliation is possible in theory, political reconciliation is not possible. While political reconciliation is a necessity created by settler states and their inability to govern themselves in accordance with competing jurisdictional claims, such a process of reconciliation cannot occur without mass acknowledgement and a transformative politics.

Lalancette, Mireille - mireille.lalancette@uqtr.ca
What is She Wearing? What is She Saying? Framing Gender and Women Politicians Representations
In the modern mediated and spectacularized world, politicians have to perform on three stages: institutional, public, and private (Corner, 2003). Their performance in and across these stages, as well as issues of personality, style, family values, and gender, play an important role in their political evaluation. In this context of enhanced personalisation and constant evaluation, how are woman politicians presented in the media? Does one stage take precedence over another? Are Canadian women politicians evaluated using different criteria than their male counterparts, as Van Zoonen (1998, 2006) has demonstrated in the European context? Drawing from works on gender, politics, media, and framing, we intend to answer these questions. More specifically, this paper is based on an analysis of discourses, drawn from various papers, editorials and columns published in the Canadian printed media, on 14 women politicians, including the first elected as a member of parliament and the first elected as a party leader. We will present five main frames consistently used by the media when discussing women politicians, how these portraits influence the political representation of woman and, more globally, the definition of what today's political leaders should be.
-french version also available-

Lambert, L.A. (Lisa) - lalamber@ucalgary.ca
Is it About the Environment? Why People Join the Green Party of Canada
Drawing on preliminary results from a web based survey of the members of the Green Party of Canada this paper will consider the motivations for membership in the party and the role that environmental orientation and social networks play in the decision to become a member. Membership in emerging political parties like the Green Party of Canada appeals to a potentially different group of people than either traditional political parties or social movement organizations. Environmental parties like the Green Party appear to appeal to a post-materialist group that is concerned about the environment but there is some evidence that environmental policy may not be the most important motivation for party membership.

Landriault, Mathieu - mland031@uottawa.ca
Human Security and the Canadian Arctic: Governmentality, Biopolitics and the turn of the 1970s
Most of the studies related to human security in the Canadian Arctic are focusing on the evolution of the concept of security in the official discourse of Canadian foreign policy. Others will focus on how non-governmental organizations (the Inuit Circumpolar Council for example) were inserted in the official international negotiations process to take into account the interests of these groups. With this starting point, these analyses turn their attention to structural changes in world politics occurring in the 1990s such as the end of the Cold War and the quest to cash on the peace dividend perceived to have emerged at that time.
We argue that we need to focus on more important social changes that occurred in the 1970s in the Nordic communities in Canada. Equipped with a foucaldian perspective, we can understand more clearly the impacts of a transition that witnessed relations of power going from discipline to biopolitics with Aboriginal communities in the North. We can then understand this practice of consultation in Canadian foreign policy not as a form of inclusion, but rather as another form of control, a way to orient the conduct of these communities toward more "profitable" ends.

Lange, Lynda - lange@utsc.utoronto.ca
Migrant Carework in Canada, the Ethics of Care, and Global citizenship
As women in Canada have moved into waged work and out of domestic and care work, the gap has to a great extent been filled by migrant careworkers. If we are happy about domestic women's increased equality, how should we respond to the situations of women who are so needful of income for their own children and families that they are willing to work in a foreign country for what Canadians consider very low wages?   (Basic information about Canada's "Temporary Workers Programme" is presented regarding the circumstances under which so many women migrate to Canada for carework.) There is the question of the working conditions and status of migrant careworkers. There is the question of the gender division of labour in general, which current research suggests is not only global, but also the ultimate basis for womens' migrant labour, including especially carework. Despite the global division of labour, the situation would not be what it is were it not for our immigration laws. Ultimately, there is the question of global inequality, which is not diminishing but increasing as the process of economic globalization proceeds. Should we accept this situation as inevitable, or something that cannot be remedied? Does the apparently free choice of migrant women mean that it is ethically acceptable, or a question of rights? Does Canadian women's increased equality and opportunity depend on the poverty of other women? This paper discusses some ethical and political issues raised by this situation, particularly for those who believe in gender equality.

Lange, Lynda - lange@utsc.utoronto.ca
Can T. Pogge be Defended Against Feminist Criticism of His Philosophy of Human Rights?
This paper examines some criticisms of the philosophy of rights of Thomas Pogge in WORLD POVERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (2002, 2008) that have been made from a feminist perspective, and considers whether the work enables defenses against these criticisms. These criticisms include some made by proponents of feminist ethics of care, such as Fiona Robinson, which emphasize the ethical relevance of "difference", are critical of individualism, and are by implication simultaneously criticisms of the concept of universal human rights itself. The paper also examines the criticism made by Carol Gould, herself a proponent of her own philosophy of universal human rights, that Pogge's philosophy of rights does not appear to apply to private and domestic spheres, the structures at the core of gender inequity. Pogge offers an argument in his book that he confidently states "can clear away from the start" the idea that human rights are rooted in Western notions of "atomized, autonomous, secular, self-interested" individuals. He attributes this critical idea primarily to communitarians and "those hostile to a legal-rights culture", which might include many feminist critics of individualism. According to Pogge, human rights can be realized in ways other than legal rights, and "secure access to their objects is what really matters". (52) Could this be satisfactory (in the light of Pogge's particular philosophy of rights) for accommodation of the differences among women, and considerations of care and relationship, that are crucial parts of the ethics of care and much other feminist philosophy, including Gould's concept of rights?

Lanoszka, Alexander - lanoszka@princeton.edu
Beyond Simple Benevolence and Malevolence: Sharpening the Theoretical Differences between Various International Hierarchical Relations
Much of the literature on international hierarchy has been careful in drawing a distinction between various types of power relations. One particular aspect of hierarchy that scholars use to distinguish between various forms of hierarchical relations concerns the extent to which coercion is used by the dominant state to produce the outcomes it desires. Although this distinction has intuitive appeal, it nevertheless is unsatisfactory when trying to typologically distinguish between possible hegemons. Describing 'benevolent' hegemons on the basis of their relatively high levels of consent risks downplaying their coercive features. Yet theoretical descriptions of 'malevolent' (or 'coercive') hegemons also risk understating the levels of consent they may elicit within the international system. It is, therefore, unclear whether such a widely-used metric has any analytical utility. Upon summarizing and critiquing existing approaches in the international relations literature, this theoretical paper adopts some of the insights of republican political theory to argue for another approach towards differentiating between hierarchical orders. This branch of political theory focuses on domination, status

and rights, as well as the autonomy agents in making choices. One category of hierarchical leadership consists of states voluntarily following another states that they commonly designate to lead them. Another category, however, consists of a dominant state that invigilates over the policy choices made by other states and exercises prerogatives over their status. The ultimate purpose of this paper is to add greater clarity and precision to debates over the role of dominant states in aspects of global governance.

Lanoszka, Anna - alanos@uwindsor.ca
International Economic Organizations in Trouble – Legal Rules and Polycentric Problems: the Case of the WTO
It was heralded as the first global organization and the victory for the legalists. Created by over a hundred countries by all accounts the WTO (World Trade Organization) appeared to be a remarkable achievement of multilateral negotiations. Its status as a rules-based entity gave hope to smaller countries to have equal representation on the global economic stage of decision-making. Yet only a few years after its creation, the protesters at the 1999 WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle made it clear that this organization became a symbol of anti-globalization movements. Then, the Doha Round of negotiations launched in 2001, the first round of talks conducted under the legal framework of the WTO, has ineptly stalled. As we now go beyond Doha, the following article proposes to re-evaluate the mandate of the WTO with the goal of reforming some of the operational aspects of the organization. My analysis begins with outlining a new theoretical model for conceptualizing the role and functions of international economic organizations. It is a model inspired by the work of L. L. Fuller, a legal scholar, who is known to create "the theory of good order and workable arrangements." Fiona Smith, who examined polycentric problems in agricultural negotiations through the lenses of Fuller's writings, first applied his ideas in relation to trade agreements. Her innovative work convinces me that we should consider this theoretical framework in a broader context of international economic relations. The paper will use the WTO as a case study for analyzing this model.

LaRoche, Christopher David - christopher.laroche@utoronto.ca
Why Liberal Peace Theorists Should Stop Reading Kant (And Start Reading Hegel)
Recent liberal peace scholarship argues that a combination of trade, democracy, and international institutions explains both the peace among liberal states and their bellicosity toward other states. This paper argues that while this 'Kantian tripod' thesis offers a compelling account of peace, it cannot adequately explain liberal bellicosity. This is in part because "Toward Perpetual Peace", the key source of these accounts, is itself ambiguous about questions of bellicosity. Further, while Kant's other writings on international peace suggest wars between republics and non-republics, their explanations rest on teleological-historical or moral-theoretical considerations which complicate the parsimonious view of world politics offered by orthodox liberal peace accounts. In response, this paper forwards an alternative explanation of liberal bellicosity derived from the political thought of G.W.F. Hegel. Hegelian world politics describe wars as the rational and necessary actions of states which seek recognition from others. By recasting liberal bellicosity as a function of identity struggles between nations, a Hegelian approach to liberal peace both offers a fuller alternative account of liberal bellicosity and complements liberal peace research by re-framing the causes of interstate war around the contemporary IR research areas of ontological security and international identity.

Larocque, Florence - fl2287@columbia.edu
Aboriginal Peoples: Uncertain Citizens in a Federal Welfare State
The construction of the welfare state was an exercise in citizenship. When this first happened in Canada, however, Aboriginal peoples were hardly recognized as citizens. Indians were explicitly denied citizenship, and Métis and Inuit were largely ignored, fated for what Alan Cairns called "assimilation by neglect." With the development of universal or encompassing social programs, this situation began to change. Rights, benefits, and services were gradually introduced by both the federal and provincial governments, which together gave rise to a somewhat modified version of the Canadian welfare state for Aboriginal peoples. In principle, Ottawa was supposed to take on the role of the provinces for Indians on reserve, while the provinces responded to the needs of other Aboriginal peoples. But the reality proved more complex, so much so that the resulting arrangement became difficult to grasp and assess. "Few generalizations about eligibility stand," noted Frances Abele. The proposed paper surveys the concrete, on-the-ground division of roles and responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments to show how social policies addressed at Aboriginal peoples are not only distinct from those aimed at other citizens, but also far from uniform. The logic at work varies from one domain to the other, reflecting both path dependency and historical turning points, and it can also be place-specific, in response to local conflicts and negotiations. The result is a complex patchwork of special rules and exceptions that gives a very concrete meaning to Cairns' notion of "uncertain citizens."

Latulippe, Lyne - latulippe.lyne@uqam.ca
The Influence of Ideas on Domestic Policy Choices: The Case of Bilateral Tax Treaties
Focusing on ideas allows incorporating a transnational dimension into the analysis of domestic public policy. Addressing questions such as "What are the conditions under which an idea influences policy making, how are these conditions created and by whom?", expands the scope of policy-making analysis and takes transnational influences into consideration since ideas can originate from the international arena. The paper develops a theoretical framework bridging idea and diffusion literature to describe the conditions under which policy ideas flow across countries. The creation of a

synergy between the policy idea and a paradigm, a problem and a public sentiment and the strategic diffusion of this idea are essential conditions to explain the influence of ideas. This framework allows considering how actors, including transnational actors such as international organizations, create these conditions. The theoretical framework is then applied to explain the spread of bilateral tax treaty signature based on the OECD model in the 1990s in many non-OECD member countries. The paper provides a case study of the OECD's involvement with the development and the promotion of this idea to non-OECD member countries during that period. OECD archives have been examined and interviews with OECD officials have been conducted. The analysis demonstrates how the OECD has been central in the creation of a synergy between bilateral tax treaty, the market economy paradigm and problems such as a potential double taxation. The case study also reveals how the OECD strategically diffused the idea to non-OECD member countries.

Laxer, Gordon - glaxer@ualberta.ca
Envisioning Canada's Transition off Fossil Fuels
In this century, all countries will face the triple challenges of climate change, the end of cheap oil, and energy security. How can they manage powering down and switching to renewable forms of energy, while providing adequate energy for low-income residents, and acceptable living standards for all? Using a political economy approach, the paper explores the daunting enviro-energy challenges for Canada, a country where the dominant season is winter, its people are far flung, and its economy depends on fossil-fuel exports. The paper focuses on the political obstacles to reorienting Canadian energy and environmental policies: Alberta's tar sands, NAFTA's mandatory, energy-exporting clause, and Eastern Canada's oil import dependence. The paper explores the use of Canada's conventional oil as a transition fuel to a post-carbon society and equity issues around the right to a heated home and access to transportation.

Leadbetter, Aine - leadbeak@mcmaster.ca
Workers Wanted, Diversity Discouraged: Immigrant Settlement and Inclusion in Rural Ontario
Prior to the current economic downturn, rural areas in Canada had been experiencing increased labour market shortages in recent years coupled with a declining rural population and thus a declining rural labour force. This has led governments to turn their attention to both expanding certain categories of immigration and encouraging the relocation of new Canadians to non-traditional regions as a means through which such shortages could be addressed and solved. Despite the push toward settlement in rural communities, these areas have been characterized by heterogeneous communities that not only lack the resources and institutions to settle immigrants but exclude newcomers from full inclusion. Through looking at the case of one rural southwestern Ontario community, this paper will argue that traditionally accepted indicators of immigrant integration, such as labour market participation, wages and occupational achievement relative to settled Canadians, and new immigrant language proficiency are not, and cannot be, indicators of inclusivity and integration especially in rural areas. This paper argues for an expanded understanding of integration that looks at both the inputs and outputs of the process of migration as being integral elements in affecting one's integration into a community. As such, the ability of an immigrant to settle and feel included within rural communities is conditional and shaped by factors such the process through which they have migrated, the availability of and diversity of community services and governmental institutions to assist in settlement, and the existence of barriers caused by race and gender.

LeBlanc Haley, Tobin - tobinh@yorku.ca
Gendering Psychiatric Boarding Homes: A Gender Analysis of the Policies Governing Psychiatric Boarding Homes in Urban Toronto in the Era of Transinstitutionalization
Despite recent scholarly and political attention to housing for people with psychiatric disabilities, analyses of how psychiatric housing is gendered are lacking. This paper initiates discussion of the gendered dynamics of psychiatric housing by studying the policies governing psychiatric Boarding Homes in urban Toronto in the context of transinstitutionalization. Transinstitutionalization is a term developed in the 1950s to describe how people with psychiatric disabilities are moved through various social institutions, including Boarding Homes, in the era following deinstitutionalization (Simmons 1990; Stavis 2000). Boarding Homes are governed simultaneously by federal, provincial, and municipal policies. This paper conducts multi-scalar analysis (Mahon et al 2007) of federal-provincial cost-sharing arrangements for social assistance defined by the Canada Social Transfer, Ontario's income support policies, and municipal standards, enforcement and planning policies for Toronto's Boarding Homes. This paper identifies the gender dynamics of these policies for Boarding Home residents, including the lack of accommodation for children in Boarding Homes as well as trends in social assistance policy stressing family based care (Wilton 2004). This study draws on Critical Disability research for insight into processes of transinstitutionalization, Critical Political Economy to analyze welfare state change under neo-liberalism (Cameron 2006; Graefe 2007) and Feminist Political Economy, especially social reproduction literature, to analyze women's role in care and the effects on social welfare provision (Bakker & Gill 2003). Specifically, this paper contributes to a more complete understanding of the gendered dynamics of psychiatric housing. Broadly, it advances a framework for future research on the issue of gender and transinstitutionalization.

Lecce, Steven - lecce@cc.umanitoba.ca
Iterative Contractualism? Global Justice and the Social Contract
In a provocative and important new book—Cosmopolitan Regard: Political Membership and Global Justice—Richard Vernon argues that the familiar way of opposing, and then trying to reconcile, compatriot preference with global justice is

mistaken because the duties we have to outsiders (not to harm, but also to aid them in some cases) are, in fact, implicit in the very obligations that co-citizens have to one another. He develops this startling claim via a form of social contract theory that implies that a group of people can legitimately confer special advantages upon each other if others, outside that group, are free to do the same in their own case. This paper assesses Vernon's attempted reconciliation of compatriot preference with global justice by carefully analyzing this Iteration Proviso (IP). Part I briefly outlines how duties to outsiders are typically characterized in two leading accounts of global justice—moral universalism and associativism. Part II sketches the version of contractualism that Vernon deploys to surmount the limitations of existing views. Part III analyzes the IP and concludes that while there are only two possible interpretations of the IP, neither seems plausible. On a weaker interpretation of what constitutes leaving others free to form their own vulnerability-reducing societies, the IP permits all sorts of injustices that we have reasons to condemn. We might avoid this problem by strengthening the constraint, but it then becomes impossibly demanding, condemning as it does virtually every form and type of partiality.

Lee, Hyunji - lhyunji@interchange.ubc.ca
The Gender Gap in Protectionist Sentiment: Why are Women More Protectionist Than Men?
This paper examines the sources of the gender gap in protectionism. It has been shown that women are less likely than men to support trade liberalization. This gap remains even after individuals' socio-economic characteristics are controlled for. Scholars have suggested differences in education experience, i.e., exposure to economic ideas at college, as most plausible explanation for the gap. This however fails to explain why the gap disappears in less developed countries (LDCs) while robust in most developed countries. There is no reason to believe that the gender difference in education is less pronounced in LDCs. Given that trade theory has been dominated by the theory of comparative advantage, i.e., win-win theory of trade, exposure to economic ideas if mattered should have made those exposed more favourable toward trade in both countries.
By conducting survey experiments, I provide evidence that the gender gap reflects not that women know less about economics, but that they care more about distributive consequences of trade than men. More specifically, this paper tests and confirms the hypothesis that men are more responsive to frames that emphasizes economic efficiency, e.g., economic benefits of trade, whereas women more responsive to those that emphasizes redistributive consequences of the policy, e.g., unequal distribution of benefits of trade or economic hardships the poor might experience during the adjustment to new competition.

Leger, Remi - remi.leger@queensu.ca
Multicultural Dilemmas: To Prescribe Or Not To Prescribe?
Like most political theorists, most multiculturalists have not been very explicit about their methodological presuppositions. Typically, they either mention that, like Joseph Carens, their approach is "contextual" or instead opt to rehearse Melissa Williams' prescient distinction between "juridical" and "political" approaches to multicultural dilemmas. These labels, however, much like Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper famously argued about identity, have come to mean "too much, too little, or nothing at all." Against this backdrop, this paper sets out to do two things. First, it sketches the central characteristics and discusses the philosophical motivations of what I take to be the two main methodological approaches in the scholarship on multiculturalism: deliberation and contextualism. Briefly, deliberative multiculturalists hold that the task of the theorist is to devise proper deliberative mechanisms and lay out relevant normative and theoretical issues, while contextual multiculturalists argue that theorists should put forward normative recommendations based on a reading of multicultural dilemmas that includes accounting for normative principles, political values, historical traditions, cultural norms, and social facts. Second, in contrast to the prevailing predisposition towards deliberation in the scholarship on multiculturalism, this paper defends the merits of contextualism. In particular, I discuss why multiculturalists should hold on to making normative recommendations, that is why we should not shy away from prescribing institutional arrangements and forms of recognition.

Leite, Christopher C. - cleit094@uottawa.ca
Cranking the Switch: Automata and Agency in Security Practices
This paper draws from the logic of the automaton, which relies on the human to crank its switch before being able to move or perform a task independent from further human interaction, to explore modern practices of security in liberal democratic societies. In this light, the various social technologies of creating and maintaining a secured liberal social order – anti-terror legislations, combinations of public and private security forces, technologies of border security, unmanned attack drones – all build a network of technologies that 'performs security'. This paper draws primarily on Political Philosophy (Deleuze and Guattari, Baudrillard, Connolly, Schmitt, Virilio) and Security Studies (c.a.s.e. collective, Beier, Burke, Der Derian, Hansen, Williams) literature to argue that just as we preset what the switches of an automaton do, once established through political negotiation, practices of security possess a certain type of independent, securitized agency that places them in a space where they operate outside regular political discourse. In using these technologies, we transfer agency from the state performing the task of maintaining security, to the technology itself to perform a specific task as an independent agent, allowing 'us' to interact with 'them' as separate entities, not inherent to the state they operate within.

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What is She Wearing? What is She Saying? Framing Gender and Women Politicians Representations
In the modern mediated and spectacularized world, politicians have to perform on three stages: institutional, public, and private (Corner, 2003). Their performance in and across these stages, as well as issues of personality, style, family values, and gender, play an important role in their political evaluation. In this context of enhanced personalisation and constant evaluation, how are woman politicians presented in the media? Does one stage take precedence over another? Are Canadian women politicians evaluated using different criteria than their male counterparts, as Van Zoonen (1998, 2006) has demonstrated in the European context? Drawing from works on gender, politics, media, and framing, we intend to answer these questions. More specifically, this paper is based on an analysis of discourses, drawn from various papers, editorials and columns published in the Canadian printed media, on 14 women politicians, including the first elected as a member of parliament and the first elected as a party leader. We will present five main frames consistently used by the media when discussing women politicians, how these portraits influence the political representation of woman and, more globally, the definition of what today's political leaders should be.
-french version also available-

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Conflicting Statebuilding Objectives in Haiti: Tensions between Aid Relief and Reconstruction in the Health sector and Their Repercussions
Six months after the earthquake that devastated part of Haiti, President René Préval announced that the six-month emergency phase has ended and reconstruction phase has begun. This is a distinction that is hard to understand for most pundits, let alone Haitians themselves, who are struggling to see any improvements on the ground. However, it is a distinction that goes beyond the mere discursive functions of legitimization (internal and external), and has tangible repercussions on public policies and the channeling of international aid. This paper argues that objectives of each phase, emergency on the short-term and reconstruction on the middle- to long-term, can be far apart and even sometimes collide. Focusing specifically on the health sector as a case study, this paper will try to understand the impacts of the short-term supply of medical help on the existing medical structures in Haiti, notably on the fledging private health sector. This discussion will highlight with tangible examples the limits of the "local ownership" parlance in Haiti and will try to draw lessons from that experiment for future statebuilding missions. Moreover, this paper will try to bridge the gap between policy circles and the Academia, by drawing from field-work conducted in Haiti by Dr. Lemay-Hébert in June-July 2010 and data collected by Mr. Robitaille on the ground.

Leo, Christopher - christopher.leo@shaw.ca
"The Truth": Epistomological, Pratical and Ethical Considerations in Case Study Research
Case studies have acquired a reputation for being semi-anecdotal investigations of the small details of individual circumstances, incapable of generating significant empirical or theoretical advances in knowledge. It is argued that the case study is, at best, a preliminary step, that may generate hypotheses that can be tested using such "more reliable" methods as standardized questionnaires or statistical data. In the study of politics, however, that sequence of research initiatives may well work better in reverse. When political action generates new policies, or creates new states of affairs, these changes invariably come complete with a set of justifications, with or without a claim that the justifications are founded in scientific investigation or social theory. Often, an effective way of testing such claims, is to do a case study of the policy, or the changed state of affairs, enquiring into its causes and the effects it has produced, in order to test the validity of the original justification. A series of such case studies may, in turn, generate insights that are capable of producing theoretical advances, provided the case studies employ sound methodology, the epistemology and practicalities of which are discussed. The paper then turns to the problems posed by institutional ethics reviews, which, though well-intentioned, inhibit the kind of critical investigation that case study research requires, both by effectively legitimizing any efforts power-holders may make to conceal facts and obfuscate analysis, and by failing adequately to protect subordinates and ordinary people from reprisals for research findings power-holders do not like.

Leone, Roberto P. - rleone@wlu.ca
Ministerial Resignations: The Proof is in the Letter (?)
One aspect of ministerial responsibility and responsible government in Westminster parliamentary systems is ministerial rotation. Ministers rotate in and out of their positions either by being shuffled out of a portfolio, by resignation, or through a change of government. The focus of this paper is on ministerial resignations specifically. With almost every resignation, the departing cabinet minister writes a letter to the prime minister, and the prime minister normally issues a reply letter. These resignation letters, and their replies, are a rich source of information, and they form the basis for the data being analyzed in this paper. This paper provides an understanding of the public relations of ministerial resignation letters. Resignation cases are used to explore exactly how the government attempts to spin a resignation. In examining the official spin of the resignation, this paper analyzes how closely the resignation letter addresses the narrative being told in the media, and crisis communications theory will be used to understand the motives of the government.

Lepenies, Robert - lepenies@transnationalstudies.eu
The Curious Consensus on International Trade – an Exploration of the Premises of Normative Trade Theory

If there is anything like a consensus within economic theory, it is on matters of international trade policy: there is broad agreement that free trade increases welfare. This paper argues that from the point of view of normative political philosophy, the consensus in mainstream economic theory is very curious. It is curious in the sense that mainstream normative trade theory (in economics) is based on specific premises which political philosophers would (and should) find questionable. For the exploration of these premises, the argument will draw on literature in normative political theory, philosophy of economics and the intellectual history of international trade. Upon inspection, mainstream normative trade theory is putting forward claims that are within the realm of expertise of normative political theory rather than positive economics - far from being trivial, and far from being value-neutral. The curious assumptions can be grouped into three categories: efficiency issues, legitimacy issues and ontological issues. Particular attention will be paid to how normative trade theory deals with the losers from trade – and how this impacts on "economic" justifications of trade policy. By making these assumptions in economic theory explicit, the paper hopes to contribute to both making economic justifications more accessible for critical analysis as well as linking them to an emerging literature on broader normative questions dealing with international trade.

Lévesque, Mario - mlevesque@swgc.mun.ca
Changes in the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery Under the Williams Regime: Sound Policy or Power Politics?
This paper examines how the current Williams administration in Newfoundland and Labrador has responded to the challenges facing the province's oldest natural resource—the fishery. It first takes stock of the fishery prior to Williams' tenure and how his party responded to its challenges while in opposition under his leadership. This is then contrasted to the actions of the Williams government to reveal potential inconsistencies. Particular attention is given to the role of scientific information in management efforts, specifically, whose and the type of information to be used. This is important given the recent announcement of a multi-million dollar provincial fisheries research initiative and recent attempts to restructure the fish processing sector. The impetus behind these initiatives is investigated and questions remain as to whether these are potentially good policies or simply cases of pandering to one's political constituency—politics. Moreover, the effect of these initiatives on the Williams administration 2011 re-election campaign is examined. Results presented are preliminary and will form one chapter of a forthcoming book edited by Alex Marland and Matthew Kerby that examines the overall Williams regime in the province.

Lévesque, Mario - mlevesque@swgc.mun.ca
Gauging The Capacity Of Interest Associations To Foster Innovation In Employability Programs for Persons with Disabilities
The past decade has seen much change in Canadian social policy renewal with the signing of numerous federal provincial agreements aimed at stimulating innovative programming to meet a diverse set of clients. Yet, by most accounts innovation has been stifled due in large part to a lack of funding and accountability issues. This is clearly evident in the disability policy field where the packaging of programs has changed a fair bit, however, the actual contents have largely remained the same. The focus on federal provincial dimensions has come to marginalize the role of interest associations in the process, yet it is these associations that may be used by governments to create a competition for policy and programmatic innovation. This paper explores the capacity of interest associations in two "have" and three "have less" provinces to fill this innovation gap. The time period covered is 2000-2010. Data from charitable tax returns and annual reports is reviewed to assess the financial, human and technological capacity of disability interest organizations to develop innovative programming.

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Gender, Peace and the Chinese Women's Movement in an International Context (1949-2000)
International peace studies as a discipline has developed more than 50 years in Nordic countries and other western countries since 1950s. But Chinese scholars did not pay enough attention to it until late 1990s. It is of significance to re-consider peace studies on the basis of Chinese understanding of peace under the circumstance that China is pursuing her peaceful development and advocating harmonious world. This paper is the feminist part of such re-consideration. Firstly, the paper redefines peace by emphasizing gender justice and integrating Chinese women's perspective on collective rights and individual rights into the definition after summing up previous feminist critiques of traditional definition of peace. Secondly, it divides the Chinese women's movement into two historical periods by 1978 as a watershed, and analyzes the movement according to the peace definition drawn in the first part.
Thirdly, the paper argues that peace studies as a discipline is not only far from outdated, but also it is very important to understand the Chinese women's movement as well as China's development in a international context.

Lincoln, Michael - ml05zh@Brocku.ca
The Strength of Perceived Vulnerability: The Persistence of Cultural Insecurity in Quebec
This paper sees the persistence of cultural insecurity as the root cause of the inability of politicians and institutions to fully integrate Quebec within the Canadian federation. As a 'small people' (Abulof 2009) the powerful fear of cultural submergence makes almost any political settlement short of secession inadequate to satisfy a substantial portion of the Quebec electorate. Polling data shows that Quebeckers are feeling much more vulnerable as a minority than other communities in Canada.

The sources of cultural insecurity are local and global. Cultural globalization has a distinctively English quality and this is salient in light of Quebec's exposure to globalization via pop culture and technology. Locally, immigrants and minority communities are viewed as threats evident in the responses to the Bouchard Taylor Commission of 2008 and the Herouxville 'Declaration' of 2007. Quebec is more homogeneous, ethnically self-conscious, and anxious about newcomers than Canada as a whole.

There are many rational arguments put forward by Quebecois nationalists for secession, but ultimately all of these are deployed to resolve the ongoing craving for recognition and political independence. A kind of dialogue of the deaf about the origins of the Canadian state has emerged and this has further impeded mutual understanding and progress. Using numerous examples of failed overtures to Quebec, the paper concludes that the powerful collective psychology of vulnerability is the core problem for policy makers.

Loewen, Peter John - peter.loewen@utoronto.ca
Who Obfuscates and Who Explains? A Field Experiment
When do Members of Parliament obfuscate their political preferences and when do they explain them? And do Parliamentary roll calls constrain the ability of Members of Parliament to obfuscate while increasing incentives for them to communicate justifications for their positions? We offer an answer to this question by combining two sources of data. First, we present data from a unique field experiment. In three separate waves of emails, we observed communication between 150 Members of Parliament and their constituents. These emails probed politicians about their positions on the gun registry and abortion. By observing the communications of members under several different conditions and by correlating this with past roll calls, we can understand when politicians obfuscate and when this behaviour is constrained by roll calls.

Loewen, Peter John - peter.loewen@utoronto.ca
Beauty Contests and Strategic Inference: A Behavioural Foundation to Strategic Voting
An individual votes strategically when they abandon their preferred choice for one that they prefer less but assign greater chances of winning. Strategic voting occurs in every voting system and is central to the operation of many. Nonetheless, we know surprisingly little about who casts strategic votes. For example, while we know the contextual factors (such as closeness between candidates) and individual level factors (strength of preferences or party identification) that correlate with strategic voting, we know much less about the non-political characteristics of individuals who cast strategic votes. In this paper, we show that individuals who have a better capacity to infer the strategic behaviour of others are more likely to cast strategic votes. To demonstrate this, we conducted a "beauty contest" study among subjects who previously completed a series of strategic voting experiments conducted by Blais and Dumitrescu. Beauty contests can be employed to test how many steps of strategic inference an individual makes in considering the decision others are likely to make. We show that those who employ less strategic inference base their decision to vote strategically on the strength of their preferences, while those who demonstrate more strategic capacity are guided by their estimates of their preferred outcomes' probability of winning. These results suggest that a basic difference between individuals is at the heart of the decision to vote strategically or sincerely. This work is among a series of studies demonstrating that basic behavioural differences between individuals lie at the centre of many differences in political behaviour.

Lopreite, Debora - dcloprei@connect.carleton.ca
Federalism and Women's Reproductive Rights in Argentina and Mexico
This paper focuses on the institutional factors that explain the politics of reproductive rights (abortion and contraception) in Argentina and Mexico. Since 2000, in both countries political activism at the sub-national scales (Buenos Aires city and Mexico City) challenged the national governments that opposed reforms, albeit with differential success. It is my argument that in translating convergent international ideas on social policy reform, the sub-national scale became significant, showing the relevance of the hierarchical dimension of political organization for women's interests. However, the comparative analysis of the case studies suggests that differences in the federal-state/provincial arrangements regulating abortion and partisan politics, including that of women's representation, influenced the outcomes of gender policies. The paper shows how the structure of opportunities and constraints provided by the institutional framework of federalism and the party system along a territorial scale, affects the way in which international ideas on reproductive rights and health are materialized. In Argentina the party system is very fragmented and sub-nationalized in scope. The high level of fragmentation and sub-nationalization of political parties along with ideological dispersion have paradoxically opened opportunities for women MPs to build agreements beyond their party blocs, although changes have been partial and incremental. Unlike Argentina, political parties in Mexico remained strong at the national scale, having also varied influenced at the sub-national scale. Although more women have been incorporated as a result of the legislative quota, their ideologies and partisan identifications determine gender policy outcomes.

Lui, Andrew - luia4@mcmaster.ca
China Rising, Human Rights and 'Hard Times': The Foreign Policy and Network Implications of an Asian Century
China's ascent is often discussed in economic or geo-strategic terms. Yet little attention is paid to the ways in which China's growing assertiveness in international relations will lead to novel challenges for human rights. Chinese foreign policy has an increasingly pronounced effect on a number of issues ranging from conflict commodities and humanitarian intervention to development aid and the environment. Unfortunately, standard scholarly approaches tend to regard the

People's Republic as a mere target of external pressure rather than as a purposive agent — or network of purposive agents — with the (potential) power and intent to reframe international human rights debates. This paper thus problematizes how the rise of China, in the midst of global economic crisis and what many observers call an impending "Asian century," may alter the conduct of human rights in foreign policy, international regimes and political networks. This paper hopes to contribute to the scholarship on China, foreign policy and international human rights, in particular, and on theoretical understandings of the power of human rights and human rights networks, in general.

Lui, Andrew - luia4@mcmaster.ca
The Soft Underbelly of Panda Diplomacy: Sino-Canadian Relations on the Mend?
Shortly after assuming office in February 2006, Stephen Harper implemented a "tough-on-China policy" that was widely recognized as a systematic failure. Recent efforts to "correct" this failed policy have thus led the Canadian government to engage in several initiatives—including high-level visits by the PM and the Governor General—to thaw the otherwise frosty relations between Ottawa and Beijing under the Conservatives' tenure. In return, Canada will soon play host to some VIPs—very important pandas—as a signal from Beijing that Sino-Canadian relations are on the mend. This diplomatic overture represents Canada's first brush with panda diplomacy. Although it elicits comparisons with the goodwill gestures between Chairman Mao and US Republican President Nixon, the China of 1972 has little resemblance to the rising great power of today. How, then, does panda diplomacy differ in the Canadian context? What are the political objectives and consequences of panda diplomacy in Sino-Canadian relations? And, are these consequences temporary or longer-term? In exploring these questions, this paper will show that panda diplomacy in Sino-Canadian relations cannot be reduced to a simplistic bears-for-friendship calculation. From Ottawa's perspective, the agreement represents a concrete "deliverable" that, in the short- to medium-term, attempts to appease domestic constituencies that are dissatisfied with the Harper government's China policy. From the vantage of Beijing, panda diplomacy serves to de-ideologicalize recipient governments' foreign relations with China and, ultimately, to help ensure the country's longer-term goal of "soft rise."

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The Co-evolution of Governance and Practice in the Evolving Regulatory Regime for Credit Derivatives
The rapid rise of credit derivative instruments has been one of the most important developments in global finance in recent decades. Yet very few studies in the international political economy of finance have analysed the rise of credit derivatives as part of a broader transformation in both financial practice and financial governance. Recently, as a response to the role derivatives played in exacerbating the 2007/8 financial crisis, state governments and regulatory agencies have moved to rein in the activities of financial actors who develop, buy and sell credit derivatives. Innovations in practice developed at the intellectual margins of the financial sector, such as the rise of credit derivatives, are now understood to have significant systemic implications for the global financial system. However, the nature of the credit derivatives sector as a highly technical and scientific, yet socially constructed, system of knowledge raises serious political questions regarding the enduring efficacy of regulation in the credit derivatives industry. Normative battles over the legitimization of financial practices using credit derivatives and the negotiation of tensions between private risks and public interests must occur within existing institutional and ideational frameworks. This paper examines how the historical evolution of financial ideas and knowledge, the practices of various financial actors in the global economy and the institutional environment for regulating financial markets conditions and severely constrains the social construction of what can, will, and ought to be done in the regulation of the credit derivatives industry.

MacArthur, Julie - jmacarth@sfu.ca
Empowering Electricity? The Political Economy of Community and Co-operative Electricity in Canada
This paper is an examination of the development of electricity cooperatives in Canada as they relate to community empowerment. In it I examine the nature and number of these co-operatives within the broader context of electricity sector reforms. These cooperatives have potential for an important role in enhancing community development through direct ownership and participatory governance structures. Their recent emergence in the renewables sector gives rise to optimism on the part of deep greens and localization advocates that these organizations can form the basis for a green and more socially just economic form of development. Recent policy initiatives in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have specifically targeted support for these types of organizations. However, little work in Canada has been done on examining the deeper theoretical and practical issues of their development. Co-operatives have historically been seen as straddling the boundary between public and private sectors. What exactly does this mean for electricity systems in Canada? Do co-operatives facilitate the broader trends towards private ownership in the sector, or are they part of a reaction against it? From one perspective they may embody a Polanyian 'double movement' against neoliberal restructuring. From another, they represent little more than tinkering at the margins of a sector securely on the path towards private and continental market development.

MacDonald, David - dmacdo03@uoguelph.ca
Interpreting Aboriginal Residential Schools in Canada through the UN Genocide Convention
In 19th and 20th century Canada, indigenous residential schooling formed part of a government-sponsored policy of forced assimilation. This paper investigates to what extent the 1948 UN Genocide Convention is applicable to the study of

First Nations and Inuit residential schooling. A number of academics and activists have argued that the federal government and subsidiary institutions, together with the four mainline Christian churches, committed genocide as per the Convention. Yet the question of whether "genocide" was committed cannot be definitively settled. In part this has to do with conflicting and polyvalent interpretations of the term. First, Raphael Lemkin's original definition (1944) has been used to interpret cultural, religious, linguistic, and other forms of collective suffering. The case might be made that a "Lemkinian" form of genocide did take place in Canada. This however, would be an academic argument, not a legal one. Second, genocide is defined in international law through the UNGC and later interpretations at the ICTY and ICTR. Interpretations of international law, conventions, and legal precedents by me and my research assistant indicate that genocide has not been committed in Canada largely because specific intent cannot be proven. Third, genocide is even more narrowly defined in Canadian domestic law, and in domestic legal proceedings. Despite these legal distinctions, terms like "ethnocide" and "cultural genocide" (which have no legal standing) now enjoy widespread currency in academic discussion, and have arguably influenced the work of indigenous organizations devoted to healing and reconciliation, as well as the newly formed Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This paper is part of a larger SSHRCC funded project on the intersections and conflicts between indigenous and Canadian legal interpretations of history and law. David is the Principal Investigator and has benefited from the help of Graham Hudson.

Macdonald, Douglas - douglas.macdonald@utoronto.ca
Intergovernmental Relations and Allocation of the Cost of Climate Change Policy in Federated States: Comparing Success in Australia with Failure in Canada
Climate change is a complex problem requiring coordinated action across jurisdictional and sectoral boundaries. In the case of federated systems such as Canada and Australia, the existence of sub-federal governments motivated to protect their own economic interests makes policy co-ordination much more complex. Provinces with higher per capita emissions than others, such as Alberta, face higher reduction costs and are, understandably, motivated to block national, coordinated, policy making. To date, Canadian efforts to negotiate cost sharing and to coordinate federal and provincial policies have failed. Federal and provincial governments act unilaterally and there is no coherent national policy, making it impossible for Canada to achieve its international commitments. In Australia, on the other hand, the Commonwealth and the States successfully negotiated the Carbon Pricing Reduction Scheme, a national policy that allocated costs amongst both jurisdictions and sectors. The plan was defeated in the Australian Senate for partisan reasons but nevertheless is an example of successful intergovernmental coordination. Our purpose in this paper is to compare the Canadian and Australian cases and in particular the institutional context of intergovernmental relations in each. We ask: "To what extent does institutional context explain success and failure?" Drawing from the literature on federalism, intergovernmental relations, and multilevel governance, and taking into account other factors explaining the different outcomes, we hope to identify possible lessons that could be applied to the reform of Canadian intergovernmental relations. The analysis will be of value to scholars of federalism and to climate-change policy makers.

Macfarlane, Emmett - emacfarlane@mail.law.harvard.edu
Measuring the Policy Impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms
The Charter of Rights and Freedoms has influenced the legislative process, judicial behaviour, and the power of courts, all of which have important implications for democracy in Canada, the rights of groups and individuals, political discourse and, of course, public policy. Studies of the Charter's impact have investigated the relationship between courts and legislatures over the protection of rights, including an extensive debate over the existence of a "dialogue" between branches of government. Beyond that debate, scholarship often explores how Court decisions affect specific policy issues like health care or examines the impact of litigation by specific interest groups. This paper takes a step back from these more specific inquiries to offer a broader perspective on the Charter's impact on legislative policy. By examining all instances of legislative invalidation by the Supreme Court under the Charter at the federal and provincial levels, this study describes and assesses the significance of the Charter's impact on public policy. The analysis investigates the type and substance of governmental responses to the Court's decisions and develops a 'measure' of the resulting policy change. Using specific indicators like the number of third party interveners involved a case, the measure also offers a gauge of the relative salience (or 'importance') of the policies affected. Developing a broader appreciation of the Charter's impact increases our understanding of how much policy influence the Court exerts in its exercise of judicial review and thus has important implications for debates about judicial policy-making.

Maciel, Robert - rmaciel@uwo.ca
The Wrath of Grapes: Don Cherry & the Militarization of Hockey
This paper will consider whether Don Cherry's use of military rhetoric in his weekly "Coach's Corner" segment transforms Canada's pastime into a militarized identity. Through a discourse analysis of the 2009-2010 National Hockey League season, it is argued that Cherry's commentary has become increasingly political and his authority on sport has transformed into a recognition of authority on political affairs. Despite its billing as hockey commentary, it could be argued that his segment has become more of a commentary on world affairs with the sport of hockey as the primary analogy. This paper considers the verbal and non-verbal cues as demonstrated between Cherry's interactions with his co-host regarding foreign and Canadian players. Further, it is postulated that his view towards foreign players is equated with his views on politics. As one of the most recognizable figures in the Canadian sports world, Cherry's commentary often goes

unquestioned during the segment. This includes not only his hockey commentary but also, and perhaps more importantly, his comments on Canadian and world political affairs. Under the guise of support for the men and women of the Canadian armed forces, Cherry serves to encourage a form of strong patriotism based on an unquestioning acceptance of the goals of a nation. This type of political rhetoric disguised as sport commentary undercuts the various tensions and struggles that exist in Canada. This paper will not offer a normative judgment, but rather seeks to bring forward the conflation of sport and political authority as personified by Don Cherry.

MacKenzie, Michael - michael.mackenzie@interchange.ubc.ca
Who Obfuscates and Who Explains? A Field Experiment
When do Members of Parliament obfuscate their political preferences and when do they explain them? And do Parliamentary roll calls constrain the ability of Members of Parliament to obfuscate while increasing incentives for them to communicate justifications for their positions? We offer an answer to this question by combining two sources of data. First, we present data from a unique field experiment. In three separate waves of emails, we observed communication between 150 Members of Parliament and their constituents. These emails probed politicians about their positions on the gun registry and abortion. By observing the communications of members under several different conditions and by correlating this with past roll calls, we can understand when politicians obfuscate and when this behaviour is constrained by roll calls.

MacLean, Lee - Lee_MacLean@carleton.ca
Desire and Faculty: Rousseau's General Will as a Form of Will
I would like to ask some basic but hard questions about the general will in an attempt to elicit a better understanding of how Rousseau understood the concept and what he sought to do with it. My working definition is that the general will is the will of the people as it is directed towards the common interest. I suggest that it has not always been adequately appreciated that the general will is a form of will. The general will is not just a statement about the good of the people but an aspiration toward that good.
Following an introduction, the paper will be divided into four sections. Will has historically been understood as an appetite or desire conditioned by (some form of) reasoning. The first section of the paper considers the way in which the general will is a desire conditioned by a process of reasoning. A second section is intended to explore its status as a form of desire, and suggests that Rousseau sees the general will as both a desire and a desire about desire, that is, as a will to will. In a third section I plan to explore the general will as a faculty of willing. The fourth and last section will consider the findings of the paper in the light of debates about whether Rousseau intended the general will to provide serious protections for human rights and whether the concept was ever adequately equipped to do so.

MacMillan, C. Michael - michael.macmillan@msvu.ca
Disjointed Engagement?: Reflections on Phase Two of the Nova Scotia Natural Resource Strategic Planning Consultation
The literature in democratic theory has been greatly concerned with enhancing the deliberative quality of democratic life, through greater citizen engagement in decision-making processes. One process issue has concerned how to balance the views of ordinary citizens with those of industry and academic experts. These issues have been typically glossed over to date but are central to the policy debates in key economic policy sectors. This issue is an active concern in the ongoing policy consultation process on natural resource strategy planning. I will discuss this issue in the context of the conflicting comments of participants in Phase One of the citizen consultation process, and a consideration of the design of Phase Two, which is to funnel citizen input through industry and expert opinion into the policy process. It raises questions about the effectiveness of this distinctive consultation process and the prospects for its continued use.

Mahdavi, Mojtaba - mojtaba.mahdavi@ualberta.ca
R2P and Orientalism: Is the Middle East the underclass of International Politics?
Is the Middle East the underclass of International Politics? This paper problematizes whether Edward Said's concept of Orientalism is applicable to the norms and practice of "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) in two Middle Eastern Cases: American-invasion of Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the first case (American invasion of Iraq), the paper examines whether/how the application and interpretation of international norms of R2P in the Middle East/Orient resemble a new system of "trusteeship" wherein the people of the Orient are passive recipients of charity from big powers, not active agents in their own emancipation. In this part, the paper aims to answer these questions: Does the hegemonic discourse on "Rights and Responsibility" aims to enable big powers, not to limit them? Is the tendency to turn the victims into proxies of colonial intervention, not into agents of resistance? In the second case (the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) the paper examines whether the application and interpretation of R2P norms have been selective and arbitrary. The focus will be on the Israel-Gaza war of 2008-2009. In the conclusion, to use Mahmood Mamdani's words, I will answer the following key and critical question: "who has the responsibility to protect whom under what conditions and toward what end?"

Maidwell, Tom - tom.maidwell@googlemail.com
Has the Reduction in the Size of the Ontario Legislative assembly Lessened the Ability of the Opposition to Hold the Executive to Account?

In 1996 Mike Harris' Progressive Conservative government in Ontario implemented the Fewer Politicians Act, which resulted in a 20 per cent cut in the number of seats in the legislature. The reduction in the size of the legislature, from 130 seats to 103, has coincided with a period in which there has been a trend towards larger cabinets in Ontario. The number of private members per cabinet ministers in the legislature is shrinking. The purpose of this paper is to critically assess whether the opposition parties , in the context of a smaller legislature in Ontario, are able to perform their key democratic duty effectively: to hold the government of the day to account. In order to address the question, research will focus on two specific areas. First, there will be an exhaustive review of existing primary and secondary literature on the subject of the appropriate size of legislatures. Second, this project will generate a significant amount of new research on the subject area in question by conducting interviews with Members of the Provincial Parliament and other senior figures. Doing so will enable the paper to offer an innovative insight into the effect that The Fewer Politicians Act has had on attempts to ensure that the government remains fully accountable to the legislature.

Malkin, Anton - amalkin@balsillieschool.ca
The Wrong Kind of Crisis? Global Imbalances and the Responses to the Global Financial Crisis
This paper explores the policy responses to the global financial crisis from a global political economy perspective, focusing on the symbiotic structural relationship between the trade surplus/capital exporting countries (like China and Germany) and the deficit countries (like the US and Western European 'periphery'). It asks: given the failure of the dominant economic paradigm, why does significant change in political and economic institutions appear so impossible? I focus specifically on two related institutional characteristics that have defined the dominant economic paradigm in the Northern countries: the predominance of the financial sector as a driver of economic growth and the reliance on home ownership as a means and provision of social welfare.
I argue that the absence of far-reaching reform is largely rooted in the resilience of structural features of the global economy. The recent financial crisis is rooted not in regulatory failure per se, but in the global structural imbalances in global savings and spending, wherein financial excess and over-leveraging were, and are, but one side of the coin; equally important are the restrictive financial sector and trade policies in countries like China that stoked their own growth by fueling the consumer and public debt in the US and elsewhere. Rather than unwinding these imbalances, the responses to the global financial crisis execrated them and forestalled the need to confront them; shifting the political blame onto the shoulders of the debit-side of the global imbalances equation (indebted governments and consumers); obscuring the broader macro causes from public scrutiny. As such, it is not so much a failure of imagination or ideas that is responsible for the present ineptitude in global economic reform but the endurance of the structural pathologies of the global economy, which remain a subject of high-level political contestation and beneath the radar of popular consciousness.

Malloy, Jonathan - jonathan_malloy@carleton.ca
Special Policy Agencies Revisited: Are the Worlds Still Colliding?
This paper builds on my earlier published study "Between Colliding Worlds" to revisit issues surrounding women's state policy machinery in Canada. I argue that analysis and evaluation of women's policy machinery must view the machinery in the context of public administration norms and larger trends in governance institutions. Examining trends since 2001, I will review the growing body of literature on these institutions and catalogue the current state of women's policy agencies (as well as similar agencies). Key trends including the general expansion of government in the mid-2000s, pressures to reduce core funding in favour of project-based funding for NGOs, and new accountability frameworks will all be considered for their effects on women's policy machinery.   Ultimately, I will attempt to answer whether special policy agencies are still caught between the colliding expectations of bureaucratic and movement worlds.

Manicom, James - james.manicom@utoronto.ca
China's Jurisdictional Challenge to East Asia's Maritime Order
Maritime boundary disputes in East Asia are an oft-cited cause of tension between states in the region due to overlapping claims to the potentially resource rich seabed. Either as a product of competing territorial claims to island features, or as an extension of delimitation entitlements created by the Law of the Sea, these disputes present a potent challenge to regional stability. Greater spending on naval military hardware and domestic national identity politics is dooming the region to a cycle of recurring confrontation over these boundaries. The solution to this problem, it is argued, lies in negotiations over boundary delimitation, or the submission of the issue to third party arbitration. This paper argues that this perspective overlooks a far more pressing dimension to the region's maritime boundary challenges. On a day to day basis, states do not only differ over where their boundaries lie, but what they are entitled to do within these contested areas. In as much as consensus on the rules, customs and norms of behaviour is integral to the establishment and maintenance of a stable regional maritime order, these jurisdictional challenges, rather than the existence of disputed maritime boundaries themselves, present the greatest policy challenge. The paper surveys jurisdictional differences between China and other regional maritime powers in the Yellow Sea, East China Sea and South China Sea. The paper finds that since these behavioural issues are not in and of themselves matters of national sovereignty, they may be less contentious, provided they can be separated from a claimant state's strategic prerogatives

Marijan, Branka - bmarijan@balsillieschool.ca

Engaged Citizenship? The Role of Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina
In post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina various civil society organizations have increasingly started to play a role in the post conflict reconstruction projects. While the literature seems to agree on the need for stronger forms of citizen engagement in divided societies, it remains unclear how successfully engaged citizens actually are through the newly emerged civil society. The external funding of many organizations leads to a lack of reporting of unsuccessful initiatives, as well as, to the questionable involvement of external actors in local political space. This has led to the emergence of a new type of the "social" elite. These are representatives of various externally funded NGOs, rather than ethnic entrepreneurs. They are able to navigate the international non-governmental world and to regularly attract funding for their local NGOs despite little evidence of the validity of their projects. In turn this means that those who do not have the (language) skills or training necessary to communicate with the international representatives are being left outside and treated as passive members of civil society. However, Pickering in her research, but also Bougarel, Helms and Dujzings in their work on the emerging new Bosnian mosaic, uncover a whole range of activities at the local level that are not a part of the internationally supported civil society projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The purpose of this paper is to focus on this gray area of civil society in Bosnia and the extent to which civil society organizations themselves are able to engage citizens across ethnic divides as a prerequisite for a healthy multiethnic society.

Marland, Alex - amarland@mun.ca
Government Behaviour and Talk Radio in Newfoundland and Labrador
Existing qualitative research on the relationship between talk radio and executive behaviour in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador highlights a number of key themes which set the province apart from its contemporaries. These themes include the following: line-stacking, the manipulation of scientific opinion polls and a strong sensitivity as far as purchased scientific opinion polls is concerned. This current research builds on
previous efforts by conducting a first round of quantitative analysis on freshly collected data. Specifically, we examine provincial politicians' talk radio presence with respect to frequency, discourse content and opinion
poll timing for the period 2003-2010. We also report on how the provincial government in Newfoundland and Labrador compares to other Canadian provinces as it relates to spending on public opinion data and collection. Our results shed further light on government behaviour in an often-neglected provincial
case.

Marland, Alex - amarland@mun.ca
e-Tips: Political Science Students Create a 24/7 Online Resource for their Peers' Success
A common challenge faced by instructors in academic institutions, including by those teaching political science, is that students are often expected learn how to succeed through trial and error. Understandably, political science instructors do not spend much time in the classroom on explaining how to read assigned material, how to study for tests and exams, how to research and write essays, and how to generally do well. Students are therefore often expected to learn by experience. So what if they could learn from their peers' experiences? What if these suggestions were communicated in an engaging manner? What if those tips were available outside of the classroom anywhere with an Internet connection? This paper summarizes the pedagogical theory pointing to the benefits of such a learning approach and describes a grant-funded project whereby six political science students prepared an online resource for the Department of Political Science at Memorial University.

Marland, Alex - amarland@mun.ca
How do MPs Present Themselves to their Constituents? The Role of Parliamentary Householders
MPs communicate with constituents in several ways. They interact with them personally, such as at local functions, on the telephone, and by knocking on doors during election campaigns. But they also rely on mass communication to reach out, such as through advertising, direct mail, Web sites and media relations. Householders are a staple of MPs' mass communications. These newsletters are mailed to constituents throughout the year. They are produced by an MP's staff and the printing and postage expenses are covered within prescribed guidelines. This is an effective way for MPs to control how they present themselves to constituents in order to develop a distinct home style and engender a feeling of symbolic responsiveness. In this paper we draw on an original dataset of householders that were distributed by Members of Parliament in 2009 to answer: how do MPs present themselves to their constituents in their parliamentary householders? Working on the assumption that the front page of a householder creates the most influential impression on readers, we explore the extent to which text and images on these front pages correspond with three presentation archetypes: MPs as legislators, MPs as representatives, or MPs as community leaders. We then draw on an original dataset of MPs and riding characteristics to explain the factors underlying these different presentations of self by Canada's Members of Parliament.

Martin, Sarah - sjmartin25@gmail.com
"Something Living, Moving, Active and Directional in the World of Affairs": Agricultural Economics and the Composition of the Global Food System
This paper traces the emergence of agricultural economics in the late 19th Century and its role in shaping the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) and its antecedent the International Institute of Agriculture.

Agricultural economics applied industrial principles to farming by combining Marshall's theory of the firm with farm management. In the US, the agricultural economic epistemic community was supported by a constellation of institutions including the United States Department of Agriculture, the Agricultural Experiment Stations of USDA, and Land Grant Colleges. The resulting work produced systems of data collection, analysis as well as extension services for farmers and in turn, created policy space at the international scale for new programs and organisations such as the FAO. Today, the FAO is known for its technical and research expertise and much of its work exemplifies the practices of agricultural economic calculation. The recent global food crisis underscores the FAO's unmet expectations to reconcile the tension between global agricultural surplus and hunger. However, Belshaw (1947) reminds us that part of the FAO's project was to "contribute toward an expanding world economy". This work is part of a larger project that asks: How did agricultural economics become a discursive and technological tool used to construct and apprehend a global food system?

Marwah, Inder - inder.marwah@utoronto.ca
Elateres Motiva: Kant's Principles of Moral Appraisal and Performance
Kant's ethics have long been bedevilled by a peculiar tension. While his "pure" ethics describe the moral obligations incumbent on all rational, free beings, he understood his "impure" ethics (outlined in his writings on anthropology, history and education) as "aids" to our moral progress. How are we to reconcile a transcendental account of human freedom, unconditioned by empirical influences, with a view of humanity as subject to precisely these kinds of sensible "helps and hindrances"? In this paper, I argue that Kant distinguishes between the objective determination of moral principles and subjective processes of moral acculturation developing human beings' receptivity to the moral law. By differentiating subjective and objective dimensions of moral agency, I argue that we better interpret the relationship between Kant's pure and impure ethics as a division of labour between principles of obligation and principles of volition, and so, as complimentary rather than contradictory. This also defuses the widely-held view of Kant's ethics as overly formalistic, even bordering on the inhuman, by showing Kant's empirical ethics as attending to the unsystematizable facets of human life, experience and development.

Massie, Justin - jmassie@uottawa.ca
Preventing, Substituting, or Supplementing the Use of Force? Foreign Aid in Canadian Strategic Culture
Although security and foreign aid are generally viewed as distinct spheres of activities, they are connected in many ways in Canadian foreign policy. First, they are linked by the concepts of "internationalism" and "good international citizenship," advocating both active international involvement in various areas (military security, trade, human rights promotion, development, etc.) and norms entrepreneurship. Second, the Canadian government formalized the nexus between security and development through the "whole of government" approach, establishing a formal connection between security and certain development activities. According to these conceptions of Canadian foreign policy, international security and development activism are put on the same continuum, albeit as different tools, supplementing each other to reach the same goal: regional and global stability through the promotion, enforcement, and maintenance of a Western-led liberal order. The purpose of this paper is to further explore the nature of the relationship between security and development in Canadian foreign policy in order to illustrate the passage to, and implications of Canada's "whole of government" approach. We conduct our inquiry through the concept of "strategic culture." This perspective allows us to highlight three broad different strategies that can be conceived in the security-development continuum: foreign aid as a means to prevent future military action, as an alternative to the use of force in the attainment of states' national interests, and/or as a complement to military action for similar political objectives. A systematic and historical analysis reveals, somewhat counter-intuitively, that a complementary approach has dominated Canadian foreign policy well before the advent of the "3D" approach, meaning that Canada's strategic culture predisposes the country towards "harder" rather than "softer" foreign aid policies.

Matte, Lynn - autumn_overseas@hotmail.com
The Art of Neutrality: An Examination of the Role of Parliamentary Committee Chair
In the spring of 2007 the Conservative government was attacked for having produced a Committee Chair manual with the intention of "obstructing and manipulating Commons committees." Considering the recent Samara Canada reports that demonstrate the wide-ranging ideas Parliamentarians have concerning their purpose and function as elected representatives, this paper will examine the understanding of the role of Committee Chair. By exploring how Committee Chairs are selected and trained, how they interact with the support staff and other Committee members, and how they perceive their function in the role of Chair, we gain insight into the significance of the position and the formal and informal channels that are used to transmit institutional knowledge.

Mau, Tim A. - tmau@uoguelph.ca
Comparative and Development Administration in Canada: Advancing a Teaching and Research Agenda
Dwivedi and Mau (2009) wrote about the state of comparative and development administration in Canada, arguing that there are is a glaring paucity of teaching and research in these areas in public administration programs and schools in this country. As they clearly demonstrated, much of the public administration scholarship is inwardly focused—a problem that has been similarly identified in the US and the UK—which is especially problematic given the importance of globalization and the attendant need to tackle some of our most pressing problems more collaboratively at the international level. At the

end of the day, public administration scholars and practitioners alike will only be able to effectively understand and address domestic problems if they are viewed within a broader world perspective. This workshop session proposes to assess the current status of comparative and development administration in Canada, with the intent of engaging participants in a discussion around how we can promote greater scholarly interest (both teaching and research) in these areas. The workshop presenters will help spur the discussion by identifying potential opportunities for fruitful comparative and development administration research for those working in the area of public administration as well as some of the pitfalls associated with doing research in/on different countries.

Mau, Tim A. - tmau@uoguelph.ca
Meeting the Challenges of Public Administration in the 21st Century: Canadian, Comparative and Development Administration Perspectives Considered
Public administration, along with comparative and development administration, is facing a worldwide challenge from the new public management (NPM) and governance paradigms that have emerged in the past few decades. States and their respective bureaucracies are no longer the first line of defense for addressing critical societal issues; instead, we have witnessed a contraction in the size and scope of the state and, when governments do act, they tend to do so in concert with a variety of non-state actors. This shift towards a variety of private sector business principles in the operation of government and the inclusion of a much wider array of networked partners has given rise to a number of new challenges for public administration. This transformation in public administration necessitates some consideration of a number of critical questions: First, what should be the role of public administration in the 21st century? With the increasing relevance of market-based economy and globalization, do we need to redefine the role of the state? What are the implications for the discernible in the role of the state from production functions to policy regulatory functions? Most likely there will be a continuing need and demand for greater transparency and accountability in government, a greater emphasis on efficient and effective service delivery, and an increasing need for ethical governance. In this panel discussion, the three panelists (Mau—Canada, Nef—development and Dwivedi—comparative) will discuss how the future public administrators may cope with the new realities associated with NPM and governance.

Mayer, Jean François - jean.mayer@concordia.ca
United and Conquered: The Brazilian Labor Movement Under the Lula Government
The labor movement represents one of the best organized and most politically active segment of Brazil's civil society. The election of Lula da Silva --a central figure of organized labor-- to the country's presidency in 2002 held promises of significant changes in Brazil's social and economic dynamics. Yet, the Lula government's economic policies were characterized by a clear continuity with the previous presidency, which had seriously antagonized the labor movement's interests and traditional demands. Still, Lula's government resulted in a strengthening of labor's bargaining position and relation with business owners. My paper explains this apparent contradiction by focusing on changes in labor organization and state-labor relations under Lula.

Mazzocchi, Paul - pamazzoc@yorku.ca
Politics A L'Ecart: Merleau-Ponty, Lefort and Political Subjectivity
Merleau-Ponty's political thought has often been obscured by his immense contribution to the field of ontology and by the difficult questions surrounding his political trajectory. This paper aims to break with this separation and give serious consideration to the relationship between Merleau-Ponty's ontological innovations and his political writings. While theorists like Lefort have incorporated Merleau-Ponty's philosophical innovations into theorizing the "flesh of the social" in their political writings, little attention has been given to the possible relationship between these concepts and Merleau-Ponty's own political writings. In these writings we find the transformation from a lukewarm endorsement of the potentialities of a unitary political subject in Humanism and Terror to the rejection of any potentially complete subject that can consecrate history and meaning in Adventures of the Dialectic. By considering Merleau-Ponty's political shift – and its relationship to his ontological, ethical and existential commitments – this paper explores the potentiality in Merleau-Ponty's work for developing a political subject that is neither Marxist nor liberal, but maintains an underlying attachment to a radically anti-authoritarian and emancipatory democratic position. In this vein, it aims to challenge Lefort's adoption of the flesh in his critique of totalitarianism and theorization of democracy. Founded in his development of the concept of ecart – that is, the difference/division/dehiscence that disjoints the subject from itself and others – Merleau-Ponty's ontological positions offer us a rich alterity that breaks with many of the standard tenets of political thinking, and goes beyond the abstract consideration of "forms of the political" that informs Lefort's work.

McAndrews, John - john.mcandrews@gmail.com
Position Taking and Partisan Representation by Federal Political Parties in Canada
Political pundits in the Canadian news media regularly explain the position taking of federal political parties by arguing that parties seek the backing either of core party supporters or, less frequently, of swing voters (e.g., Hébert 2008; Simpson 2008; Martin 2010). This received wisdom has gone largely unscrutinized by political scientists. Notable exceptions include Petry and Mendelsohn (2004) and Penner et al. (2006), which each suggest – despite some important caveats – that the parties tend to better represent the policy preferences and issue priorities of their core supporters. This paper will build on, and extend, this line of research by focusing for the first time on the conditions under which parties pursue either

a core-supporter or a swing-voter position taking strategy. It will do so using an original large-N dataset in which the unit of analysis is a federal party's publicly stated policy position. The dependent variable will measure the extent to which the party's position better represents the preferences of its core supporters relative to swing voters, and will be operationalized using survey data drawn from both commercial providers and the Canadian Election Studies. Explanatory variables (i.e., the conditions theorized to shape parties' position taking strategies) will include the characteristics of the party and its core supporters, the policy domain, and the political circumstances surrounding the instance of position taking. As such, this paper should shed light on the often-alleged but under-examined position taking strategies of the federal parties, while also presenting important empirical and normative implications for the study of policy making and representation in Canada.

McBride, Stephen - mcbride@mcmaster.ca
Global Governance and "Post-crisis" Employment Policy
The 2008 global financial crisis triggered major anxiety about the stability of the neoliberal economic regime. This affected not only the financial and banking systems, but also raised the spectre of the return of mass unemployment , social unrest and the stability of social and employment policy regimes. During 2010, events in Greece and France particularly, indicated that this was not idle speculation. The focus of this paper is upon the responses of OECD member countries to the employment and social challenges posed by the crisis. Within the pre-crisis OECD, three identifiable clusters of countries can be designated as distinct employment policy regimes – liberal (US, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland); social democratic/flexicurity (Denmark,
Finland, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands); and a mixed, and less internally consistent group of conservative/continental/ hybrids/ and hard-to-classify countries (the remainder of the OECD membership).Although national policy diversity remained, it faced constant urging from the OECD itself, at least until 2006, to adopt the neoliberal flexibility model that posited that problems of unemployment were attributable to rigidities which impeded the operation of market forces within the labour market.
This paper addresses a number of issues: the extent to which previous accounts of employment/unemployment have been undermined or, alternatively, persisted; the record of the different employment policy regimes in dealing with the challengers of the crisis; and the "post-crisis" role of global governance institutions in pressing particular responses on national governments.

McBride, Stephen - mcbride@mcmaster.ca
Intractability : The Resilience of Neoliberalism in the Face of Crisis
Notwithstanding endemic crises in the neoliberal era, the neoliberal project itself has proved remarkably resilient.
This paper surveys the series of crises – both financial and recessionary – that have been a feature of the neoliberal era. It notes that none of these has triggered a paradigm-shift equivalent to that which occurred in the mid-1970s to early 1980s as a result of the, arguably, much less consequential crisis of stagflation. A number of theories can be advanced to explain neoliberalism's resilience. These includes its intellectual hegemony, and the failure of its opponents to conceive of or popularize a plausible alternative account of how the economy might be re-ordered; the high degree of unity of international (and national) capital about neoliberalism's utility, via globalization and privatisation, as a " fix" for accumulation problems; and the role played by global governance mechanisms – institutions and agreements – which opponents have often depicted as being designed to "lock-in" neoliberal restructuring, especially in circumstances such as crises which might make defection an attractive proposition.
After reviewing these approaches, and acknowledging the contributions of each , the paper focuses on the role of global governance mechanisms in constraining states from innovative and activist responses to the current crisis.

McCormick, Peter - mccormick@uleth.ca
Let's Get Together: The Co-Authorship of Reasons on the Supreme Court of Canada
The "normal" convention for common law appeal courts is for sets of reasons (judgments and minority reasons alike) to be formally attributed to a single member of the Court, and when we talk about the careers and contributions of judges, we generally do so in terms of the decisions that they wrote. But starting about twenty-five years ago, the Supreme Court of Canada began a practice of joint authorship: that is to say, two (more rarely, three) judges are jointly indicated as delivering the reasons for some larger set of judges. No similar practice exists for the SCC's obvious counterparts in other countries, nor was it a practice of the SCC itself in earlier years. But this not an insignificant aspect of Supreme Court decision delivery – about one set of reasons in every ten is now co-authored, and these include decisions and dissents in some of the Court's more high profile decisions. This paper will provide a statistical analysis of the emergence of the practice, identify the extent to which individual judges (and pairings of judges) have taken part or declined to take part, and suggest a conceptual framework within which the practice can best be understood.

McCulloch, Allison - allison.mcculloch@gmail.com
Power-Sharing, Peacebuilding and Gender: A Framework for Conflict Resolution
Over the last decade, conflict resolution scholars and practitioners have increasingly promoted power-sharing institutions in societies deeply divided along ethnonational lines. Typically, such arrangements rely on the participation of ethnonational elite political figures in conflict resolution processes, usually to the exclusion of women. Alongside the

development of this power-sharing norm, international agencies and advocacy networks have also been drawing attention to the role of women in peacebuilding. For example, the United Nations requires member states to increase women's participation in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements. Drawing on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, passed in 2000, feminist scholars and activists and have been working to carve out a role for women in conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding processes. A strong tension, however, characterizes the development of these emerging norms. Ethnic conflict scholars have failed to adequately theorize the gender implications of power-sharing arrangements. Similarly, practitioners have failed to implement the kind of mechanisms that would make power-sharing negotiation processes representative of constituencies beyond major ethnonational cleavages. In this paper, we evaluate the impact of these twin norms on four cases that feature deep ethnicized divisions: Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Burundi and Afghanistan. Three broad questions are under consideration: 1) can these norms be reconciled? 2) how have these cases engaged with these norms? 3) what lessons can be gleaned from these cases for other cases of ethnicized conflict? In addressing these questions, we suggest a new gender-sensitive framework for conflict resolution theory and practice.

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Deliberative Consociationalism, Outsiders, and the 'All-Affected Principle'
At least two strands of thought come out of recent work on the design of power-sharing institutions for divided societies. One looks at the contributions from theories of consociational and deliberative democracy (Addis 2009; Dryzek 2005; O'Flynn 2007, 2009) while the other addresses the role of international and regional actors in the design, implementation, and maintenance of post-conflict institutions (Barnett 2010; Paris and Sisk 2009; Zaum 2007). In this paper, we look to the benefits of combining these two strands and we examine methods for resolving the tension between local interests and international considerations in divided societies. Of central importance is the need to balance the risk of outsiders usurping domestic political authority with the normative and practical benefits that minority groups in divided societies – because they face additional obstacles to effective participation – gain from outside assistance. We argue that the success of deliberative consociations depends upon strong institutional protections for all groups and that outsiders can play an important role as mediators/facilitators. Specifically, we ask whether and how a model of deliberative consociationalism can accommodate outsiders without violating the deliberative "all affected" principle. At the same time, can a model of deliberative consociationalism work without the participation of outsiders? Can the normative and practical difficulties of allowing outsiders in be resolved?

McDougall, Alex - admcdoug@ucalgary.ca
The Politics of Protection and Extraction: State Weakness in Latin America
The question of state weakness is at the heart of the nexus between security and development (Duffield 2007). Yet scholarly efforts to understanding the cause of state weakness in Latin America have not been particularly fruitful, even though this factor is crucial for understanding the high levels of political conflict in Colombia and Peru, and criminal violence in Brazil and Mexico (Koonings and Kruijt 2004). Once viewed as too repressive and cumbersome, many Latin American states are seen as too weak, as the their capacity to maintain the monopoly over armed force has appeared to diminished, if ever had it had truly existed, as a variety of non-state actors proliferate and challenge the state's legitimacy (Centeno 2002). This proposed essay seeks to identify the factors that have contributed to state weakness and failure in Latin America with a particular emphasis on the case of Colombia. It will examine several hypotheses on the causes of state weakness, and engage with the state failure literature that emphasizes agency, contingency, and choice as causes of state failure, as well a more historical perspective, that emphasizes deeply ingrained structural factors such as the absence of interstate warfare, difficult geography, and political culture.

McGregor, R. Michael - rmcgreg8@uwo.ca
Cognitive Dissonance and Post-Election Attitude Change in Canada
Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) tells us that behaviour (such as the act of voting) can lead to attitude change. Attitudes (which can be altered) are shifted to make them compatible with behaviour (which cannot be altered). In the context of voting, this implies that political attitudes can be dependent upon vote choice, and even the outcome of an election. Employing pre and post-election Canadian Election Study data from 1988 to 2008, this paper builds upon American work (Beasley & Joslyn, 2001, Mullainathan & Washington, 2009) to explore the influence of dissonance on political attitudes in Canada. Specifically, the impact of vote choice, the time at which a vote decision is made, election outcomes, and pre-election attitudinal ambivalence upon attitude change are considered. In addition to exploring attitudes towards relatively short term factors (such as leader evaluations), changes in long term attitudes (including values and partisan sentiment) are considered.

McGregor, R. Michael - rmcgreg8@uwo.ca
Negative Partisanship in Canada
The concept of party identification and its role in vote choice has been well-documented in Canada and elsewhere. Partisan identities can influence opinions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours. However, most work on partisanship has neglected the flipside of partisan attachment – the potential negative associations with partisan rivals. While party

identification operates as a force promoting a specific vote choice, a negative partisan identification may also have important effects, either in reinforcing partisan leanings or directing strategic behaviour. We argue that the concept of partisanship is incomplete until negative sentiment (i.e. repulsion or hostility) is considered. Especially in a multi-party system like Canada, understanding the role that negative partisanship plays in political attitudes and behaviours is important. In this paper we outline the concept of negative partisanship and theorize about its relationship with positive party identification in Canada. We then examine the extent to which negative partisanship exists and its relation to positive party identification using 1988 Canadian Election Study data. We also evaluate, empirically, the additional explanatory power provided by including negative partisan identification in standard vote choice models. We conclude that negative partisanship should not be neglected by political scientists seeking to understand political behaviour in Canada.

McKeen-Edwards, Heather - hmckeen@ubishops.ca
Financial Crisis and the Governance Global Finance: A Re-articulation of Risk in International Banking Regulation?
The recent crisis has brought financial governance into the public eye more than ever, resulting in calls to develop more effective regulation coming from many corners. Although, to the general public, the G20 has been the most visible location of this process, most of the heavy lifting in regulatory reform is still being pursued through the existing network of international technical standard setting bodies. This paper will look at one specific area of financial governance reform - bank capital adequacy requirements - and the changes that have been proposed in the new standard commonly referred to as Basel III. The inclusion of some new non-risk sensitive and macro-prudential measures in this standard indicate a subtle shift in the relative faith in the existing micro-prudential risk regulatory system. Yet one can argue Basel III does not present a radical rewriting of international financial governance as the pre-crisis reliance on risk measurement and modeling in the governance has largely been retained and reinforced.

McMillan, Leah - lmcmillan@balsillieschool.ca
The Education for All Policy: Global-Local Nexus of African Education Systems
The era of globalization has increased the influence that global actors have on the nation-state. The Education for All policy is demonstrative of a globally-produced policy permeating national policy development and implementation. As a global policy, the EFA has contributed to the emergence of non-state and state actor involvement in policy-formation and implementation in realizing the goal of universal primary education. The growth of epistemic communities, networks, bilateral and multilateral institutions, non-state actors and global civil societies in the era of globalization has created a scenario whereby a myriad traditional and non-traditional actors are involved in education policy. While this growth in actors has increased policy attention and budget support to the education sector, often overlooked is the fact that these many different actors come from varying backgrounds and cultures, influencing their perceptions of the very concepts of "access" and "quality", as well as their defined agenda as to what challenges must be overcome in national education systems. This paper questions the assumption made by the cosmopolitan agenda, arguing that differences within and between nation-states might not make global social policies as plausible as previously imagined. The argument draws on evidence from Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia to assert the need for a more cohesive approach to defining educational terminology in an effort to improve universal access to quality basic education.

Measor, John - John.Measor@smu.ca
KRG foreign policy – liminality and identity disposition
This paper is meant to interrogate the efforts of the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) formulation of statehood and citizenship through an examination of KRG foreign policy. Following the 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq Kurdish national identity narratives' shaping of KRG foreign policy have been elided and refracted by the federal project in Iraq, traditional inter-Kurdish factionalism, as well as by the regional reorientation of Turkish foreign policy. Increasingly, KRG-regional and KRG-Iraqi relations are inextricably bound up with the development of notions of statehood and citizenship within the KRG. This is evidenced by the growth and confidence of political opposition through the democratic process and the ensuing reactive articulations by KRG representatives to claims and narratives espoused by opposition political parties and Kurdish civil society. The argument advanced here is that the increasing institutionalization and capacities of governance exhibited by the KRG have opened the space within which articulations and (re-)formulations of Kurdish national identity are possible and that such articulations are most-often framed through KRG foreign policy. Indicating that the KRG's articulation of itself as the 'Other Iraq', a safe haven from the egregious and multi-faceted humanitarian crisis' experienced by Iraqis residing in Iraq's other fifteen governates, allowed a re-narration not only of citizenship within the KRG, but also a focus on a regional orientation representing a crucial thread that links the international and national dimensions of citizenship building.

Medeiros, Mike - mike.medeiros@umontreal.ca
Beyond the Liberal Mystery: A Comprehensive View on the Relationship between Ethnic Identity and Partisanship in Canada, 1965-2008
In his 2005 presidential address to the CPSA, André Blais proposed the creation of special prizes for the individual or team that would explain why, outside Quebec, Catholics and visible minorities consistently prefer the Liberal party. These prizes have yet to be attributed. Attempts to link the preferences of these groups to liberal policies or leadership, or to a

specific Catholic or immigrant ethos have failed. In this paper, we pose the question differently. Returning to a more classical understanding of cleavages in Canadian politics, we broaden the perspective to consider the relationship between all group identities and the two major parties. First, as was often observed in the past, this relationship between identity and partisanship may also apply to other groups and parties. Protestants and Canadians of northern European origins, in particular, may favor the Conservative party. Second, and more importantly, hostility may matter as much as attachment in explaining electoral choice. Catholics, for instance, may go toward the Liberals less because they approve of their policies than because they dislike or distrust the Conservatives. The proposed paper uses Blais' template to test these hypotheses, with the help of Canadian Election Studies data collected between 1965 and 2008. When we broaden the perspective beyond the preferences of a few categories for a single party, to include other groups, other parties, and negative views as well, the Liberal mystery more or less vanishes. What reappears is a coherent party system, conditioned by enduring social cleavages.

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Les opinions et les perceptions des franco-québécois et des franco-ontariens
Le Canada est souvent analysé sous l'optique de son clivage linguistique. Certes, la distinction entre les francophones et les anglophones représente un facteur incontournable du paysage politique canadien. Toutefois, ce constat présuppose une certaine cohésion parmi chacun des deux groupes. La réalité, par contre, semble être toute autre. On considère généralement que la révolution tranquille a permis aux Québécois de développer une identité collective distincte de celle des autres francophones canadiens; une distinction qui se serait manifestée par la suite dans leurs préférences politiques, notamment en faveur de l'indépendance du Québec. Cependant, il est important de mesurer empiriquement le niveau d'homogénéité des francophones au Canada. Représentent-ils une entité cohésive ou sont-ils constitués de groupes divergents? Malheureusement, il existe présentement un vide académique important à cet égard. L'étude proposée cherche à examiner certaines questions clés: Les franco-ontariens et les franco-québécois possèdent-ils des attitudes semblables envers le rôle de l'état, la libre entreprise, l'immigration, la criminalité, l'avortement, et les traditions morales? Quelles similitudes et différences perçoivent-ils auprès des deux groupes? Sur quelles dimensions reposent leurs identités sociales? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous avons réalisé un sondage parmi quelques centaines d'étudiants universitaires franco-québécois et franco-ontariens. Ces données nous offrent l'opportunité unique de cerner les préférences sociopolitiques des deux collectivités ainsi que leurs perceptions de la situation linguistique au pays. Cette comparaison des deux groupes nous permettra de déterminer si les Québécois font partie des franco-canadiens ou s'ils représentent effectivement une société aux valeurs distinctes. Cette étude s'avère pertinente pour la compréhension des groupes linguistiques au Canada et pour jauger le potentiel de cohésion / division entre ceux-ci.

Mellon, Hugh - hmellon@uwo.ca
Canadian Census Politics and Its Federal-Provincial Dimension
One aspect of the extensive public debate over the new voluntary character of the Long Form Census is the federal-provincial dimension. At their annual get-together in August, 2010, Canada's premiers were unable to come together on a shared reaction. Press reports suggested significant disquiet among Ontario, Quebec, and several other provinces while Alberta and B.C. appeared more sanguine. The Premier of the host provincial government, Manitoba, informed the press that the premiers had reached "no consensus" on the issue ("Consensus Eludes Premiers: Several Scold Harper" Montreal Gazette August 6, 2010) Meanwhile there was little in the way of a public comment from the long-established Federal-Provincial-Territorial Council on Statistical Policy. Also notable is that the Harper federal government's unilateral action runs counter to their past declarations of preference for a more conciliatory form of federalism. There are important points to consider here. Population estimates and census data figure into calculations of federal-provincial programs, equalization, and national standards. Quebec has an active provincial statistical agency but even here there is considerable reliance upon working relationships with Statistics Canada. Among the questions that will be considered in the proposed paper are the diversity of provincial reactions, the status of the aforementioned Council on Statistical Policy, and the range of potential ramifications on the federal-provincial front arising from Ottawa's unilateral decision.

Middleton, Stephen - simiddleton@mta.ca
An Obstructionist Senate: Fact or Fabrication?
When Prime Minister Stephen Harper won Canada's 39th General Election in January 2006, his new minority Conservative government in the House of Commons faced a powerful Liberal majority in the Senate. Following 13 years of successive Liberal Governments, Conservative Senators numbered only 28 in the chamber of 105. Fearful that the Senate might stymie its legislative agenda, the Harper government was vocal in protesting obstruction or delay of Government Bills by the Senate and frequently challenged the right of unelected Senators to block bills that had received the assent of the democratically elected House of Commons.
Using two measures as proxies of legislative effectiveness – the total number of government bills passed and the mean time taken to pass a bill – this paper will examine whether the Harper government's accusations of Senate obstruction are valid. Any occasions where the Senate blocked the passage of a government bill will also be considered. These indicators will be examined over the past ten years and will encompass the Harper, Martin, and Chrétien governments. This time frame will also allow the consideration of the effects, if any, of the shift in Senate membership from a Liberal majority to the current Conservative majority.

Migone, Andrea Riccardo - amigone@sfu.ca
Charisma Tamed: An Example from Republican Rome
Starting from the premise that charisma is to be understood as a social process, we argue that some of the practices associated with the triumph in Republican Rome had the function of dampening emergent charisma. The goal was to maintain as foremost the institutions of the Republic in the face of extremely successful military leaders who had the potential to radically change them. This paper analyzes the Triumph in terms of the Weberian theory of Charisma.

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Traceability and Play: Risk Management in the Seafood Industry
In this paper we argue that risk management in modern food chain system cannot do without an appropriate traceability model, which we argue should be genomics based whenever possible. First we show the importance of traceability in the risk analysis process. Second we argue that the implementation of a genomics traceability system would go a long way in ensuring both appropriate threat monitoring and remediation activity. The argument is developed with a case study related to the fish industry. We conclude by noting that important entrenched interests may remain hostile to this approach but that genomics traceability tools may resemble the notion of play in Derrida (1980). Traceability is an option for the public to shake the center of the food quality and food safety system.

Minnett Watchel, Chance - cm09ft@brocku.ca
Righteous Litigation: An Examination of Christian Conservative Interest Group Litigation before the Appellate Courts of Canada, 1982-2009
The study of Canadian interest group litigation has flourished since the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Much of how Canadian researchers go about studying these groups and their interactions with the courts on issues of law and policy has been influenced by our more established American counterparts, who have been able to collect data on interest group litigation since the early years of the 20th century. However, also inherited were their flaws, which Baumgartner and Leech (1998) describe: only specific groups are studied; researchers focused their attentions on too few cases or issue areas; or finally, the time period in which they examine group influence is too short. Segal and Spaeth, additionally, state, "Few people want to spend a year or two studying losing litigators" (1993; 241). In Canadian research, we see these criticisms realized as liberal feminist, gay rights, and official language minority litigant groups have collectively received generous amounts of attention (e.g., Manfredi 2004; Smith 1999, 2005; Riddell 2004) while others, typically conservative groups, have not. This has resulted in entire theories about how courts work and how they interact with these groups being formed. This paper seeks to begin addressing these criticisms by examining the litigation efforts of the Evangelical Christian Fellowship, a conservative Christian group, since the adoption of the Charter in an attempt to provide missing data and to force a re-evaluation of our uniquely Canadian theories that focus on the courts.

Mirchandani, Kiran - kiran@oise.utoronto.ca
"Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

Mitchell, Matthew - matthew.mitchell@queensu.ca
Participatory Governance and Indigenous Peoples: A Neoinstitutional Understanding of Policy Changes in Ontario's Mining Sector
Governments have often viewed Indigenous peoples as obstacles to the development of mining sectors. For their part, Indigenous peoples have criticized governments for excluding them from decisions that impact their communities. The result has been protests, arrests, and violence. The paper addresses this political impasse by examining the mining sector in Ontario. Specifically, it focuses on recent changes to the Mining Act that aim to establish a participatory governance regime by making Indigenous peoples partners in the regulation of the mining sector. These governance shifts and policy changes are significant insofar as they represent the Ontario government's latest attempt to facilitate the reconciliation of

Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests in this sector. The study draws on in-person interviews conducted in 2010 with members of the mining sector's six institutional stakeholder groups: Aboriginal communities and associations; local community representatives; employees of mining firms; employees of mining support sectors such as prospectors; investors and investment firms; and government officials. It assesses the extent to which stakeholders' interests and ideas shaped the content of the changes to the Mining Act. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of participatory governance that includes Indigenous peoples as well as the broader theoretical insights for neoinstitutional approaches to understanding policy change.

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Different Political Trajectories in Southeastern Europe Under Asymmetrical Relations with EU
The European enlargement, through diffusion of institutions, is widely considered as a factor that facilitates and stabilizes democratic regimes in the new members states. The political experience in some new EU members, which are at the same time former communist countries, shows that the model of apparently smooth democratic diffusion centered on the European union asymmetrical domination, isn't always so smooth. A political regime isn't only sum of the presence of formal institutions; it includes also an important cultural dimension, i.e. how the political elite and the masses make sense of the new world they live in.
This proposal, which is part of my PhD dissertation near completion, will present for the first time information gathered during field trips in Bulgaria and F.Y.R. of Macedonia. These two cases show diachronically the process of EU political and cultural influence before and after the formal adherence to the Union. Methodologically, the study is based on interviews with political decision makers, public servants and ordinary citizens, on focus groups, biographic narratives, extensive visual and ethnographic observations, and on political discourse and secondary literature analyses. The first findings show how the European political integration and diffusion of new institutions, norms and procedures can lead toward erosion or even destruction of the national identity and the local democratic culture, and therefore, to produce quite the opposite of its formal intentions. Similarly, the EU integration can increase the level of political apathy, and mixed with some already existing mass feelings, such as the ethnic nationalism, to facilitate the political extremism. On a positive side, the results show the specific conditions, both cultural and social, under which the EU integration can finally produce the long expected positive behavioral changes that increase the level of social cooperation, and fulfill the initial pro-democratic prophecies.

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Weber's Definition of the State as an Ethnographic Tool for Understanding the Contemporary Political Science State of the Discipline
Max Weber' definition of the state as a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory is widely used in the contemporary political science; there is hardly a more frequently used quotation. Authors that belong from positivist and hermeneutical epistemologies, and from quantitative to qualitative methodologies can equally claim allegiance to it, each with an accent on particular element: force, legitimacy, or monopoly.
In this presentation I try to sketch the political science contemporary state of the discipline, including the power distribution within it, by looking at the different ways of interpreting the original Weberian definition. Methodologically, instead of providing quantifiable data, it looks at the power struggle to integrate the definition within one particular theoretical paradigm or in building cross-theoretical coalitions that share some common denominators. I claim that Weber has ceased to be a source of theoretical inspiration and innovation; instead, he has become a charismatic and uncritical tool of power redistribution within the discipline. Ironically, we may say using his wording that any theoretical domination from now on should successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of Weber within political science.

Moffitt, Benjamin - bjmoffitt@gmail.com
Straddling the Divide: Conservatism and Populism in Harper's Canada and Howard's Australia
In 2003, future Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered a speech in the House of Commons regarding the Iraq war that plagiarized from a speech by then Australian Prime Minister John Howard. Harper and Howard, as it turns out, have far more in common than some borrowed words – both are conservative politicians who defeated an incumbent party that had been in power for over a decade. In order to both obtain and maintain power, both leaders had to identify and create policies that satisfy two 'wings' of their respective parties – social conservatives and classical liberals – that do not always share the same priorities. This paper uses a comparative framework to explore similarities between the Howard and Harper governments in terms of both policy content and political/ideological framing. Despite governing a decade apart in very different economic circumstances, there exists a remarkable similarity in both leaders' major policy platforms, including anti-crime measures, lower taxes, and less funding for the arts. Moreover, both leaders made frequent appeals to populism, using 'wedge politics' and 'dog-whistling' to divide the community between 'ordinary' Canadians/Australians and an apparently out-of-touch elite. Utilizing recent developments in the political theory of populism, we examine how both leaders sought to portray themselves as knowing what 'the people' really wanted in such a way that allowed them to straddle ideological divisions and satisfy their electoral coalition.

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Le travail des députés québécois en circonscription
Depuis Gélinas (1969), bien peu d'études ont été menées pour comprendre la nature et l'évolution de la relation qu'entretiennent les députés québécois envers leur circonscription. À l'inverse, des études pancanadiennes permettent de mieux comprendre cette réalité (Docherty, 2005, 2003 et 1997; Clarke et al., 1975). Ce projet de communication vise à rendre compte des résultats d'une enquête auprès des 125 élus siégeant à l'Assemblée nationale et des 75 élus québécois de la Chambre des communes à l'aide d'un questionnaire administré en 2010.   Dans un premier temps, cette communication permettra d'illustrer l'évolution du rôle du député québécois depuis la Révolution tranquille et ce, en comparant des données contemporaines à celles obtenues à cette époque par Gélinas (1969). De même, elle rendra compte des distinctions observées selon le genre des députés. Dans un deuxième temps, elle vise à cerner les réalités vécues par les députés en circonscription. Il s'agit ici de voir si le phénomène observé en Grande-Bretagne (Norton et Wood, 2003; Norton, 1994), soit l'augmentation de la charge de travail du député et la professionnalisation de la fonction de député, est également pertinent au Québec. Enfin,des données comparatives portant sur la charge de travail en circonscription selon que l'on soit un élu de l'Assemblée nationale ou de la Chambre des communes seront présentées ainsi que des données illustrant le niveau de collaboration entre les députés québécois provinciaux et fédéraux.

Moore, Aaron Alexander - amoore48@uwo.ca
Urban Planners and Planning Policy Outcome in Canada
This paper examines the role urban planners play in shaping municipal planning policy and development. Current literature on the politics of urban development and planning rarely addresses urban planners or planning experts' role in the politics of urban development and policy decision-making. However, the author's recent examination of urban development politics in Toronto suggests variations in planning institutions can affect the importance of urban planners, particularly those employed by the city, in shaping urban planning policy and outcomes. This paper, part of a larger study, seeks to expand on this finding by examining urban planners' roles in four of Canada's largest cities: Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Ottawa. Utilizing local political economy approach to the study of urban politics and bureaucratic models of behaviour, this study looks at city planners' in their capacity as advisors to municipal councils. Specifically, it examines to what extent urban planners' advice influences the decisions of municipal councils in the four cities. Drawing on reports to council from planning departments (or their equivalent), zoning by-laws, official plans, council minutes, council decisions, and reports and/or decisions from any intervening bodies, the author hopes to determine how often urban planners' advice translates into final City decisions on development, and what factors might weaken or strengthen urban planners' influence on planning policy decision-making.

Moore, Margaret - margaret.moore@queensu.ca
Global Justice and Territorial Rights
This paper discusses the tension between territorial rights (understood as rights to territorial jurisdiction, and including jurisdictional authority over resources) and global justice. It examines whether rights to land should be subject to justice considerations, and how this might be effected. At the heart of this paper is the tension between identity-related attachments to *particular* land and the central impetus of global distributive justice, to ensure a fair distribution of the good in question (in this case, land).

Morden, Michael - michael.morden@utoronto.ca
Multinational Studies and the Problem of Unity: Bringing the Citizens In
The burgeoning literature on multinational states has focused chiefly on normative considerations of recognition, as well as the empirical study of institutional and constitutional models. It has yet to systematically discuss the notion of unity, an oversight that can be related to its repudiation of majoritarian nationalism. Unity is generally treated indirectly, as a result rather than as a condition of multinationalism. It thus leaves a critical gap in our understanding of multinational realities. This paper seeks to unfold the different conceptualizations of unity in multinational states. We argue that unity is generally framed in one of three ways: at a meta-normative level (unity through recognition and dialogue) (Taylor 1992; Tully 1995), at a political level (through constitutional arrangements, elite accommodation, and consociationalism) (Gagnon and Iacovino 2007, Lijphart 1968), and at a societal level (through horizontal linkages between groups of citizens) (Varshney 2003). We argue that the concept of social unity is one of the most under-theorized and studied in the literature, and especially in Canada. The threat of secession has pushed scholars towards seeking arrangements that ensure short-term political unity, but has distracted them from considering the social, citizen-level bases of unity. The paper puts forward a new social unity research agenda by drawing insights from the international literature on post-conflict societies (Lederach 1997), which suggests that normative and political solutions must be matched with societal solutions.

Morgan, Josh - jmorga8@uwo.ca
Mayoral Re-election and the Economy: The 2010 Municipal Elections in Ontario
In fall 2008, the economy of Ontario was significantly influenced by the global economic collapse. The resulting recession and slow recovery has been particularly strongly felt in Ontario's manufacturing rich economy. In light of such significant economic change, the economic voting model provides some insight into how elected politicians may be influenced. The accepted wisdom of economic voting suggests that electoral outcomes are in part influenced by economic conditions: in particular, incumbents' electoral success (or failure) is importantly tied to the strength (or weakness) of economic

conditions. Given the empirical and theoretical backdrop, the 2010 Ontario municipal elections provided the Ontario electorate with the first widespread electoral opportunity to render judgment on their local leadership since the economic downturn of 2008. Accordingly, this paper explores the extent to which economic conditions influenced municipal election results. Using the incidence of re-election of incumbent mayors as the dependent variable, the paper estimates a model involving a range of economic (unemployment) and contextual (e.g. population size, length of time in office and turnout) variables. In particular, we expect that higher rates (and changes in those rates) of local unemployment will be significantly associated with a declining likelihood of re-election for mayors across Ontario. Cognizant of nearing provincial and (anticipated) federal elections, findings of this paper will be considered in light of the potential for economic effects to influence electoral outcomes in these venues.

Mowbray, Jennifer - jmowbray@rogers.com
Getting to 30%: The Effect of International Norms on Canadian Municpalities
In an era when the global and the domestic are increasingly interconnected examinations of the power international norms have on domestic policy are ever more relevant. In the international community, new norms and standards with regards to the engagement of women in government emerged over the past decades and have crystallized. The paper will investigate whether Canada's participation in a globalized world has influenced the positions, policies and processes of Canada's municipalities with regards to the involvement of women in government. The paper will begin by showing the existence of the norm, through the consensus among major international institutions and NGO's around the Beijing Action Plan's benchmark of 30% participation. It then focuses on the effect this international norm has had on local government across Canada. In September 2010, women represented 16 per cent of mayors and 25 per cent of councillors in Canada, for an average of 24 per cent. In absolute terms, of 23 821 elected officials just 5734 were women, so Canada would need 1412 more women in elected municipal office to reach the 30 per cent target – an increase of roughly 100 every year for the next 15 years. From October 2010 to October 2011, five provinces will have municipal elections – Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia. This provides a great opportunity to examine the progress women are making in this arena. In the concluding section of the paper, the endeavours underway in cities across the country to increase women's involvement in municipal government will be highlighted and hypotheses regarding the future evolution put forward.

Moyson, Stephane - stephane.moyson@uclouvain.be
A Contribution to the Analysis of the Causal Processes between Dynamic Systems Events and Policy Change with the Advocacy Coalition Framework: The Individual Conditions of Policy-Oriented Learning
The applications of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) have not yet elucidated all the causal processes between dynamic system events – such as supranational policies – and domestic policy change within policy subsystems. This paper complements the ACF literature by identifying the individual conditions of policy-oriented learning, a crucial intermediate factor between dynamic system events and policy change. According to the ACF, the policy core beliefs of individual actors directly flow from their deep core beliefs. The ACF postulates that the deep core beliefs are resistant to change. Hence, the actors revise their policy core beliefs (policy-oriented learning) only as a result of meso-level or macro-level factors (such as dynamic system events) which put into light some incoherence in the relation between these beliefs and their deep core beliefs. At the individual level, this paper adds, first, that deep core beliefs not only include the determinants of the policy objectives of the actors but also their general attitude regarding policy processes (such as their propensity to compromise), which can influence policy-oriented learning. Second, some personal characteristics of the actors (such as the gender or the age) are susceptible to affect policy-oriented learning. This is contingent on subsystem characteristics. A review of ACF applications and a selection of relevant contributions from psychological and organizational sciences underlie these propositions. They reassert the role of the individual and policy-oriented learning in the ACF and, then, contribute to explain the impacts of dynamic system events resulting from cross-national integration on domestic policy change within policy subsystems.

Muller, Benjamin - bmuller@uwo.ca
Suspicious (In)Security: Biometrics, Mobility, and Global Criminalization
This paper considers the burgeoning reliance on biometric technology in the management, securitization, and "suspicion" of mobility, and its consequences for identity, as part of the alleged necessity to globalize law and law enforcement in light of the so-called "globalization of crime". The paper examines the extent to which criminalization and crime control, in advancing what Andreas and Nadelmann refer to as "Policing the Globe," tends to conceal the politics of such strategies, sometimes even depoliticizing them, with specific reference to the dependence on biometric technologies in the management of mobility. In this case, the reliance on identification and surveillance technologies, the empowered role of private actors in the introduction, maintenance and management of these technologies and accompanying strategies, are examples of the globalization of particular economic and political interests, concealed as the allegedly banal globalization of criminal law enforcement. What is crime or criminal is defined by and in law, and tends to vary across states. However, the pressures and challenges of globalization have eroded these distinctions, often avoiding politically and historically sensitive debates, and reframing the "problem" as one of global coherence and coordination, especially in the management of borders and the bodies that cross them. In this sense, widespread acceptance of the story of globalized crime and the necessary globalization of crime control which ought to follow, provides a convenient method for eliding

certain political and economic interests, moral impulses, and the export of certain historically and culturally distinct definitions of crime.

Muller, Benjamin J. - bmuller@uwo.ca
Danger, Identity, and Foreign Policy: The Case of Hizballah
In the context of a wider project that considers how Hizballah's identity politics are shaped by communal and domestic, Lebanese considerations, this paper engages questions of foreign policy and identity in the context of a non-state actor (Hizballah) in the context of the quasi-sovereign Lebanese state. If in fact, state foreign policy is an expression of identity and national interest, what happens when we adopt this approach in the case of Hizballah? In conventional IR, foreign policy is framed as an expression of 'national interest'. It reifies the differentiation between the domestic political space, and the international anarchical space. What does it mean when an actor that is both domestic and international, and defined as a non-state, possesses a foreign policy? In particular, we draw on David Campbell's work on how interpretations and representations of danger have worked in establishing national identity. In other words, foreign policy is not taken to be a simple expression of any given society, but it constitutes identity vis-à-vis the interpretation of danger posed by others. What does it mean to think in these terms when the central figure is a non-state actor like Hizballah? How does its foreign policy (re)present danger and what sort of identities are subsequently formed?

Munroe, Dustin – dsm587@mail.usask.ca
Reforms to Funding Framework for Primary and Secondary Education in Saskatchewan:An Analysis of the Principles and Political
During the past two decades, in Saskatchewan, as in some of the other provinces, the system of financing the K-12 education system has been a matter of extensive negotiations and tensions between educational authorities and the municipal and provincial governments. After nearly two decades of debating the issue and some minor incremental changes over time, the Saskatchewan provincial government eventually adopted an interim funding formula in its 2009 budget. The provincial government usurped the local property taxing authority that had been vested in Saskatchewan's school boards since the founding of the province. During the past two years the provincial government has been developing a new formula that will likely be announced as part of 2011 provincial budget. This paper will examine the policy options that were proposed and implemented over time and the corresponding political dynamics created by the competing interests and principles of the boards of education, the municipal and provincial governments and other stakeholders (e.g., ratepayers, the teachers unions etc.). Some attention will also be devoted to the administrative values at the heart of this issue such as local autonomy, tax and educational equity, stable funding, sound taxation, and accountability. As well the paper will provide some comparative insights on the funding frameworks and formulas that have been established in some other provinces in recent years.

Mutlu, Can - cmutl074@uottawa.ca
Securitization and Integration: The New Politics of Depoliticization
Contemporary theories of securitization and European integration make the same fundamental argument: issues and sectors can be depoliticized, and removed from the public sphere. Both literatures are concerned with the processes – in both the public scene and backstage – by which issues cease to be publicly debatable and new measures become possible and appropriate. For securitization literature, depoliticization is a consequence of security concerns and exceptional measures used to counter those concerns. Whereas, for European integration theory, especially (neo)functionalism, depoliticization is a result of technicalization process. By putting together these literatures from critical security studies and European integration for the first time, we construct a unified theory of depoliticization, which explains how security and integration issues may move in the public imaginary. The case of FRONTEX, the European Union (EU) agency responsible for border security, and in particular the competing theses from these two literatures that explain the rationale behind the creation of this agency, illustrates our model.

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There goes the Neighbourhood: Analysis of the EU's External Borders under the European Neighbourhood Policy
The borders of the European Union (EU) are not where we think they are. Rather than a single, hard-shell, the borders of the EU vary significantly by policy areas: European standards in energy, transportation, telecommunication, and cultural zones extend far beyond the member states of the EU, while borders that regulate mobility and issues associated with mobility (such as immigration) and security (e.g.: human-trafficking, organized crime, and drug smuggling), in most cases, do not include all the members of the Union. These often overlapping and yet multiple zones of control raise important questions about governance, sovereignty and identity in Europe. By understanding borders as a networked space, and relying on topological analysis to conceptualize this space, this paper focuses on the differentiation of the external borders of the EU under the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). The ENP framework, as a post-accession policy of the EU, through policy reforms, stabilizes the immediate periphery of the Union without offering full membership to the neighboring countries to the East and South. These reform processes result in the extension of certain European laws, regulations and norms beyond the established borders of the EU, constructing different maps of Europe, with multiple borders, inclusions and exclusions, in the process. This paper asks: How does the ENP affect the trans-border relations between the EU and

its neighbors to South and East? What kind of Europe – in terms of practices of sovereignty – do we see under the ENP regime?

Narveson, Jan - jnarveso@uwaterloo.ca
Duties to, and Rights of, Future Generations: An Impossibility Theorem
As one of the earlier explorers of this subject of future generations, I have followed subsequent discussions with considerable interest; and my own views have developed as well. They have, in fact, developed in the direction of having my doubts about the whole subject. There are two independent but strongly reinforcing reasons for dismissing the whole idea. First: no sort of "rights" can hold between parties between whom there is the kind of asymmetry that there necessarily is between "us" and future people. No "deals" can be made, since it is logically impossible for them to reciprocate. In a sense, we can do things to them, and they can't do things to us. But in another sense, it's the other way around. By the time they get on the scene, we are gone; we won't be able to do anything to "collect." Second, there is what I call the "epistemic" reason. What future people will have that we do not and logically cannot have is: all the knowledge accumulated between now and then. While it is, of course, logically possible for libraries to be burnt and intellectuals to be liquidated, etc., yet the normal course of things is totally asymmetric. Future people will normally inherit all the knowledge that we have, plus a whole lot more. And it is inherently impossible for us to do anything but conjecture about what they will know, since by definition we don't know it yet.

Nater, John - jnater@uwo.ca
The Wrath of Grapes: Don Cherry & the Militarization of Hockey
This paper will consider whether Don Cherry's use of military rhetoric in his weekly "Coach's Corner" segment transforms Canada's pastime into a militarized identity. Through a discourse analysis of the 2009-2010 National Hockey League season, it is argued that Cherry's commentary has become increasingly political and his authority on sport has transformed into a recognition of authority on political affairs. Despite its billing as hockey commentary, it could be argued that his segment has become more of a commentary on world affairs with the sport of hockey as the primary analogy. This paper considers the verbal and non-verbal cues as demonstrated between Cherry's interactions with his co-host regarding foreign and Canadian players. Further, it is postulated that his view towards foreign players is equated with his views on politics. As one of the most recognizable figures in the Canadian sports world, Cherry's commentary often goes unquestioned during the segment. This includes not only his hockey commentary but also, and perhaps more importantly, his comments on Canadian and world political affairs. Under the guise of support for the men and women of the Canadian armed forces, Cherry serves to encourage a form of strong patriotism based on an unquestioning acceptance of the goals of a nation. This type of political rhetoric disguised as sport commentary undercuts the various tensions and struggles that exist in Canada. This paper will not offer a normative judgment, but rather seeks to bring forward the conflation of sport and political authority as personified by Don Cherry.

Nater, John - jnater@uwo.ca
Weapons of the (Politically) Weak? Speaker Selection as Strategic Dissent in the Ontario Legislature
The majority of academic studies examining legislative dissent have focused on public acts of dissent – that is, legislators physically standing and voting against their party or criticizing them in the media. This is understandable, as nearly all votes in legislatures are public. However, there is a lone secret ballot vote conducted in legislatures: the vote to elect a Speaker. In this paper, we examine Speaker selection in Ontario and find that in the seven votes to select a Speaker since the Ontario legislature began using a secret ballot, the Premier has rarely seen his choice for Speaker elected. In four out of seven votes, their caucus has voted against them. We ask why this private act of dissent is more common than public acts of dissent, testing three factors identified as likely to increase dissent: party popularity, cabinet size and the percentage of new MPs entering the party at each legislative term. We find that individual level indicators best explain the paradox of private acts of dissent and that the Speaker selection process involves three groups of actors, each with their own preference order in decision-making: 1) the government backbench, 2) the Premier's Office, the Premier and Cabinet and 3) the opposition. Overall, we find that the private vote matters a great deal. Public voting reduces the levels of dissent experienced in caucus, but if MPPs were allowed to vote by secret ballot on more matters, the consequences could be much more severe for a governing party.

Nenadic, Natalie – Natalie.nenadic@uky.ca
Genocide and Sexual Atrocities: Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem and Karadzic in New York
International law has recently recognized that sexual atrocities can be acts of genocide. This precedent was established through a landmark lawsuit in New York against Radovan Karadžić, head of the Bosnian Serbs (Kadic v. Karadžić, March 1993-August 2000). I argue that the source of this shift is phenomenological and that we may thus situate the New York case in relation to Hannah Arendt's project in Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil. Arendt secures a more adequate understanding of the "new" crime of genocide through an ethical approach that emanates from a grappling with the facts or phenomena. This method contrasts with a top-down "applied" approach that obscures their reality, a reality that demands original thinking. I show how she thus situates her project in relation to the Nuremberg Trials and to the Jerusalem court. She criticizes each for "applying" existing categories of crime and evil in a manner that didn't do justice to the reality of events. I then situate the New York case as an extension of Arendt's project by showing the

phenomenological source of our understanding of the "new" crime of genocidal sexual atrocities. I do so through a first-hand account: I organized survivors for the lawsuit; enlisted Catharine MacKinnon to represent them; and ran the case with her. I show how our approach likewise contrasts with prevailing "applied" approaches that obscured the reality of events and interfered with justice.

Nef, Jorge - jorgenef@uoguelph.ca
Meeting the Challenges of Public Administration in the 21st Century: Canadian, Comparative and Development Administration Perspectives Considered
Public administration, along with comparative and development administration, is facing a worldwide challenge from the new public management (NPM) and governance paradigms that have emerged in the past few decades. States and their respective bureaucracies are no longer the first line of defense for addressing critical societal issues; instead, we have witnessed a contraction in the size and scope of the state and, when governments do act, they tend to do so in concert with a variety of non-state actors. This shift towards a variety of private sector business principles in the operation of government and the inclusion of a much wider array of networked partners has given rise to a number of new challenges for public administration. This transformation in public administration necessitates some consideration of a number of critical questions: First, what should be the role of public administration in the 21st century? With the increasing relevance of market-based economy and globalization, do we need to redefine the role of the state? What are the implications for the discernible in the role of the state from production functions to policy regulatory functions? Most likely there will be a continuing need and demand for greater transparency and accountability in government, a greater emphasis on efficient and effective service delivery, and an increasing need for ethical governance. In this panel discussion, the three panelists (Mau—Canada, Nef—development and Dwivedi—comparative) will discuss how the future public administrators may cope with the new realities associated with NPM and governance.

Nelles, Jen - jennelles@gmail.com
Borderland Community and the Reform of the Windsor-Detroit Border
A growing and diverse academic literature exists on the functional and cultural linkages between border communities at both the governmental and societal levels. These examinations of borderland communities seek to explain why and when linkages develop and assess the implications of these linkages in cases where they are found. In North America, Detroit-Windsor is the quintessential metropolitan border community along the Canada-U.S. border. It is a community that shares many problems and policy concerns. Over recent years one of these concerns has been the reform of the Detroit River border crossing. This is the busiest land border crossing in North America and it is central to the regional economy as well as the wider North American economy. Over the past decade, the senior governments have debated reform of the local border infrastructure and the access routes to this border. This reform will have a major impact on the local communities and various local actors on both sides of the border have sought to participate in the policy debate and influence the decision-making process. This paper examines the extent to which local actors in Detroit and Windsor have interacted and sought to coordinate their policy positions and strategies within the border reform debate. The paper focuses on the extent of the interaction among community groups, business organizations and municipal government. The paper examines these interactions within the context of the theories of border communities.

Neville, Kate - kjneville@gmail.com
Biofuels and the Politics of Mapping "Unproductive" Land
Is the current investment in biofuel production in the developing world a "global land grab"? Some critics certainly think so, and question a core assumption of many of these schemes: that vast swaths of "marginal" and "unused" land exist. For them, efforts to take control of such land are little more than a renewal of colonialism, and disputes over land allocation processes are a predictable consequence. Although clearer maps of land uses and claims could help resolve some of these disputes, in much of the developing world such maps remain fragmented, incomplete, or simply absent. Ongoing contestation over mapmaking and land availability reveals tensions among ways of measuring and allocating territory, valuing land uses, and demarcating ownership. In this paper, through a case study in Tanzania's Rufiji Delta, we explore a series of questions related to these claims of "empty" land, to draw out the implications for state-society relations. Building on political geography and critical theory, we ask: how is state control created and reinforced through mapping? How are corporations implicated in these processes? Which maps guide land allocation, especially in rural areas? How does territorial mapping relate to the concepts of "productivity" and "efficiency"? And how are these discursive dynamics driving the expansion of biofuels in the developing world? The answers to these questions have consequences not only for agriculture, food security, and biofuel production, but also for politics within the state linked to contestation over resource control, and for the trajectory of development in the global South.

Nieguth, Tim - tnieguth@laurentian.ca
Nationhood and Local Citizenship Regimes: The Case of Baden-Württemberg's Naturalization Interview Guideline
Section 10 of Germany's citizenship law stipulates that applicants for citizenship must support the principles of liberal democracy enshrined in the federal constitution. In addition, they must not be engaged in activities that pose a threat to Germany's security or the democratic order. In January 2006, the state of Baden-Württemberg implemented a guideline to assist immigration officers in determining whether citizenship applicants meet these conditions. The guideline provoked

considerable criticism from a number of key political actors. Many critics charged that it targeted Muslims and was therefore discriminatory in nature. Baden-Württemberg's state government denied these accusations, insisting that the guideline was simply intended to lend procedural substance to existing legislation and to protect the legitimate interests of the German state. This paper will argue, first, that Baden-Württemberg's naturalization interview guideline served to construct a specific image of German identity and of Islam, rendering the two, if not incompatible, then at least difficult to reconcile. Second, much of the current literature on citizenship focuses on the global and nation-state levels. Cases such as these illustrate the importance of attending to local and regional political processes as well in unpacking evolving citizenship regimes.

Nikolenyi, Csaba - csaba@alcor.concordia.ca
Making Parties Work: Anti-Defection Laws Around the World
Anti-defection laws are an important instrument that a growing number of states have adopted to promote the institutionalization of their legislative party systems. In spite of their increasingly wide-spread use, little scholarly attention has been paid to their comparative study. This paper will fill this gap by making three major contributions. First, it provides a complete survey
of anti-defection laws around the world. Admittedly, the currently available and reported comparative surveys are only partial (Janda 2005, Malhotra 2006). Second, it provides a classification of anti-defections laws according to the type of legislation (constitutional act versus ordinary law) and the severity of the punishment imposed on defectors (loss of mandate vs. loss of privileges). Third, it provides an account for the adoption of anti-defections laws, and variations thereof, by considering a number of hypotheses. Specifically, it tries to find out the effects that (i) the nature of the political regime; (ii) the strength of the
presidential executive; (iii) the existing level of party system institutionalization; (iv) the format of the party system; and (v) stochastic political crises have on the likelihood that such laws are adopted.

Noël, Alain - alain.noel@umontreal.ca
Beyond the Liberal Mystery: A Comprehensive View on the Relationship Between Ethnic Identity and Partisanship in Canada, 1965-2008
In his 2005 presidential address to the CPSA, André Blais proposed the creation of special prizes for the individual or team that would explain why, outside Quebec, Catholics and visible minorities consistently prefer the Liberal party. These prizes have yet to be attributed. Attempts to link the preferences of these groups to liberal policies or leadership, or to a specific Catholic or immigrant ethos have failed. In this paper, we pose the question differently. Returning to a more classical understanding of cleavages in Canadian politics, we broaden the perspective to consider the relationship between all group identities and the two major parties. First, as was often observed in the past, this relationship between identity and partisanship may also apply to other groups and parties. Protestants and Canadians of northern European origins, in particular, may favor the Conservative party. Second, and more importantly, hostility may matter as much as attachment in explaining electoral choice. Catholics, for instance, may go toward the Liberals less because they approve of their policies than because they dislike or distrust the Conservatives. The proposed paper uses Blais' template to test these hypotheses, with the help of Canadian Election Studies data collected between 1965 and 2008. When we broaden the perspective beyond the preferences of a few categories for a single party, to include other groups, other parties, and negative views as well, the Liberal mystery more or less vanishes. What reappears is a coherent party system, conditioned by enduring social cleavages.

Noël, Alain - alain.noel@umontreal.ca
Aboriginal Peoples: Uncertain Citizens in a Federal Welfare State
The construction of the welfare state was an exercise in citizenship. When this first happened in Canada, however, Aboriginal peoples were hardly recognized as citizens. Indians were explicitly denied citizenship, and Métis and Inuit were largely ignored, fated for what Alan Cairns called "assimilation by neglect." With the development of universal or encompassing social programs, this situation began to change. Rights, benefits, and services were gradually introduced by both the federal and provincial governments, which together gave rise to a somewhat modified version of the Canadian welfare state for Aboriginal peoples. In principle, Ottawa was supposed to take on the role of the provinces for Indians on reserve, while the provinces responded to the needs of other Aboriginal peoples. But the reality proved more complex, so much so that the resulting arrangement became difficult to grasp and assess. "Few generalizations about eligibility stand," noted Frances Abele. The proposed paper surveys the concrete, on-the-ground division of roles and responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments to show how social policies addressed at Aboriginal peoples are not only distinct from those aimed at other citizens, but also far from uniform. The logic at work varies from one domain to the other, reflecting both path dependency and historical turning points, and it can also be place-specific, in response to local conflicts and negotiations. The result is a complex patchwork of special rules and exceptions that gives a very concrete meaning to Cairns' notion of "uncertain citizens."

Nossal, Kim Richard - nossalk@queensu.ca
Don't Mention the War: The Afghanistan Mission and Bipartisanship in Australia and Canada

This paper seeks to explain the patterns of foreign policy partisanship and bipartisanship in Australia and Canada, using the mission in Afghanistan as a case study. On the one hand, Australian foreign policy has traditionally been marked by a high degree of bipartisanship between the two major parties, the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal Party/National Party Coalition. Even in specific cases where there was deep disagreement – such as the United States-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 – there has been an unwillingness to politicize foreign policy issues for domestic electoral advantage. This bipartisanship has been most evident over the mission in Afghanistan, with both the Coalition and the ALP were agreed that Australian forces would remain in Afghanistan for as long as they were needed. As a result, Australian politics was marked a deep silence over the war: it was not an issue in either the 2007 or the 2010 elections. In Canada, there has also been a silence on Afghanistan: as in Australia, the mission was not mentioned in the 2008 election. But the pattern of bipartisanship differed: instead of real bipartisanship, both the Conservatives and the Liberals agreed to establish a faux bipartisanship on Afghanistan that focused on a withdrawal in 2011. The paper will explore a number of possible explanations for the observed difference between the two countries: the dynamics of minority government, the impact of geostrategic factors; and the effect of strategic culture.

Nyers, Peter - nyersp@mcmaster.ca
Moving Dirt: (De)territorializing the Border
While there is a vast literature on the movement of people across borders, there is relatively little critical analysis of the movement of the physical terrain on border crossings. This paper investigates how a banal object – in this case 'dirt' – can take on extraordinary meanings and significance in securitized moments and places. We analyze two cases involving the movement of dirt, soil, territory: first, the movement of tons of dirt to fill the canyons, valleys, gullies, and other 'border corridors' along the U.S.-Mexico border in order to fulfill the state's desire to striate the border by creating a 'smooth space' upon which to build its physical fortifications (fences, walls, etc.); second, we analyze how the removal of top soil from southern Lebanon by withdrawing Israeli forces inadvertently revealed an earlier territorialization in the form of stone border cairns buried under the soil by British and French surveyors, representing the previous authorities over land and territory. In each case, we argue that the movement of dirt in borderzones raises fundamental questions about the historically shifting meanings of land and territory, soil and earth, and their relationship to political identity and community.

Odoom, Isaac - iodoom@ualberta.ca
Challenging the Development Paradigm and the face of Development Cooperation?: Interrogating China's Rise in Africa
China's rise in Africa cannot be ignored for a variety of reasons. It gives Africa leverage in its relations with the North. China's emergence onto the global stage also compels African government and their counterparts in the South to reflect on and adopt initiatives that address their development challenges. For African policy-makers, a more nuanced understanding regarding the varied impacts that China can have on their economies and on Africa's development path is needed.
The key question is whether China's engagements in Africa are purely extractive or have developmental impact. The paper looks in some detail at these real and possible impacts. Specifically, the paper examines the rise of China, a postcolonial state, as a non-DAC donor and 'partner in development' in Africa and its implications on the concept of development—the ideas, institutions, actors, norms, and practices that govern (aid-donor community) development efforts in Africa. The paper suggests that the rise of China on the continent is more than simply increasing the choice of African countries on financing development. Beijing's increasing involvement in Africa and its approach seems to challenge the western development paradigm as well as the established multilateral development assistance regime which has long influenced Africa's development trajectory.

Ohemeng, Frank - fohemeng@uottawa.ca
When Public Administration and Political Economy Meet: An Examination of Capacity Building in Democratic Development States
Public administration tends to learn a lot from other fields of study. For example, it attempts to use theories developed in the physical sciences, such as complexity and systems, from economics, sociology, and international relations to examine administrative phenomenon. In this paper, I will attempt to utilize political economists' ideas of the democratic developmental state to examine how to build bureaucratic capacity in developing countries. Thus, the objective is to explore ways of building a public administration system – specifically, bureaucratic capacity–in these countries. Development in these countries has become a key issue in global discussions. However, not much theoretical development has evolved in the public administration literature to explain this development. The research aims to understand how developing countries can build their bureaucracies to the point where they are capable of efficient and effective public management in a democratic environment. The questions to be answered are:
•   What can be learned from the political economy literature in order to help examine bureaucratic capacity in democratic developmental states?
•   What sort of transformative bureaucratic organizations are needed to manage the state's development in a democratic environment?
•   How does the democratic environment affect, positively and negatively, the building of bureaucratic and managerial capacities for development?
•   What sort of public services and administration are essential for good governance?; and

•   How should public agencies management capacity and management systems be developed to lead to improve performance in terms of service each agency's its mission, delivering services, or generating appropriate policy outcomes?

Ohemeng, Frank - fohemeng@uottawa.ca
The Efficacy of the Public Sector in Water and Wastewater Delivery: An Analysis of Four Canadian Municipalities
The debate over the most appropriate mechanism for the delivery of public services, especially delivery of water, continues unabated. Two schools of thought have developed, which now define the parameters of this often-contentious issue. The first school of thought, made up of mostly pro-market advocates believes that the public sector is not up to the task of water service delivery. The second school of thought consists primarily of pro-state supporters, and contends that the private sector is not the best mechanism or vehicle for service delivery, especially when it comes to water. Determining which school of thought has the greatest merit has not been an easy undertaking. In order to better understand the specifics of the debate, we will examine the public sector's involvement in the delivery of water and wastewater services in three municipalities in Ontario (York, Ottawa, and Hamilton), and the City of Winnipeg. The York and Ottawa cases are interesting because the municipalities have traditionally been responsible for service delivery. Hamilton has experimented over the past two decades with both mechanisms of service delivery. Since 2009, Winnipeg has been contemplating turning over its water and wastewater delivery to the private sector, and while this has yet to occur, it is negotiating with a private firm to provide advice and services to upgrade wastewater treatment facilities. Why have some municipalities eschewed experimentation with private-sector delivery, while others have not. We believe that examining these cases will help us contribute significantly to the debate surrounding service delivery in Canada.

Olive, Andrea - olivea@umd.umich.edu
Environmental Justice for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada's Species at Risk Act
Canada's Species at Risk Act (2002) lays legal claim to taking seriously the role of Aboriginal peoples in the conservation of biodiversity. The act creates an "Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge Committee" for the purposes of assisting in the identification and listing of endangered species. The act also mandates that when creating a recovery plan for an endangered species the Minister of the Environment must cooperate with "every Aboriginal organization that the minister considers will be directly affected by the recovery strategy." However, in the 2009 – 2010 Five Year Review of SARA, the House Committee on the Environment learned that the act is failing to live up to its obligations of procedural equity. After briefly exploring the political history of conservation in Canada, this paper argues that Aboriginal peoples are still being left out of a process that directly impacts them, and a process where their traditional knowledge should be valued for its significant contribution to biodiversity conservation in Canada. Drawing on legislative hearings and committee reports from the original passage of SARA in 2002 as well as committee testimonies from the 2009-10 review, it is clear that Canada needs to reassess the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in conservation efforts. This will enable Canada to fulfill its commitment to environmental justice and procedural equity as well as its commitment to the protection and recovery of biodiversity.

O'Neill, Brenda - bloneill@ucalgary.ca
Quebec Women's Attitudes Toward the Niqab
In 2009 the issue of reasonable accommodation was reignited in Quebec when a young woman refused to comply with her CEGEP instructor's request that she remove her niqab. It was a French language class and the instructor maintained that she needed to see students' faces in order to evaluate their French pronunciation. The young women refused on the grounds that there were men in the room. The Quebec government's response was Projet de loi no 94, a bill introduced in the National Assembly in March 2010 which effectively bans women from wearing the niqab when working in or receiving services from a number of public sector institutions. Using data from the Quebec Women's Political Participation Survey, an original telephone survey that went into the field in June and July of 2010, the paper investigates francophone women's thinking on the issue of the niqab, and attempts to identify the key arguments that lie behind their positions on the issue. More specifically, it examines the role of religion and feminism in shaping women's positions on the issue. What it finds is that Quebec women's thinking on the issue of the niqab is complex and driven by a mix of factors that are not always easily explained.

O'Neill, Brenda - bloneill@ucalgary.ca
Women's Political Representation in Alberta
The proposed paper is an evaluation of the status of and explanations for women's political representation in Alberta. The focus is on the provincial level (to the exclusion of the municipal) including the legislature, cabinet, and political parties. Examining data on these institutions over the past 30 years, the goal is threefold: first, to identify any key trends in women's representation over the time period; second, establish where the province ranks compared to others in the country; and third, to note what might help to explain these particular trends. Alberta stands apart in Canada for its one-party dominant political system and the legislative strength of the Alberta PC party; both work against any pressure to increase women's numbers in politics. These and other factors will be evaluated for their overall role in shaping women's political successes in the province.

Ooi, Su-Mei - sooi@butler.edu
Linkage and Leverage: Comparing External Democratizing Pressures on Taiwan and South Korea
Levitsky and Way argue that the post cold war international environment has operated in two basic ways to generate external democratizing pressure, conceptualized as leverage - the degree to which governments are vulnerable to external democratizing pressure from the West and Western-led multilateral institutions - and linkage – ties and cross border flows of trade, investment, people and communications with Western democracies and Western-led multilateral institutions (Levitsky & Way, 2006). Their conceptualization of the international environment is useful in demonstrating the relative importance of "top-down" and "bottom-up" external democratizing pressures, but it is problematic in that the framework largely characterizes the two sources of pressure as distinct and unrelated. The experiences of Taiwan and South Korea demonstrate that external state pressure was highly contingent upon grassroots pressure, which arose in the context of a changed international normative environment where human rights violations became a legitimate concern in state-to-state relations. In other words, the propensity of Western state actors with the highest potential leverage to exert pressure on the authoritarian governments of Taiwan and South Korea was dependent upon the extent to which grassroots pressure was being generated on both target authoritarian governments and their Western democratic allies by a consistent series of nonstate actors across both cases. The aim of this paper is to problematize this characterization of the international environment, which obsfucates the complex relationship between different forms of external pressures and does not allow for empirical nuance necessary to fully understand the significance of the international environment to democratization.

Orsini, Michael - morsini@uottawa.ca
Autism, Neurodiversity and the Welfare State: Is there space for accommodating neurological difference?
In the last decade, welfare state scholars have paid increasing attention to the impact of diversity on how we think about redistribution in the welfare state. Much of this attention, however, has centered on traditional forms of diversity, whether linguistic, racial or ethnic. This paper asks whether current theoretical models of the welfare state leave room for accommodating newer forms of diversity, in this case neurological diversity (neurodiversity) as represented by autistic citizens. From debates about the role of vaccines in causing autism to the efficacy of therapeutic and behavioral interventions, a range of civil society actors has pressured governments to respond to this increasingly polarizing policy issue. In contrast to parent-led organizations that advocate treatments or interventions for their autistic children, autistic "self advocates" decry the focus on curing autistics and seek recognition of neurological difference. The view that some interventions might be harmful to autistic people – destroying their autistic essence – was expressed in 2005 during a much-publicized Supreme Court decision (Auton v. Canada) that pitted parents of autistic children against the B.C, government, which was unwilling to cover the costs of behavioural treatment for their children. This paper highlights these contending perspectives and argues that both pose fundamental challenges to how we view the redistributive aims of the welfare state in Canada, and beyond.

Owen, Andrew - andrewowen11@gmail.com
Don't Call Me Stupid: A Critical Review of Research on Noneconomic Retrospective Voting
The success and failure of elected officials' policy decisions often figure prominently in popular accounts of election campaigns. Scholarly research on the topic echoes these claims by offering a wealth of evidence that demonstrates a strong relationship between incumbent performance and election results. Unfortunately, however, the retrospective voting literature overwhelmingly focuses on the effects of economic performance and we know very little about the electoral consequences of government performance on the numerous other issues affecting citizens' lives. This paper provides a systematic and critical review of the existing research on 'noneconomic' retrospective voting. After constructing a database of all quantitative studies of noneconomic retrospective voting, I provide a descriptive analysis of the range of issue areas covered and identify trends in the results from this disparate body of studies. The results of this analysis will have important normative implications as the breadth of retrospective voting across different issue domains is critical to normative claims about the ability of a relatively uninformed citizenry to hold elected officials accountable and, in doing so, to communicate their policy preferences to elites. The paper concludes by offering a tentative theory of the conditional nature of noneconomic retrospective voting grounded in the existing evidence.

Panagos, Dimitrios - dpanagos@mun.ca
Participatory Governance and Indigenous Peoples: A Neoinstitutional Understanding of Policy Changes in Ontario's Mining Sector
Governments have often viewed Indigenous peoples as obstacles to the development of mining sectors. For their part, Indigenous peoples have criticized governments for excluding them from decisions that impact their communities. The result has been protests, arrests, and violence. The paper addresses this political impasse by examining the mining sector in Ontario. Specifically, it focuses on recent changes to the Mining Act that aim to establish a participatory governance regime by making Indigenous peoples partners in the regulation of the mining sector. These governance shifts and policy changes are significant insofar as they represent the Ontario government's latest attempt to facilitate the reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests in this sector. The study draws on in-person interviews conducted in 2010 with members of the mining sector's six institutional stakeholder groups: Aboriginal communities and associations; local community representatives; employees of mining firms; employees of mining support sectors such as prospectors;

investors and investment firms; and government officials. It assesses the extent to which stakeholders' interests and ideas shaped the content of the changes to the Mining Act. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of participatory governance that includes Indigenous peoples as well as the broader theoretical insights for neoinstitutional approaches to understanding policy change.

Paquet, Mireille - mireille.paquet@umontreal.ca
A Mosaic of Intervention? Toward a Typology of Provincial Modes of Intervention in Immigration and Integration
This communication explores the consequences, in terms of public policy, of the partial decentralization of the governance of immigration and integration in Canada. A central outcome of this process is that provinces are now, more than ever, central actors in the development and delivery of policies for immigrant selection and integration - either independently or in collaboration with the Federal government. This evolution in the governance of immigration questions the understanding of Canada as a homogeneous "model" or "regime". The scientific production on provincial involvement in immigration and integration in Canada - for a long time mostly concerned with intergovernmental relations and Quebec's specificities - is now growing. Several studies have traced and explained the sources of the trend toward decentralization, great insight on the contemporary bilateral agreements governing the field have been provided while others have conducted rich evaluations of local policies and initiatives. However, there remain confusion about the scope, intensity and orientation of current provincial action. As a response, this communication asks how to make sense of the current actions of provincial governments in immigration and integration. Acknowledging that most international policy classifications (e.g. MIPEX and national models) cannot illuminate of the type of subnational variations Canada now exhibits, the concept of "mode of intervention" is used to account for provincial actions. This analytical lens makes it possible to identify three broad types of provincial intervention in immigration and integration: 1) Socio-economic (Quebec, British Columbia and Quebec), 2) Economic (Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan) and 3) Attraction - Retention (Atlantic Provinces).

Paquin-Pelletier, Alexandre - alex.paquin.pelletier@utoronto.ca
Multinational Studies and the Problem of Unity: Bringing the Citizens In
The burgeoning literature on multinational states has focused chiefly on normative considerations of recognition, as well as the empirical study of institutional and constitutional models. It has yet to systematically discuss the notion of unity, an oversight that can be related to its repudiation of majoritarian nationalism. Unity is generally treated indirectly, as a result rather than as a condition of multinationalism. It thus leaves a critical gap in our understanding of multinational realities. This paper seeks to unfold the different conceptualizations of unity in multinational states. We argue that unity is generally framed in one of three ways: at a meta-normative level (unity through recognition and dialogue) (Taylor 1992; Tully 1995), at a political level (through constitutional arrangements, elite accommodation, and consociationalism) (Gagnon and Iacovino 2007, Lijphart 1968), and at a societal level (through horizontal linkages between groups of citizens) (Varshney 2003). We argue that the concept of social unity is one of the most under-theorized and studied in the literature, and especially in Canada. The threat of secession has pushed scholars towards seeking arrangements that ensure short-term political unity, but has distracted them from considering the social, citizen-level bases of unity. The paper puts forward a new social unity research agenda by drawing insights from the international literature on post-conflict societies (Lederach 1997), which suggests that normative and political solutions must be matched with societal solutions.

Paudyn, Bartholomew - bpaudyn@uvic.ca
Making Contingent Liabilities Explicit: Amending the European Regulation on Credit Rating Agencies
They have been criticised as arrogant oligopolistics, for their cosy relationships with company management and for being either unbearably slow or excessively shift in passing judgment on a firm or government. Irrespective of this chorus of objections, however, credit rating agencies (CRA) continue to garner tremendous amounts of legitimacy and politico-economic capital in assessing credit worthiness. Nowhere is this more apparent than in European sovereign debt crisis. Seldom held to account for their errors, CRAs wield an exorbitant amount of power in steering markets which has, in large part, contributed to the paranoia surrounding government efforts to manage their fiscal programs. Why have we vested so much economic and political power in these institutions so as to make them virtually unassailable? How have they solidified their grasp on economic relations in order to dictate to governments how they should behave? I posit that part of the answer lies in the prevalence of risk as an organising principle behind most economic operations. Trumpeted as masters of risk, CRAs in fact govern through uncertainty. By deploying aggregate quantitative methods, CRAs purport to present an accurate depiction of reality as a numerical quadrant. In fact, however, they obscure contingent liabilities which need to be made explicit. New EU amendments recognise this subjective dimension to the rating process. This paper analyses how pan-European supervision and increased competition are intended to enhance transparency and the quality of ratings. Ultimately, this is a discussion about the politics of limits and who has the authority to decide what those parameters are.

Peach, Ian - ipeach@unb.ca
More than a Section 35 Right: Indigenous Self-Government as Inherent in Canada's Constitutional Structure
The Supreme Court of Canada has hinted in various decisions at an openness to finding a right of self-government within section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, but it has yet to clearly pronounce on the question. Instead, it encourages

governments to negotiate a resolution to the self-government claims of Indigenous peoples. Thus, the implementation of Indigenous self-government in Canada is almost inevitably going to be the result of negotiated agreements. A proper understanding of the basis for Indigenous authority to be self-governing in law should have a significant effect on the approach of non-Indigenous governments to these negotiations and, therefore, their outcomes. As a first step in reforming thinking about, and the implementation of, Indigenous self-determination, it may be better to abandon the effort to ground Indigenous authority to govern themselves in notions of section 35 "rights" and, instead, recognize Indigenous self-government as part of the complex constitutional structure of the Canadian state. Approached in this way, several sources could be relied on to ground the authority of Indigenous peoples to be self-governing. This paper will explore the three potential sources of law to support Indigenous authority to be self-governing, lex loci and the doctrine of continuity in the common law, international law, and treaty-making as recognition of Indigenous sovereignty, and analyse the utility and implications of each source for reforming the approach of non-Indigenous governments to Indigenous self-government.

Peachey, Dean - d.peachey@uwinnipeg.ca
Reconciliation Rhetoric and Realities in Canada's TRC
There is a truism in the discourse about truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) that "truth" is an elusive and difficult goal in the aftermath of widespread human rights abuses, but achieving "reconciliation" is infinitely more challenging and elusive. It is not surprising, therefore, that recent TRCs have given greater attention to truth-related methodologies (documenting abuses, forensic investigations, and collecting personal narratives) than to methodologies aimed at understanding or fostering reconciliation. This paper will briefly analyze the activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, revealing a similar pattern for Canada's TRC, and then argue that within the context of the other initiatives arising from the 2006 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, the TRC would have greater potential for making a major impact on Canadian society through putting increased emphasis on describing and facilitating reconciliation possibilities. To examine various meanings and confusions associated with the terminology of "reconciliation" in the context of residential schools, we will report on findings from a survey and personal interviews conducted with participants at the Canadian TRC's first National Event in Winnipeg in June 2010. Building upon this data, the paper will address the complexities of defining reconciliation when many of the individuals involved with residential schools (especially those who held positions of responsibility as teachers or administrators) are either dead or elderly. It will conclude with a brief examination of how the TRC could be a component of a larger project of societal reconciliation between Aboriginal Canadians and other Canadians.

Peou, Sorpong - s.peou@uwinnipeg.ca
International Criminal Justice in Comparative Perspective: The Cases of Cambodia & East Timor/Timor/Leste
This paper tests the neo-liberal proposition that the pursuit of international criminal justice in post-conflict societies as a method of peace building is effective . This study relies on comparative case studies - Cambodia and East-Timor/Timor-Leste - to shed light on whether this peace-building method proves effective in terms of successfully terminating violent or armed conflict and building democratic institutions.

Perry, Adam - jadamperry@gmail.com
Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

Perry, David - dperry@connect.carleton.ca
Purchasing Power: Is Defence Privatization a New Form of Military Mobilization?
This paper analyzes the use of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) by strong states as a military personnel strategy. Many strong states employ PMSCs due to the dual pressures of post-Cold War force reductions and the increasing frequency of operational deployments. The paper seeks to explore what role societal attitudes towards military service and standing military forces have played in driving strong states to hire contractors rather than mobilize larger militaries. The paper argues that governments have relied on contractor personnel to support operations in Iraq and

Afghanistan for three reasons. First, support for significantly increasing the size of each nation's land forces has remained low, even in the post 9/11 threat environment and despite ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Second, in each country land forces have faced significant personnel problems, as both recruiting and retaining military personnel has become difficult. Third, compared to the long term costs associated with adding substantial numbers of uniformed soldiers to the military ranks, the short term financial outlays involved in hiring contractors for operational deployments have proven attractive. Theoretically, the paper uses a neoclassical realist framework to argue that contemporary use of PMSCs represents a new form of resource mobilization and extraction. By employing economic resources to purchase additional military capabilities, privatization has provided an additional avenue for translating economic resources into military capabilities. Consequently, because of societal opposition to the maintenance of large military forces, national security executives have increasingly turned to PMSCs as a means of generating military capabilities.

Porter, Tony - tporter@mcmaster.ca
Third Time Lucky or Out After Three Strikes? The Political Significance of the Basel III Transnational Standards for Bank Regulation
The package of alterations to international bank regulatory standards that came to be known as "Basel III", agreed by regulators in the fall of 2010, is one of the key reforms that have followed the 2008 global financial crisis. The alterations seek to address the deficiencies of the earlier Basel II standards in preventing the 2008 crisis or similar future crises. They strengthen the previous rules on bank capital and add measures to address their excessive complexity; their failure to adequately consider liquidity; and their tendency to reinforce economic cycles. These technical measures can tell us a great deal about the politics of transnational regulation of high-risk high-stakes issue areas such as global finance.

Porter, Tony - tporter@mcmaster.ca
Transnational Policy Paradigm Change and Conflict in the Harmonization of Accounting and Vehicle Safety Standards
How best can we understand the magnitude and direction of transnational policy paradigm change? In answering this question, this paper highlights two features of paradigm change that are often underestimated. The first feature is the entanglement of the ideational and material aspects of a paradigm. The second feature is the degree to which paradigm change involves a recombination of existing elements, as suggested by the concept of an assemblage, rather than a complete replacement of the content of one paradigm by another. The relevance of these two features of paradigm change is illustrated in a comparative analysis of two areas of transnational standard-setting: accounting and vehicle safety. In both cases harmonization has involved paradigm clashes that relate to differences in US and EU regulatory traditions. The creation of international standards through the private-sector International Accounting Standards Board (IASB), now officially accepted by the EU and increasingly emulated by the US, has involved sharp clashes between accounting policy frameworks. Similarly efforts at the World Forum for Harmonization of Vehicle Regulations have been hindered by clashes between the US "self-certification" policy paradigm which relies to a great deal on implementation by firms, and the European "type approval" paradigm, which relies more on testing in public-sector laboratories. Despite these similarities the outcomes of the harmonization efforts have been very different, and this is explained well by this paper's approach.

Pourmokhtari, Navid - navid.pour@dal.ca
The Globalization of Human Security: the Post-Cold War, Development, and the International Biopolitical Order
My research analyses human security from a governmental standpoint in order to demonstrate that human security is a biopolitical matter that functions as a mechanism of governance. Specifically, it examines the way in which human security operates as a mechanism of governance by protecting populations living in 'underdeveloped' communities or ineffective states. The research examines human security as a phenomenon that is significantly different from the traditional notion of security, which was solely based on the concept of 'sovereign rights'. This analysis constitutes the basis of the research's assertion that human security has evolved from a previous form in which it competed with state security (as explained by the UNDP) to one in which state security has complemented and concurrently redesigned the state in the post-Cold War era. To support these claims, the paper references the United Nations Development Report (UNDP), the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), and the Commission on Human Security (CHS). These sources have been carefully chosen because each articulates a specific relationship between human security and state security. The research utilizes Foucault's concept of biopolitics as its chief theoretical foundation because it embodies the transition from the classical era to the modern age –a dramatic shift from the traditional right of sovereign to protect territories against foreign invasions to the responsibility to manage populations under threat. The paper will demonstrate how the evolution of biopolitics has altered the traditional notion of 'sovereign right' in foregrounding a progressive right concerned with promoting life.

Praud, Jocelyn - jocelynepraud@gmail.com
Women's Political Representation in British Columbia: When Numerical Gains Are Not Enough
By practically doubling the presence of women legislators (from 13% to 25.3%), the 1991 provincial election catapulted British Columbia as the province with the most feminized legislature in Canada. This paper will analyze how the political representation of British Columbian women has evolved since they obtained political rights in 1917. Particular attention will be paid to the past two decades, specifically, the period from 1991 to 2001, during which women achieved significant

numerical and substantive/policy advances, and the period since 2001, during which women have suffered policy setbacks despite the continued visible presence of women elected officials. Explanatory factors that will be considered include the ideology of the provincial New Democratic and Liberal parties, feminist activism inside and outside political parties, and the broader ideological and socio-economic context. The analysis will be based on open-ended interviews with party activists, feminist activists, and provincial elected officials, government and party documents, and statistics.

Preece, Daniel V. - dvpreece@connect.carleton.ca
Economic Governance as a National Security Issue: The Use of Securitization Discourse Durning the Global Recession
This paper examines how key policy markers in Europe and North America are repositioning the debate over economic governance as matters of national security during the current global recession. As the financial crisis of 2008 began to affect other economic sectors and develop into a global recession, government leaders began to use speech acts to position the economic crisis as an existential threat to national security and justify the use of emergency measures, such as broad-based economic recovery packages, to resolve it. For example, the American Director of National Intelligence, Dennis J. Blair, identified both the global financial crisis and the decline of the manufacturing sector as the "primary near-term security concern of the United States" in early 2009 to help justify government economic recovery programs such as the Financial Stability Plan. By framing the debate as a question of security, these actors are attempting to defend the mobilization of state resources and the use of extraordinary powers. In analyzing how competing actors have shaped the space of public debate over these reforms, my paper will identify the role that ideational power plays in shaping policy outcomes and assess the impact that securitization is having on economic governance.

Preibisch, Kerry - kpreibis@uoguelph.ca
Workers Wanted, Diversity Discouraged: Immigrant Settlement and Inclusion in Rural Ontario
Prior to the current economic downturn, rural areas in Canada had been experiencing increased labour market shortages in recent years coupled with a declining rural population and thus a declining rural labour force. This has led governments to turn their attention to both expanding certain categories of immigration and encouraging the relocation of new Canadians to non-traditional regions as a means through which such shortages could be addressed and solved. Despite the push toward settlement in rural communities, these areas have been characterized by heterogeneous communities that not only lack the resources and institutions to settle immigrants but exclude newcomers from full inclusion. Through looking at the case of one rural southwestern Ontario community, this paper will argue that traditionally accepted indicators of immigrant integration, such as labour market participation, wages and occupational achievement relative to settled Canadians, and new immigrant language proficiency are not, and cannot be, indicators of inclusivity and integration especially in rural areas. This paper argues for an expanded understanding of integration that looks at both the inputs and outputs of the process of migration as being integral elements in affecting one's integration into a community. As such, the ability of an immigrant to settle and feel included within rural communities is conditional and shaped by factors such the process through which they have migrated, the availability of and diversity of community services and governmental institutions to assist in settlement, and the existence of barriers caused by race and gender.

Preiss, Katherine - kpreiss@rogers.com
Recognized Parties: The 8 Member Critical Mass Question in Ontario
The Legislative Assembly of Ontario is run by, and for, its political parties. House Business is entirely predicated upon the existence of political parties to divvy up duties among their members. Not just a creature of convention, the standing orders place a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the political party in the day-to-day functioning of the house. Although the political party is like to be a permanent fixture in Ontario politics, the current procedural structure leaves no room for effective independent MPPs. In order to have resources, funding, and even a guaranteed question in question period, a member must have party status. The intent of this study is to evaluate the 1999 decision to create an 8 member critical mass for recognized parties in the Standing orders, and the repercussions this decision had on the Ontario NDP following the 2003 provincial election. This paper seeks to answer the question: should there be a critical mass for recognized parties in Ontario?

Purdon, Mark - mark.purdon@utoronto.ca
The Greening of the Developmental State: Comparing the Administration of the Carbon Market in States at Different Levels of development
This paper considers the possibility of greening the developmental state through field investigation of international carbon offset projects operating under the Kyoto Protocol in Tanzania, Uganda and Moldova. Sustainable development has been difficult to define but, inspired by Elinor Ostrom's work on common property institutions, its operationalization has emphasized decentralization and public participation. Instead of relying on a strict state hierarchy, decisions are to be made through a process of negotiation amongst different stakeholders. This contrasts with the developmental state model which has been successful in promoting economic development in East Asia. But these regimes were of an authoritarian character where the key to success was the coherence and autonomy of the bureaucracy to concentrate on development goals, yet also its embeddedness in social networks—particularly with the private sector—necessary to see development plans implemented. Given trends towards democratization, an authoritarian developmental state is difficult. But field results indicate that neither is sustainable development possible without better coordination of carbon offset projects. Is a

green developmental state feasible? In Tanzania and Uganda it would be necessary to consolidate carbon offset project administration within an institution with greater capacity for coordination and regulatory authority. Yet in Moldova, greater public participation in the administration of carbon offset projects would improve their performance, including the distribution of project benefits. And while the state may lack capacity and legitimacy to implement a green developmental state alone, some accommodation can be made through the international institutional oversight offered through the Kyoto Protocol's governance structures.

Quinn, Joanna - jquinn2@uwo.ca
Whither the "Transition" of Transitional Justice?
The traditional orthodoxy of transitional justice has held that the field is "'engaged in helping societies move either from war to peace, or from a repressive or authoritarian regime to democracy' while dealing with resulting questions of justice, and what to do with social, political and economic institutions" (Hovil and Quinn, 2005). Yet more institutions of transitional justice, and particularly truth commissions, have recently been set up in non-transitional societies including Australia, Canada, Morocco, and Kenya. And others, including Uganda, have been considered to be in "pre-transition" for many years. This paper explores the necessity of the "transition" in transitional justice, and the resulting question of elasticity, which considers just how far the term "transition" can and ought to be stretched.

Quirion, Martin - martin.quirion.1@ulaval.ca
Le Parti Québécois et le marketing de la confiance
La fluctuation du niveau de confiance des citoyens canadiens envers les acteurs et les institutions politiques que révèlent de nombreuses études d'opinion s'exprime entre autres par une montée du désengagement ou de l'indifférence envers le processus électoral. Les partis politiques sont ainsi les premiers concernés par ce désaveu des citoyens. En outre, la théorie du marketing politique pose que la confiance du citoyen envers un parti est un facteur déterminant dans la conclusion de la transaction électorale. Les partis doivent donc élaborer des stratégies permettant d'alimenter et de maintenir la confiance des citoyens en leur offre : leurs idées, leurs projets, leurs leaders. L'exercice de marketing politique devient alors un exercice de marketing de la confiance.
Au Québec, le Parti Québécois (PQ), doit faire la promotion d'un projet politique, la souveraineté du Québec, qui est constamment présenté et décrit par ses opposants comme porteur d'incertitude. Notre recherche tente d'identifier quelles sont les stratégies de communication mises en forme par ce parti afin de contrer ce discours d'incertitude et de relever la place qu'y occupe la notion de confiance. Par le biais d'une série d'entrevues réalisées auprès de stratèges péquistes ayant participé à l'élaboration des campagnes électorales du parti depuis 1995, l'étude permet de cerner les mécanismes tactiques mis en place par le parti souverainiste afin d'établir et de maintenir une relation de confiance avec les électeurs québécois. L'étude permettra de contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur la pratique du marketing politique au Québec et au Canada.

Racine-Sibulka, Paul - racinesibulka.p@gmail.com
Securitizing Gaming: Global Governmentality and Video Games
In recent years, the U.S. Army had an emerging focus on the warrior ethos (i.e. the heart and soul of the soldier) in order to reflect the military organization commitment to win but most importantly the desire to appeal to future recruits. At the same time, the development of America's Army and popular series of war video games like Medal of Honor and Call of Duty enabled gamers to actively become U.S. soldier through multiple virtual battlespaces without providing the complexity of warfighting. In so doing, the dimension of survivability, the ethics of war and the warrior ethos are purposely silenced. Both series departed from a World War II theme to publish new versions on "modern warfare", thus embracing the need to represent and remediate both conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq as they become enduring realities for U.S. troops. War-themed video games serve well the war machine in creating a virtual environment solely focused on providing a "realistic and action-packed experience" of soldiering. This paper aims to explore how war video games contribute to global governmentality through gaming and how they represent and "conduct the conduct" of soldiers, both those who are recruited and trained through gaming and the actual soldiers deployed who also enjoy gaming while deployed and during training.

Radmilovic, Vuk - vuk.radmilovic@utoronto.ca
Rights under Political Constraints: Statutory Invalidation and Remedial Discretion at the Supreme Court of Canada
A large and growing body of comparative literature shows that judicial power is subject to significant external constraints such as those associated with preferences of legislative actors (e.g. Marks 1989; Ferejohn and Weingast 1992; Helmke 2005; Vanberg 2005; Carrubba et al. 2008; Radmilovic 2010). The key insight of this literature is that courts act strategically to avoid conflicts with governmental officials particularly as the salience those officials assign to policies rises. While empirical tests of these models tend to rely on binary measures of judicial opinions (i.e. whether government wins or loses), Staton and Vanberg (2008: 516) show that such tests are "likely to underestimate the extent of strategic judicial behavior" because they fail to take account of the variety of remedial tools judges can strategically utilize to avoid unfavorable legislative reactions. Utilizing a novel dataset of constitutional cases decided by the Supreme Court of Canada, the paper shows that patterns of statutory invalidations by the Court are indicative of strategic sensitivities to legislative preferences. It also shows that patterns of remedial decision making are indicative of additional strategic

behaviour, empirically supporting the claim that traditional binary measures markedly underestimate strategic judicial behaviour. The paper concludes by reassessing the robustness of the Canadian system of rights protection since the introduction of Charter of Rights and Freedoms, by providing an empirical appraisal of the Supreme Court's policy making influence, and by suggesting a roadmap for how our coding techniques can be enriched to optimize the explanatory power of strategic models.

Rahman, Dr.Mahbubur - mrahman@york.cuny.edu
The Challenge of Muslim Identity and Integration in the West: Can "Jurisprudence of Minorities" Help?
It is widely believed that Muslim religiosity is anathema to their integration in the West. This view is informed by the fact that apart from the radical Muslims, many regular Muslims too think that they can't be simultaneously 'good Muslim' and 'good citizen' in the West. More often than not, this perception is promoted and validated citing a medieval "fatwa" (religious ruling) which divided the world between "Darul Islam" and "Darul Harb" (meaning respectively, the 'Abode of Islam' and the 'Abode of War') and suggested that Muslims should not settle permanently in non-Muslim lands. Now that some contemporary Muslim jurists reject the above fatwa saying it lacks sound religious basis and speak for what they call "Fiqh al-Aqalliyyat" (Jurisprudence of Minorities) implying this would allow Muslims to participate and integrate fully in the Western societies without the loss of their religious identity, this paper examines this latter proposition. Drawing upon the deliberations, writings, and personal interviews of the Muslim jurists who are associated with two leading Muslim juristic councils --European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR) and Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA), the study explores and extrapolates the likely models of Muslim participation in a Western liberal democracy and their impact on Muslim identity formation and integration in the West. The study reveals that despite epistemological ambiguity, the "Jurisprudence of Minorities" is a step towards religious openness and Muslim integration in the West.

Raney, Tracey - traney@politics.ryerson.ca
Women in the Ontario Legislature
This paper examines the representation of women in the Ontario legislature longitudinally, with an emphasis on trends since the 1995 provincial election. Observations about the overall legislative progress of women will be offered, including an assessment of women as candidates, party leaders, and cabinet ministers in the province. Analyses will focus on the differences between political party recruitment goals and practices, women's movement activism, and the question of women's political representation during the province-wide referendum on electoral reform in 2007.

Rankin, L. Pauline - Pauline_Rankin@carleton.ca
Activism Inside? An Assessment of the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women"
Little fanfare followed Prime Minister Martin's announcement in 2004 of the establishment of a Parliamentary Committee on the Status of Women. A year later, however, at the 2005 Annual General Meeting of the Feminist Alliance for International Action, feminists activists warmly welcomed Committee Chair MP Anita Neville, noting "strong enthusiasm for the work of the Standing Committee and for Anita's role as its Chair." My paper examines the record to date of the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Specifically, the paper charts the circumstances surround the unexpected emergence of this Parliamentary Committee and analyzes its contribution to date. The paper argues that during a period in which women's movements in Canada cope with marginalization and demobilization, the Parliamentary Committee has emerged as a surprising ally of women's movements through interventions into issues such as Gender-Based Analysis, gender budgets, human trafficking and violence against Aboriginal women. Using evidence gleaned from the documentary record, supplemented by interviews with feminist activists, femocrats and former and present Committee members, the paper accounts for the progressive stance of much of the Committee's record, despite its cross-party membership, and compares its performance under Liberal and Conservative governments. The paper engages with recent feminist institutionalist literature, notably Fiona Mackay's work on the "nested newness" of the Scottish Parliament (2010), comparatively assesses the Canadian case and advances an analysis of the potential for parliamentary committees to act as vehicles for sustaining feminist activism during periods of relative movement abeyance.

Ratelle, Jeff - jrate066@uottawa.ca
The Study of (In)security in Conflict Zones: Methodological and Epistemological Discussion
Using the case study of (in)security in the North Caucasus this paper proposes to engage in a methodological and epistemological discussion about the uses and the limits of ethnographic research in the study of (in)security. Critical security studies have demonstrated in the last years the importance to focus on ethnographic research and ethnographic sensibility to study everyday (in)formal security practices through participant observations and interviews (Bigo, 2005). Although as Vrasti (2008) demonstrates international relations (and international political sociology) need to engage in a more rigorous use of ethnographic praxis. Building on an important literature in comparative politics this paper seeks to bridge the recent literature in political ethnography (Schatz, 2009) and international political sociology. It proposes to define a specific method of inquiry in the study of (in)security in military conflict zones. It proposes a hybrid method in the study of violence and (in)security bridging quantitative and ethnographic researches. In opposition to actual hybrid researches in comparative politics (Lyall, 2009; Weinstein, 2007) this via-media seeks to provide a methodological alternative which primarily focuses on ethnographic praxis over quantitative analysis.

Rayment, Erica - ericarayment@gmail.com
Taking Controversy Out of the Legislature: Has this Occured in the Case of Female Face Coverings?
The recent Ontario Court of Appeal decision to allow Muslim women to wear a face-covering niqab while testifying in court has, unsurprisingly, sparked a great deal of criticism from both sides of the issue in popular public discourse. The decision has been criticised both for being too permissive when it comes to accommodation of minority practices on the one hand, as well as being too restrictive insofar as it includes provisions that can require a witness to remove her niqab if failure to do so is deemed to jeopardize the fairness of a trial. Despite this widespread popular controversy , the regulation of the right of Muslim women to wear a niqab has not appeared as an issue in the Ontario Legislature. Although legislation that forbids women from wearing a niqab in public spaces has been passed in other jurisdictions including Quebec, in Ontario the issue has remained confined to the courts, and appears to be a non-issue legislatively. Information on this seeming non-issue will be collected from the Attorney General and his opposition counterparts. These legislators will be asked why this issue has not become one in the Legislature.

Raymond, Mark - mraymond@rogers.com
Can Constructivism Improve Foreign Policy Practice in an Era of Global Governance?
Scientific inquiry entails the risk that theoretical advances outpace the updating of 'lessons' applied to policy problems. Over time, this gap between practical knowledge and the 'state of the art' widens unless conscious updating efforts are made. This paper is such an attempt. The largest recent development in IR theory has been the emergence of constructivism; yet, despite its theoretical significance, it has not yet been systematically applied to the practice of international relations. The enduring appeal of mainstream IR theories is attributable in part to their clear 'lessons' for policymakers. Constructivists argue that existing realist and liberal frameworks proceed from inadequate theoretical foundations that generate problematic 'lessons' for foreign policy. However, the question of what alternative lessons can be drawn from constructivism remains unanswered. The paper examines the 'lessons' associated with realist and liberal theories. It then advances a set of constructivist lessons, to compare and contrast the resulting constructivist foreign policy primer with its mainstream counterparts. It assesses the degree of novel content as well as the potential impact of a constructivist foreign policy on prospects for peaceful conflict resolution and for improving the effectiveness and legitimacy of global governance.

Reeve, Iain W. - iain.reeve@queensu.ca
Under Pressure: Federal Asymmetry and the Decentralization of Immigrant and Settlement Policy in Canada
Drawing on work by Garcea, Biles, Leo, and others my paper looks at the recent and accelerating decentralization of immigration and settlement policy in Canada. Since the early 1990s, a variety of federal-provincial agreements have resulted in the creation at least four different broad paradigms of jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments: Quebec's complete control over selection and settlement, Manitoba and British Columbia's full control over settlement and increasing control over selection, and at least two different selection and cost-sharing paradigms. The paper argues that the current environment of asymmetry is not sustainable, and will lead to further decentralization. This outcome should be further interrogated, as it will mean a decreased capacity for the national government to have an impact in selection and integration of immigrants.
The constitution dictates that immigration policy and its related responsibilities are an area of shared jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments. However, only recently have provinces asserted themselves in this area, starting with Quebec and spreading to English-Canada. The result has been a swift, uneven, and complex devolution of powers. This remains an emerging issue, as Ontario will renegotiate its 2005 immigration and settlement agreement with the federal government this year. Further decentralization has been promoted by Leslie Seidle and opposed by Naomi Alboim, but I will argue that asymmetrical pressures make this devolution very likely. Investigating past devolved federal programs that have faced similar pressures, I shall show that asymmetry is and remains a strong decentralizing force in Canada.

Reid, Scott - scottreid@yahoo.com
Clyde Wells: A neoconservative premier?
This paper examines the policies and political rhetoric of the Clyde Wells government from 1989 to 1995 in Newfoundland and Labrador in the context of the broader neoconservative environment of the time. Comparisons are made between the Wells government and those of the Republican Party in the United States, the Conservative government in Britain, the Progressive Conservative government of Mike Harris in Ontario and the Progressive Conservative government of Ralph Klein in Alberta. This paper highlights similarities in policies such as privatization, cuts to government services, and conflict with unions. While several analyses of neoconservativism in Canada have focused on political developments in Alberta and Ontario this paper presents evidence that Clyde Wells was in fact one of Canada's first neo-conservative premiers. The theoretical and practical political implication of the political success of neoconservatism in Newfoundland and Labrador during this period will also be examined.

Reny, Marie-Eve - marieeve.reny@utoronto.ca
Thinking Beyond Formal Institutions: How Underground Protestant Churches in China Avoid State Repression

The paper explores the reasons why underground Protestant churches are allowed to thrive in an authoritarian regime that labels them as 'illegal' and where frequent cases of religious persecution are reported. More specifically, local authorities have turned a blind eye to practices like the renting of commercial spaces for the purpose of running underground Christian schools, the opening of non-state controlled churches in apartment buildings, and the construction of public infrastructure for these churches. The answer to the puzzle lies in the nature of house church resistance to state authority, namely "complying defiance". The latter involves undisguised opposition to central government regulations with respect to religious practice, yet it is accompanied by defiants' agreement to accommodate some local government officials' demands in varying circumstances, in exchange for some degree of informal autonomy. I argue that the more defiants of formal rules of state control comply with local officials' alternative informal institutions of control, the more likely officials will seek to solve church-related problems through dialogue, information exchange or bribes. This kind of informal arrangement brings benefits to both parts. As far as church leaders are concerned, complying with local government officials' softer means of monitoring their activities decreases the level of uncertainty involved in wanting to be independent in a non-democratic setting that legally does not tolerate it. On the other hand, softer forms of government control, if subject to compliance by defiants, have the advantage of providing local officials with more effective means of "getting closer to their enemy".

Reuchamps, Min - min.reuchamps@ulg.ac.be
Thinking Canada (with or without Quebec) and Thinking Belgium (with or without Flanders): The Future of Federalism through the Eyes of their Citizens
Since 1960, both Canada and Belgium have experienced passionate debates about the future of federalism in their country. While the debate has somewhat declined in Canada in general and in Quebec in particular, it is currently very hot in Belgium. However, both federations share a common goal – accommodating within a single country two national communities – which enables a fruitful comparison of the way one can think Canada with or without Quebec and Belgium with or without Flanders. More specifically it is interesting to look comparatively at the place of Quebec and of Flanders in their respective federation. It can be done through the eyes of Quebeckers and Flemish but also through the eyes of citizens from the other community: English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Belgians. Relying on qualitative date collected in Quebec, Ontario, Flanders and Wallonia, this paper aims at illuminating the identity and the federal dynamics in Canada and Belgium from below – the citizens – rather than from the top – institutions or political actors. While institutions and political actors do matter, citizens play also an important role in thinking their country and the place of their region within or without it.

Rheault, Ludovic - ludovic.rheault@umontreal.ca
Unveiling New Traits of The Cartel Theory: Committee Assignments in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, 1946-2001
To date, there has been limited scholarly attention devoted to the functioning of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, and the role played by political parties in its organization. This paper relies on a new data set of Argentine deputies between 1946 and 2001 in order to fill this gap in the literature. First, we introduce basic notions on the Chamber and its standing committee system. After observing how ruling parties have managed to gain control over the committee appointment process, we discuss various predictions stemming from U.S.-based theories of congressional behaviour, particularly the Cartel Theory. We propose an adaptation of this theory to multi-party contexts, showing why even minority ruling parties can be expected to secure over-representation in committees. Using a codification of committees based on their importance in the legislative process, our regression-based analysis confirms the thesis of party dominance: ruling parties succeed in securing leverage on committees, a result that would go unnoticed without controlling for committee relevance. Those results stand despite changes in the electoral system. Moreover, we find that minority ruling parties exhibit dominance over committees as much as majorities do. Besides, we use logit regressions to look at the determinants of committee chair assignments. Although seniors are rather rare in the Chamber, we find evidence that committee-specific seniority matters in the selection of chairs, but only inside the ruling party. This analysis confirms that legislative institutions reflect the interest of ruling parties.

Rheault, Ludovic - ludovic.rheault@umontreal.ca
The Probability of Pivotal Vote in Multi-Candidate Plurality Elections
This study is the first attempt to estimate the empirical probability of casting a pivotal vote in a Canadian federal election. The paper begins by reviewing the theory of pivotal voting in a two-candidate election, before extending the model to a multi-candidate race using the multinomial distribution function. We then examine the properties of this n-candidate pivotal vote probability function in order to draw some empirical predictions. Alternative models are briefly considered, such as Myerson's Poisson games pivotal vote probability calculations, Jerome Black's study relying on barycentric coordinates, and a novel multivariate Polya distribution model that can cope with voter interdependence. The empirical section relies on a data set comprising all Canadian election results between 1867 and 2009, with more than 10,000 observations. We use those data to examine the empirical distribution of the vote. We also use a probit model to empirically estimate the conditional probability of casting a pivotal vote in an election. Our model controls for the effects of the number of candidates, the number of voters, and riding electoral history. Since the act of voting is the main channel through which individuals can participate in democracy, the fact that this channel has virtually no consequence on the

outcome of an election represents a puzzle for political scientists. The main contribution of this study is therefore to bring forth the first complete assessment of the probabilities of pivotal votes in multi-candidate/plurality elections.

Richez, Emmanuelle - emmanuelle.richez@mail.mcgill.ca
Losing Relevance: Quebec and the Constitutional Politics of Language
When the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) was first adopted, its potential impact on the balance between individual and collective rights in Canada was much debated. Although some authors contended that the Charter was mostly a vehicle for liberal individualism, others thought that it retained some elements of communitarianism. While the document provides an inherent logic to guide judicial review, judicial discretion remains wide and elected officials maintain the choice as to whether or not they will implement the courts' decisions. Thirty years after the implementation of Canada's new constitutional order, decisions like Nguyen v. Quebec (2009) on the constitutionality of the so-called bridging-schools show that the debate on the nature of the rights embodied in the Charter is still salient. Therefore, this paper is interested in the impact of the Charter on Québec's self-government rights. More specifically, it proposes a doctrinal analysis of the Supreme Court's Charter jurisprudence and an assessment of its political consequences in the area of language policy in Québec. The paper will argue that constitutional review has protected individual rights over Quebec's collective right to maintain its language and culture. It will conclude that Québec is no longer driving concepts of Canadian citizenship. Undifferentiated, rather than multinational, citizenship appears to be the direction in which Charter jurisprudence is taking Canada. This will lead the paper, as part of a larger project, to question how the Charter is affecting cultural citizenship in Canada.

Roberge, Ian - iroberge@glendon.yorku.ca
Networks Matter: Explaining How States Have Responded to the Global Financial Crisis
The paper compares Canadian, American and European financial services sector policy reform in response to the global financial crisis. Though the crisis was global in scope, responses differed across jurisdictions. The Canadian financial services sector came out of the crisis, by design or hazard, largely unscathed. As such, Canada only adjusted policy at the margin, but did not review its larger policy framework. The United States, for its part, adopted a broad legislative package making important modifications to supervisory and regulatory structures, as well as to policy. The extent to which the Dodd-Frank Act will achieve its objectives remains to be seen. The European Union is in the midst of implementing an important supervisory and regulatory infrastructure reform to better coordinate policies across member states, to ensure cohesion in case of a future crisis, and to facilitate further integration. How are such variances to be explained? The domestic institutional configuration has filtered global imperatives. Policy networks vary across states affecting policy dynamics. Network types in Canada, the US and the EU differ which helps explain policy choices. Financial services sector policymaking, despite the globalization of finance, calls for substantive change in the global financial architecture, and the rhetoric about better transnational coordination, is still largely shaped by national considerations. The paper concludes by considering what policymakers have learned from the global financial crisis, and whether or not these lessons are finding their way into policy.

Roberts, Kari - kroberts@mtroyal.ca
Open for Business? Russia's (Re)Orientation Toward the West
Russian president Dmitry Medvedev has made a considerable effort to improve Russia's relations with the United States in 2010; he formalized this intention by issuing a presidential directive to build an environment of trust with western governments that would (with hope) send the message to foreign investors that Russia is a safe place to do business. But, western observers are wise to wonder just how deep this reorientation goes, and also to wonder if they have seen this before. This paper will demonstrate that Medvedev's efforts represent a response to the recent global recession, accompanied by the plummeting price of oil, which had a significant impact upon the Russian economy and its plans to modernize its energy sector. The warming of Russian foreign policy toward the United States today is reminiscent of its pro-western approach in the 1990s under Boris Yeltsin, yet the motivation and tactics are arguably different. Medvedev plans to capitalize on better relations with the West, but Russian foreign policy has become more pragmatic since the Yeltsin era. This pragmatism is visible upon examination of Medvedev's careful overtures toward the West. The Russian president strives to balance national economic interests (which necessitate the pro-western stance) with a desire to remain a sovereign and growing center of power in the world – a goal that has eluded his predecessors. Medvedev wants to convey that Russia is indeed open for business, but this is rooted in economic necessity, rather than a meaningful change in outlook toward the West.

Robinson, Andrew - arobinson@wlu.ca
Assessing How Well Our Curricula Prepare Students for Particular Careers: Report on the Findings of a Study of Employees of NGOs in Ontario that Advance Human Rights
Many of us would like to believe that there is a strong relationship between what students study in our programs, how it is studied, and students' success in their careers after graduation. What is less clear is how we could determine how well we are doing in this regard and how we might do better (without, of course, compromising the university's commitment to liberal education in the name of training). This proposal concerns a very practical attempt to address these concerns.

The proposed presentation will report on analysis of findings from an online survey (closing date January 3, 2011) of staff of NGOs located in Ontario that advance human rights. The research is being conducted as a snowball survey whereby relevant organizations were first identified through internet research and then individual staff members of those organizations were invited to complete an online survey. Among other things, respondents were asked to describe their educational background, career path, and the nature of the work they presently do; to describe the skills and competencies that are most important to their present positions and where they learned or acquired them; to provide advice to students considering working in the sector; and to comment on the relevance of certain aspects of disciplinary knowledge and typical course assignments as preparation for performing their present jobs.

My intention is for analysis of the responses to inform critical reflection upon current curriculum as well as career advice to students. These concerns will be the focus of the presentation.

Robitaille, Patrick - xpatrob@gmail.com
Conflicting Statebuilding Objectives in Haiti: Tensions between Aid Relief and Reconstruction in the Health sector and Their Repercussions

Six months after the earthquake that devastated part of Haiti, President René Préval announced that the six-month emergency phase has ended and reconstruction phase has begun. This is a distinction that is hard to understand for most pundits, let alone Haitians themselves, who are struggling to see any improvements on the ground. However, it is a distinction that goes beyond the mere discursive functions of legitimization (internal and external), and has tangible repercussions on public policies and the channeling of international aid. This paper argues that objectives of each phase, emergency on the short-term and reconstruction on the middle- to long-term, can be far apart and even sometimes collide. Focusing specifically on the health sector as a case study, this paper will try to understand the impacts of the short-term supply of medical help on the existing medical structures in Haiti, notably on the fledging private health sector. This discussion will highlight with tangible examples the limits of the "local ownership" parlance in Haiti and will try to draw lessons from that experiment for future statebuilding missions. Moreover, this paper will try to bridge the gap between policy circles and the Academia, by drawing from field-work conducted in Haiti by Dr. Lemay-Hébert in June-July 2010 and data collected by Mr. Robitaille on the ground.

Rocan, Claude - Claude.Rocan@uottawa.ca
The Voluntary Sector and Public Health Governance in Canada

The literature on modern governance suggests a significant role for the voluntary sector (VS) in public policy. Voluntary Sector Organizations (VSOs) are often referred to as "partners" with government. But to what extent is this really the case? Are they partners or pawns in the public policy process? This paper will discuss the role of VSOs as it relates to the public health sector at the national level in Canada. The central proposition is that the relationships as presently established represent a missed opportunity to engage the voluntary sector more effectively in the public policy process. The paper will use Dennis Young's typology of VS-Government relationships (adversarial, complementary, and supplementary) to categorize the relationships in the public health sector in Canada. For purposes of illustration, the paper will present specific cases in each category to explore the precise nature of the relationships in those cases. The research is based on a combination of document review and semi-structured interviews with key informants from government and the voluntary sector. This paper is an extension of this author's interest in governance, and specifically network governance, in the public health area in Canada (book release expected in Fall, 2011). Although the specific focus of this paper is in the public health sector, it is hoped that it can contribute to the study of modern governance more broadly, and the search for more inclusive and collaborative governance models.

Rocan, Claude - Claude.Rocan@uottawa.ca
Global Drivers for Network Governance: The Case of Public Health

Many scholars have argued that political fragmentation and policy disaggregation lead to the need for broader, more collaborative, forms of governance. But what impact does the global context have for this dynamic? Does the global stage solidify the traditional- hierarchical model of government, or does it add to the pressures for new models of governance? This paper will examine these questions from the perspective of public health and its impact domestically in Canada. The central proposition of this paper will be two-fold. First, it will argue that the shift from International Health Governance to Global Health Governance represents a new layer of complexity in public health governance on the world stage, and thus, similar to the domestic scene, drives the need for new global mechanisms for collaborative governance. Second, it will argue that not only do these developments parallel what is taking place in Canada (as well as in other "open" societies), but in fact they contribute to political and social divisions within Canada, and therefore to the need for models of collaborative governance, often called network governance, domestically. The paper will base itself on three 21st century global cases that can each be seen as "game changers": the SARS events of 2003, the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control of 2003, and the Global Strategy on Diet, Physical Activity, and Health of 2004. The research will consist of document review and supplemented by interviews with key stakeholders.

Rojas, Cristina - cristina_rojas@carleton.ca
Decolonizing Political Economies

This paper presents different responses from the South, especially from Indigenous peoples in the Andean region, to the double crisis of Capitalism and Modernity. The paper analyses epistemological, ontological and normative proposals that are opening possibilities for the construction of non-capitalist political economies. The paper focuses on the reinstating of Indigenous narratives like "living well" (suma qamaña) which have inspired the Constitutions and development plans in both Ecuador and Bolivia. These and other imaginaries are making possible communal forms of organizing the economy that combine in innovative ways market relations with practices of reciprocity. Indigenous peoples are interrupting as well divisions between manual and intellectual labour, between economics and politics, and between productive and reproductive work.

Rollo, Tobold - tobold.rollo@utoronto.ca
Confounding Democracy: How a Preoccupation with Speech and Protest Obscures the Roots of Democratic Legitimacy
This paper argues that our conventional models of democratic deliberation, rhetoric and performance tend to suffer from an 'operational confound' according to which the work of convivial bodily interactions in generating political judgments, beliefs, and agreements is misattributed to dialogue and protest. The oversight typically flows from the flawed assumption that the propositional content of speech and the symbolic content of performance are chiefly responsible for rational and affective shifts in perspective as well as a motivation to act. As it relates to shifts in perspective, recent theoretical and empirical critiques of the concept of 'deliberation' suggest that the work ascribed to speech is accomplished in many cases by foundational empathic interactions (Morrell) and other non-practical social motivations (Mutz, Walsh). As well, it remains unclear how or why judgments, beliefs, and agreements generated strictly out of speech and protest would also induce parties to take action (Hume). In the absence of relations of obligation and reciprocity that inhabit convivial bodily interactions, participation in reason-giving more closely resembles the process of theoretical reasoning (aimed only at logical coherence) than practical reasoning (aimed at appropriate action). The paper concludes that democratic legitimacy is rooted in convivial interactions between citizen bodies which may or may not include deliberation and performance.

Rostek, Michael -
Supply Chain Risk Management: Are Industry's Concerns also Credible Canadian National Security Concerns?
Canada procures a substantial portion of its defense-related Information Technology (IT) from a small cadre of contractors. In a globalized production model where supply chains are composed of many subcontractors, where civilian employees frequently work in foreign countries, there exist risks of counterfeit products and risks of infiltration. As a matter of national security, government regulations are necessary to manage the risks inherent in the supply chain; however, regulations must not impose impractical burdens upon procurement. Supply Chain Risk Management (SCRM) is a shared responsibility between contractors and government to proportionately assess and respond to risks. Industry must provide the government with reasonable assurance of the security of their supply chain, while government must recognize that excessive regulation is in neither party's interests. Through interviews, analysis of industry and government memorandums, and secondary literature, this paper evaluates industry's arguments against greater regulation of the supply chain. Industry has traditionally voiced its concern with excessive government regulation in terms of the increased costs of procurement for government. However, this paper operates on the assumption that the government's perceived need to regulate industry's supply chains will trump industry's call for deregulation such that regulation is attached to national security and deregulation is portrayed in terms of economic benefits. Therefore, this paper assesses the legitimacy of industry's claims to portray regulations as themselves threats to national security, first through the delays they cause to the procurement of mission essential IT and second, through the barriers of entry caused to companies with critical technologies.

Rounce, Andrea - andrea_rounce@umanitoba.ca
Who Pays? Who Should Pay? Canadians' Opinions on Financing University Education
As the proportion of Canadians who participate in post-secondary education has increased, the discourse around who should provide the financing for that participation has shifted. Responsibility for financing university education is often linked to discussions of benefits associated with completed education. However, the balance between the public and private benefits that accrue - and the varied nature of those benefits related to gender, age, area of study - is still very much open to debate (see Boothby and Rowe 2002; Andres and Adamuti-Trache 2007; others). Questions have been asked about the correct balance between public and private sources of funding, including those asked by the Department of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada as part of the pre-budget consultations in 2006 (HRSDC 2006; Finance Canada 2006). Yet when individuals are asked about the role(s) played by provincial government(s) in the financing of university education and ensuring access and affordability, one survey shows that they overestimate what proportion of funds come from individuals' tuition fees (at 53%) while underestimating the proportion provided by provincial governments (46%). Despite these inaccuracies, individual Canadians also report that provincial governments should provide a greater proportion of funding than that provided by students and their families (Canadian Council on Learning 2006). This research explores and highlights the differences and similarities in opinions and attitudes among Canadian people when it comes to the financing of university education, using quantitative data gathered in two surveys commissioned by the Canada Millennium Scholarship Foundation and the Canadian Council on Learning.

Roussel, Stéphane - roussel.stephane@uqam.ca

Preventing, Substituting, or Supplementing the Use of Force? Foreign Aid in Canadian Strategic Culture
Although security and foreign aid are generally viewed as distinct spheres of activities, they are connected in many ways in Canadian foreign policy. First, they are linked by the concepts of "internationalism" and "good international citizenship," advocating both active international involvement in various areas (military security, trade, human rights promotion, development, etc.) and norms entrepreneurship. Second, the Canadian government formalized the nexus between security and development through the "whole of government" approach, establishing a formal connection between security and certain development activities. According to these conceptions of Canadian foreign policy, international security and development activism are put on the same continuum, albeit as different tools, supplementing each other to reach the same goal: regional and global stability through the promotion, enforcement, and maintenance of a Western-led liberal order. The purpose of this paper is to further explore the nature of the relationship between security and development in Canadian foreign policy in order to illustrate the passage to, and implications of Canada's "whole of government" approach. We conduct our inquiry through the concept of "strategic culture." This perspective allows us to highlight three broad different strategies that can be conceived in the security-development continuum: foreign aid as a means to prevent future military action, as an alternative to the use of force in the attainment of states' national interests, and/or as a complement to military action for similar political objectives. A systematic and historical analysis reveals, somewhat counter-intuitively, that a complementary approach has dominated Canadian foreign policy well before the advent of the "3D" approach, meaning that Canada's strategic culture predisposes the country towards "harder" rather than "softer" foreign aid policies.

Roy, Jason - jroy@wlu.ca

Canadian and American Voting Strategies: Does Institutional Socialization Matter?
This paper uses data from an online voting experiment to examine the impact of institutional design on both the vote decision process and vote choice. More specifically, we examine how Canadian and American voters differ in their vote decision process and the choice they make under two and four candidate election competitions. Our expectation is that Canadian voters, who are more familiar with a multiparty electoral context, will adjust to the increased complexity of the four party competition by engaging in a more detailed decision process. Alternatively, we expect U.S. voters, who are less familiar with multiparty competitions, will withdraw, employing a less detailed vote calculus under these more complex conditions. The results from our study offer insight into how institutional design and socialization affect voter decision processes.

Rubio Vega, Veronica - vrubiovega@balsillieschool.ca

The G20 After the Financial Crisis: The End of Which Universalism?
The post-2007 crisis has brought the G20 into the center of global financial governance. However, the G20 is very much a work in progress and its future impact on global spheres of economic authority may depend on the effective determination of its institutional character. This is related to the implications of its "locked in" membership, as well as of its promotion of legitimacy. This paper analyzes how the current G20 structure and processes are indicative of the possibilities and constraints for political economy to explain the reconfiguration of international regulatory regimes. I argue that the increased importance of the G20 as viable 'global' arrangement is creating dilemmas for the notion of universalism in two very distinct fronts. First, the G20 partially challenges the idea of neoliberal universalism, since it has recognized the need to apply distinct recipes at the domestic level. But, the G20 also contests the idea of universal inclusion, as endorsed by UN agencies. The G20 is not so much a forum of inclusion as a forum for acknowledging emerging powers: economic weight is the main driver for recognition. So what does the G20 tell us about the future of economic globalization? It confirms that the core of capitalism is intact, because the G20 does not represent a radical departure from the IMF/WB approaches. However, the work of the G20 should not only be assessed in terms of the mechanisms and discourses it promotes, but also vis-à-vis the possibilities it creates for the diffusion of global financial authority.

Ruddy, Karen - kruddy@yorku.ca

Feminist Imaginaries, Accumulation by Dispossession and the 'New Sexual Contract'
In an essay on the gendered dynamics of capitalist accumulation, Nancy Hartsock (2006) suggests, following Harvey (2003), that the current moment of neoliberal globalization is marked by an acute phase of accumulation by dispossession, a set of coercive and violent processes through which capital penetrates social relations previously outside the market. Hartsock suggests that this new moment is not gender neutral and that its central processes -- financialization, the rise of neoliberalism and religious fundamentalisms, the transformation of social reproduction, and the breaking of the social contract – have intensified gendered inequalities worldwide. This paper extends Hartsock's critique by suggesting that central to the restructuring of the post-war social contract has been the post-feminist appropriation and disavowal of alternative feminist imaginaries, the creation of a new sexual contract in the West, and the production of new modes of feminine citizenship consonant with the imperatives of neoliberalism. Drawing upon McRobbie's (2007, 2009) theory of "new sexual contract," I claim that post-feminism presents women with a "notional form of equality" – it invites them to participate in education, employment, and sexuality on equal footing with men – on the condition that they abandon feminist critiques of hegemonic masculinity. Reading McRobbie's theory of the "new sexual contract" alongside Pateman's (1988, 2007) account of the original social/"sexual contract" and Mill's (1997, 2007) "racial contract," the paper claims that post-feminism has radically reconfigured the terrain of gender politics in advanced liberal democracies,

producing a crisis of feminist political citizenship in the West and constraining the possibilities for feminist politics to those premised on the superiority of the West's gender order.

Rygiel, Kim - krygiel@wlu.ca
Managing Irregular Migration Through Detention: Australian and European Practices of Externalizing Border and Migration Control Policy. Lessons for Canada ?
This paper examines the issue of how rights to movement, particularly of irregular migrants and refugee claimants, are being managed through detention as part of a larger politics of citizenship. Within the Canadian context, recent arrivals of Sri Lankan migrants, and Tamil refugee claimants in particular, to British Columbia have renewed policy discussion around managing migration and the role that detention of irregular migrants and refugee claimants should play in this process. Former High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Martin Collacott, among others, has called for Canada to adopt Australia's model of the Pacific Solution of intercepting asylum seekers at sea and transporting them to detention centers on neighboring islands where asylum claims can be processed offshore. This model of externalizing and subcontracting the detention and processing of would-be asylum claimants to third parties bordering countries of asylum is also a model increasingly favored within the European context. The increasing reliance on external spaces of detention results in restricted access to refugee rights and settlement within refugee-accepting countries, and effectively works to circumvent the international refugee system by establishing an alternative system of managing irregular migrant mobility, a system that blurs categories of migrant status. The Australian and European models of externalizing borders and border control through detention thus provide important precedents through which to consider recent demands for changes to Canadian border and migration control policy.

Sabadoz, Cameron - cameron.sabadoz@utoronto.ca
The Greatly Exaggerated 'Death of the Social': Globalization, Neoliberal Governmentality, and the Spatial Translation of Economic Governance
As globalized competition continues to undermine state capacity for economic regulation, various scholars have recently lamented the apparent demise of "the social." Once considered the political territory upon which economic interests were placed in contrast with social counterparts, the supposed 'death of the social' has posed a problem for observers interested in contesting contemporary economic malfeasance. Within the welfare state, "the social question" demanded that national governments administer an uneasy truce between business and civil society, most notably labour. Within that frame, the state could curb radicalism and excess, while it promoted the notion that progress's tide would float all boats. This understanding is now under threat. Thus, globalization has both created greater threats to social justice, just as it has also undermined our capacities to contest domination. This paper, in contrast to Baudrillard and Rose, argues that the social remains an important discursive space for economic regulation. Rather, the most important change is not one of the social falling into disuse, but rather that the state frame misunderstands important new networks of global governance. In particular, we see that new post-national regulatory discourses deployed by NGOs, including corporate social responsibility and corporate citizenship, all use consistent discursive constructions to contest economic activity in the specific language of "the social". There, the locus of regulation has been moved from national politics to the politicized behaviour of firms. Drawing upon Foucault's work on neoliberal governmentality, this thus suggests new ways of understanding how governance relations can be achieved through politicized markets.

Sabin, Jerald - jerald.sabin@utoronto.ca
Northern Political Science and Civil Society: Research Prospects in the Northwest Territories and Yukon
Despite nearly fifty years of research by political scientists and others in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and Yukon, almost no studies exist which analyze the role of civil society in northern political development and policy processes. Given the rapidly changing political, economic, and environmental circumstances of Canada's northern regions, examining this role is key to both understanding past political trajectories and developing effective policy responses to emerging challenges. This paper identifies reasons for the absence of these studies, and proposes several approaches for mapping the relationship between civil society actors and state, capitalist economic, and Aboriginal institutions in the NWT and Yukon. It presents a review of the political science literature on the NWT and Yukon, and identifies three general approaches to the study of politics in these territories, including historical institutionalism, Aboriginal and post-colonial politics, and the politics of northern economic development. In doing so, it points to gaps in the literature and suggests how each approach would benefit from the use of a civil society lens. Finally, this paper demonstrates three applications of the civil society approach across three time periods in the history of Yellowknife and the Great Slave Lake region of the NWT.

Salnykova, Anastasiya - salnykova@gmail.com
Deliberative Capacity in Colored Revolutions: Comparative Analysis of Ukraine and Georgia
The paper addresses the cases of Georgia's Rose Revolution of 2003 and Ukraine's Orange revolution of 2004. Specifically, it explores the similarities and differences involved in these two events from the perspective of deliberative capacity suggested by John Dryzek (2009). These cases are chosen due to their being two successful post-Soviet cases of the colored revolutions in the sense of leading to free and fair elections in a peaceful manner through public up-risings.

Yet, the differences between these cases in terms of post-revolutionary developments in governance and democratization are also striking.

Thus the paper evaluates the extent to which deliberative democratic principles – such as inclusion, dialogue, and openness to the other - were present in these two cases. Furthermore, the study evaluates whether the level of deliberative capacity in place may have had causal consequences for the post-revolutionary development. The analysis is based on primary sources' content analysis, secondary literature synthesis and elite interview data from both Georgia and Ukraine. The paper argues that Georgia's revolution contained greater deliberative capacity compared to the Ukrainian one, yet this was caused by structural circumstances as opposed to being an intended feature. Reasons for this distinct level of deliberative capacity are outlined and consequences of this variation for post-revolutionary development in both countries are assessed. The paper thus enters the debates in such areas as deliberative democracy and comparative democratization, as well as has a potential to offer recommendation for policy-makers.

Salter, Mark - mark.salter@uottawa.ca
Securitization and Integration: The New Politics of Depoliticization
Contemporary theories of securitization and European integration make the same fundamental argument: issues and sectors can be depoliticized, and removed from the public sphere. Both literatures are concerned with the processes – in both the public scene and backstage – by which issues cease to be publicly debatable and new measures become possible and appropriate. For securitization literature, depoliticization is a consequence of security concerns and exceptional measures used to counter those concerns. Whereas, for European integration theory, especially (neo)functionalism, depoliticization is a result of technicalization process. By putting together these literatures from critical security studies and European integration for the first time, we construct a unified theory of depoliticization, which explains how security and integration issues may move in the public imaginary. The case of FRONTEX, the European Union (EU) agency responsible for border security, and in particular the competing theses from these two literatures that explain the rationale behind the creation of this agency, illustrates our model.

Sampert, Shannon - s.sampert@uwinnipeg.ca
Women in Manitoba Politics
For many, Manitoba is a province that is in the middle: geographically, economically and politically. However, when it comes to the representation of women, it has achieved critical mass, with women holding over 30% of the seats in the provincial legislature and commanding more than 40% of the positions in the Manitoba cabinet. Indeed, one of Manitoba's Deputy Premiers is a woman and she also holds the powerful position of Finance Minister. Moreover, women are fifty-percent of the provincial judiciary in Manitoba. And there has also been steady progress at women's representation at all levels of civil service; women make up 39.4% of Civil Service Commission Senior Officials (ie. Directors, Executive Directors, Assistant Deputy Ministers and Deputy Ministers). These numbers are impressive and perhaps not surprising, given that Manitoba was the first province to give women the right to vote. This paper will examine the representation of women in Manitoba, tracing the successes of women in going beyond the critical mass. It will also examine which women are successful in Manitoba politics and which women remain outside the hallways of power.

Samuel, Chris - c.samuel@queensu.ca
Throwing Bricks at a Brick Wall: The G20 and the Antinomies of Protest
Controversy surrounding the June 2010 meetings of the G20 in Toronto focused on questions of tactics: police preparations and responses to protestors, the broad coalition of civil society groups opposing the G20 and its policies, and of course the notorious direct action tactics of Black Bloc activists. Accusations and counter-accusations flew as people tried to make sense of what have been characterized as 'riots' and the intensity of the police response. What has been ignored, however, is whether there was ever any possibility of protestors influencing the G20 deliberations. This paper argues that progressive groups face specific political antinomies – impossibilities of successful political action – that are the product of specific historical and ideological fields. I use a Bourdieuian relational logic to reconstruct the 'G20 political field' and demonstrate that a form of symbolic violence was operating against protesters. In this case, constructions of what constitutes 'violence' and the codes of what are allowable forms of protest within a neo-liberal democracy forced protesters to decide between ineffectual marches and marginalizing vandalism.   Although the paper is intended to be normative and critical, rather than an empirical study, media reports, media releases and other public statements will be used to reconstruct the G20 field. This is part of a larger intellectual project to show how Bourdieu's sociological approach can give political research into social movements greater explanatory power, particularly in terms of explaining how political antinomies such the one under consideration arise, and how they function to perpetuate patterns of domination.

Sandri, Giulia - giulia.sandri@ulb.ac.be
Party Internal Discontent and Factionalism
Studies on party membership have focused mainly on the profiles of members and on the reasons for joining (Seyd and Whiteley, 1992 and 2002; Scarrow, 1996; Heidar, 2006; van Haute, 2009a). Thus, party internal conflicts and discontent are hardly explained and very few studies have explored in depth party internal conflict (Boucek, 2009) or party internal discontent (van Haute, 2009b). This paper investigates one of the main dimensions of political discontent (Gamson, 1968): the specific support for the party, i.e. the satisfaction with its internal functioning. Taking the Belgian Socialist Party

as a case-study, the paper analyzes this variable by looking at the attitudes towards intra-party democracy (Rüdig, 2005; Koole, 2009; Linek and Lyons; 2009; Wauters et al., 2009; Baras et al., 2010). The paper explores the impact of members' discontent on their attitudes on party factionalism, considering discontent as a potential explanatory factor (Di Virgilio and Giannetti, 2009). Through the use of membership survey data (2010), the study aims at understanding the internal party divisions. Hypothesizing that unsatisfied members may constitute a source for internal factions, the paper explores who those members are and which are their perceptions of the main conflict lines within the selected party. It aims at shedding new light on the possible determinants of membership's attitudes towards factionalism.

Sarkany, Laszlo - lsarkany@uwo.ca
The Independent Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court and the Continued Success of the Global Ratification Campaign
The Republic of Moldova is the 114th state that, on October, 12th 2010, ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Eight years after its coming into force, and twelve years after its establishment, the Rome Statute and the International Criminal Court continue to be relevant and functioning within the international realm. The United States, one of the most vocal opponents of the Court, has even contributed to the Courts work by abstaining to veto a vote on the United Nations Security Council to indict the leader of Sudan, President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir, on July 14th, 2008. But why would states – such as Moldova, with its relatively small size and stature in international relations – continue to join the Court which contains mechanisms such as an independent Prosecutor which may in fact put further constraints on state sovereignty? In other words, why do states cooperate with this institution which has institutionalized a particular mechanism that could potentially curtail state sovereignty? The aim of this paper then is to discern first, why states established an independent Prosecutor, and second, why do states – that may not have direct contact with war crimes – keep joining and, in an essence, potentially constraining their sovereign ability to adjudicate their own conduct in international affairs.

Sayers, Anthony - asayers@ucalgary.ca
Measuring Federalism: Infrastructural Capacity
Traditional approaches to understanding power in federal states are heavily dependent on the use of revenue and spending. We argue a more complete understanding of power in federal states is gained by also considering the infrastructural capacity of component governments. To do this, we construct a series of measures that identify the capacity of governments in federal states to deliver goods and services.

Sayers, Anthony - asayers@ucalgary.ca
The Alberta Legislative Assembly
This paper explores the character of the Alberta legislature under the current Progressive Conservative government led by Premier Ed Stelmach. While it shares many features with its provincial and federal counterparts, the operation of the legislature and its committees bears the imprint of a prolonged period of single party legislative dominance. To the degree that there have only rarely been viable alternative governments in the legislature over recent decades, it is questionable whether it can be said to operate as a fully functioning Westminster-style parliament.

Schiff, Jacob - j.schiff@utoronto.ca
From Global Justice and Global Governance to Global Judgment and Global Action: Rereading Hannah Arendt for International Relations
Global justice is usually understood as normative end to be achieved, and global governance a means to achieve it. But what if the categories of means and ends are inappropriate for political life? And what if we lack normative foundations for concepts like justice? In this paper I explore these questions through a critical engagement with Hannah Arendt. I argue that recent appropriations of her work in international theory treat her as too much of a foundationalist, and so miss what is distinctive about her acknowledgment of the fragility and contingency of political life.

Schroeder, Michael - mikes@gwmail.gwu.edu
Managing Great Expectations: Democracy Promotion as Organized Hypocrisy in the UN Secretariat
The United Nations has talked about its commitment to democratization for twenty years. The Secretary-General (UNSG) trumpets democratization as the path to peace and development; the Security Council and General Assembly resolve to support new democracies. Recent actions however give us cause to question this commitment. The UN rarely monitors elections; it withheld evidence of fraud in the Afghan elections; and it advocated holding Sudanese elections despite evidence that the government suppressed the opposition. This hypocrisy—disparate talk and action—exemplifies the hypocrisy scholars observe in municipal governments, sovereign states and international organizations. Yet, we know little about the consequences of hypocrisy. Does hypocrisy itself create pressure to align talk and action? Does it prevent an organization from performing tasks like promoting democracy? These questions are investigated by examining two periods of hypocrisy and two periods of non-hypocrisy in UN democracy promotion. I argue that hypocrisy creates pressures to align talk and action. When states want the UNSG to take action, they also want him to articulate the virtues of that action; otherwise they question his commitment to democratization. Furthermore, many states want to eliminate UN hypocrisy because it facilitates hypocritical behavior by others who do not share their democratic values.

Schulz, Karla - k.schulz@queensu.ca
The "Multicultural Contract;" Applying Mills's Racial Contract to the Canadian Context
In his work developing the racial contract, Charles Mills offers a critique of the racialized exclusions embedded in social contract theory. For Mills, the promise of the social contract, as one of universal egalitarianism, is best understood as a descriptive device that has abstracted away from historical realities of racialized and gendered exclusion and inequality. The function of the social contract, as a device of ideal theory, according to Mills, is to give the illusion of formal equality and justice for all – while obfuscating the reality that only certain individuals within society are able to act as full contractors, and as such, are able to fully access the equality and freedom that the social contract promises to everyone in society. In my paper, I apply Mills's analysis of the racial contract to the theory and practice of multiculturalism in Canada. In this effort, I consider the manner in which different social groups in Canada operate as signatories, beneficiaries, subjects, and objects of a "multicultural contract," which defines the limits of permissible diversity and its expression in public space. In part, such an analysis serves to supplement the work of post-colonial scholars critiquing the inadequacies and ill-effects of liberal articulations of multicultural justice in the Canadian context. Deploying the contract devise, particularly the inverted racial contract of Mills, exposes the manner in which access to the full rights and privileges of citizenship can be determined by one's positionality in the moral, epistemological and ontological hierarchy this contract falsely delineates.

Sealey, Anthony - anthony.sealey@utoronto.ca
The Impact of Interests, Institutions, Identities and Values on Public Support for Redistributive Public Policies
Growth in income inequality in advanced industrial democracies has intensified researchers' interest in citizens' attitudes towards income redistribution. This paper incorporates a broad range of factors that have been theoretically and empirically linked to public opinion on two distinct forms of redistribution in order to determine which have the greatest effect on citizens' public policy preferences. While material interests are important, they are much more important determinants of citizens' views on generalized income equalization than they are of views on the provision of adequate living standards. In the latter case, values and beliefs are more influential. Attitudes towards market liberalism, social conservatism, libertarianism, feminism and economic self-determination all have important effects. While institutions and identities undoubtedly play an important role in the process that transforms public opinion into policy outputs, they seem to have more limited direct impacts on the formation of public opinion.

Seshia, Maya - seshia@ualberta.ca
Lessons Not Yet Learned: A Critical Examination of Governmental and Public Perception of and Response to the Bombing of Air India Flight 182
The objective of this paper is to explore what the Canadian government and public's perception of and response to the 1985 Air India terrorist attack reveals about Canadian citizenship and the Canadian nation. My main research questions are: Was the 1985 Air India Flight 182 terrorist attack generally perceived as a Canadian tragedy involving Canadian citizens? How does this case embody the theoretical relationship among citizenship, nation, race, class, and gender? In order to answer my research questions, my methodology involves a discourse analysis of texts from House of Commons' debates (Hansard), as well as transcripts from and submissions to the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182. While a handful of books and government reports about the 1985 attack exist, with the exception of Sherene Razack's (2007) submission to the Phase 1 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182, few studies interrogate what the government and public's perception and response to the bombings reveals about race, citizenship, and nation. Furthermore, within the Canadian context, little research that examines hierarchical distinctions among Canadian citizens exists, and even less work about the racialized nature of citizenship and belonging has been undertaken. By answering the two main research questions, my paper attempts to partially fill these gaps in the literature, thus, potentially contributing to an important dimension of citizenship literature by expanding existing theorizations about racialization, foreignness, belonging, and diaspora communities.

Shadd, Philip - 8pds@queensu.ca
Publicity Without Contract: The Eliminability of Contract from Contractarianism
In this paper, I respond to an argument recently put forward by Samuel Freeman and probe the question, "Does the contract play an ineliminable role on any rights-based contract theory, whether moral or political?" Despite the fact that philosophers from the time of Hume have criticized contractarianism for the eliminability of the contract, Samuel Freeman has remained an insistent defender of its necessity. In a recent essay, "Moral Contractarianism as a Foundation for Interpersonal Morality," Freeman's defence takes the form of arguing for the necessity of contract to moral contractarianism in general. In this defence, his primary argument is that the contract captures our concern for "justifiability TO", our concern to make principles justifiable TO those who would be subject to them. However, I point out two weaknesses in Freeman's argument, and thus show why Freeman's argument fails to show the necessity of contract to either moral or political contractarianism. One weakness is the way he deploys the distinction between justifiability in general and justifiability to, and turns on the fact that contemporary contractarian accounts do not involve real-world contractors. A second weakness is the presumption that only the metaphor of contract can capture this concern; in political philosophy, for instance, a theory of deliberative democracy or public reason can capture this concern instead.

The upshot of my argument is this: At most, a contractarian approach can serve as a rule-of-thumb, or argumentative shortcut, for reaching conclusions for which the substantive justification might otherwise be more difficult to ascertain.

Shaheen, Faisal - fshaheen@ryerson.ca
A Comparative Review of Current Themes in Administrative Development Research – Foundations of Research on the Global Municipal South
The international development literature is built upon a number of theoretical foundations that utilize a range of methodologies in researching state and society across the Global South. More recent inter disciplinary approaches have broadened the theoretical base and in some cases, abandoned public administration considerations. Evidence from policy and political sciences supports the need to re examine the role of the state in ensuring sustainable government and development across the Global South. Research at the local level has also raised the profile of challenges facing developing municipalities. In light of these currents, an examination of the theoretical foundations from which administrative and development disciplines approach municipal issues is valuable. This study surveys the theoretical foundations of scholarly research in administration and development journals with the aim of assessing the state of municipal theories. The study begins by outlining the theoretical foundations and approaches that more recent urban and municipally focussed journal contributions have employed. Current streams of public administration (PA) theory are summarized for application to the journal assessment. A quantitative and qualitative survey of each journals treatment of municipal development and administration is then conducted. Gaps between the dominant theoretical foundations of the journals and those found in PA literature are then discussed. The analysis concludes with a reflection on the implications for development administration studies in the Global South. The implications for PA research agendas in municipal contexts are highlighted, with a call for the study of comparative public administration and a shift away from solely context specific policy analysis.

Shaheen, Faisal - fshaheen@ryerson.ca
Development Dimensions of Informal Sector Engagement in Municipal Pakistan, Political vs. Administrative Constraints
Research on the urban informal sector (IS) has increased in recent years, with a focus shifting from national poverty reduction policies to local programs and initiatives. Increased social dislocation, exacerbated by institutional failures and market volatility, has contributed to the proliferation of the IS. In Pakistan, the cycle is perpetuated by the government's active withdrawal from its responsibilities as the guarantor of equitable development. In light of national policy failures, rising urban insecurity and the rapid growth of the IS, this study asks a) whether there are differences in the political will and capacity between upper and lower tiered state actors in engaging the urban IS, and b) whether such engagement can contribute to institutional arrangements that address insecurity and rehabilitate the IS. Urban Pakistan is examined through a survey of state and non-state actors as well as case studies of development experiences. Evidence supports the hypothesis that lower tiers of the state are capable of engaging the IS, but due to constraints from upper levels, are unable to do so. The study's findings reveal that collaboration between mobilized IS communities and resourced, accountable capacities of lower tiers of government, can approach development needs. Adequate funding and support for lower tiers of the state needs to be budgeted for in the early stages of policy development, by the upper tiers of the state. Prior to success in national and provincial policy reforms, policies must recognize and develop local level government interactions between the IS and lower tiers of the state.

Shahini, Johana - jona2006@gmail.com
Measuring the Political Consequences of the Electoral Laws: Case Study Albania
Electoral reforms happen in specific situations and are an integral part of bargaining over institutional design. The choice of the electoral system is usually affected by many contradictory concerns, which in connection with specific historical situations make the outcomes highly unpredictable, although some outcomes are more likely than the others. The outcomes of the electoral systems are also affected by political parties' strategies during the elections.
Electoral systems matter because they make a big difference to the shape of the party system. Elections, on the other hand, are a product of complex political processes, and they decide who governs. They also decide on the legitimacy of the institutional framework. Albania's post communist period has been characterized by a high frequency of electoral engineering experiments, which have introduced hybrid electoral systems. In the surface, a mixed member proportional system has dominated since 1992. Nonetheless, many variables that would classify the electoral system as such have been changed through electoral reforms of 1996, 1997, 2000, 2003, and 2005. They made the mixed system "lean" towards both majoritarian and proportional in its overall effects. The electoral reform of 2007-2008 introduced for the first time a regional proportional electoral system.
Based on the theoretical framework, I will attempt to analyze and measure the mechanical and psychological effects of these two different systems applied in the parliamentary elections of 2005 and 2009 in representation (translation of seats into votes) and in the party system.

Sharaput, Markus - sharaput@gmail.com
Strategic Economic Policy Implementation and the Canadian Federal System: Is Small Beautiful?
Building on past work focusing on the constraints encountered by Industry Canada in implementing its innovation agenda through the 1990s and early 2000s, this paper consists of a comparative study of the federal project with more recent

efforts by the Ontario government, which have been both less ambitious and more successful. The paper explores various mechanisms for measuring the success of industrial strategies, including relative spending levels, the longevity / continuity of the project, and the degree to which project objectives are met. It then uses these mechanisms to test whether or not conclusions drawn in earlier work are confirmed in the comparative case, notably the ways in which the institutional location of a policy project within the institutional array of a state both enables and limits projects of strategic intervention. The question of where to locate projects of strategic intervention is increasingly important in light of the recent economic crisis. One normative impact of the crisis has been to loosen constraints on government intervention and spending, while at the same time, fostering increasied demand for international coordination around economic management. As national governments assume responsibility for coordinating this process, it is important to understand whether sub-national governments can effectively assume responsibility for the implementation of economic strategy, or even whether they are better suited to that role than their national equivalents.

Sharaput, Markus - sharaput@gmail.com
What Counts as Work?: Gold Farmers, Grinding and Gear in MMORPGs
Massive Multiplayer Online Role-playing Games (MMORPGs) such as World of Warcraft are steadily eroding traditional divisions between work and play. Most MMORPGs require the investment of hundreds or thousands of hours of game play to generate desirable in-game items and property. While these items are in theory only of value within the game, the wide growth of a "grey market" in virtual goods and currency has meant that most such items are exchangeable for real-world currency. The expansion of "gold farms", gaming sweatshops where workers are paid to generate a daily quota of in-game currency for sale by the employer, is only one of the ways in which the exchangeability of virtual goods is blurring the lines between work and play. Recent cases in which in-game data have been assigned real-world value, or where conventional legal mechanisms for reserving property rights to the IP owner have been challenged, illustrate that the emergence of virtual worlds on-line blurs traditional epistemological, legal, and normative boundaries. If hours of human labour produce goods with market value, which are alienated from their producers through contractual agreements, should that labour be counted as work? If so, under what circumstances to do traditional categories (and rights) of employer and employee apply? If not, what distinguishes the generation of virtual goods from other categories of immaterial property? How does the emergence of virtual worlds of activity and the intersection of those worlds with the material impact traditional divisions between recreation and work?

Sharma, Ajay - asharm4@uwo.ca
Emerging Reality or Chimerical Policy Goals: Analyzing the Effectiveness of Municipal Action on Climate Change in North America.
A broad spectrum of North American cities have positioned themselves as active participants in the development of domestic and international climate change policy. In the absence of purposeful national and sub-national leadership in Canada and the United States,municipalities have successfully established a climate change policy agenda. The initiatives of cities such as Calgary, Chicago, New York City and Toronto have contributed to the emergence of collective municipal action on climate in Canada and the United States. Despite the potential benefits of policy success, rational choice theorists argue that municipalities should primarily focus on policy areas that they can directly influence – namely, economic growth. In response, municipal leaders argue that an effective climate change agenda will ultimately lead to economic growth at the municipal level. By analysing the policy actions of six North American municipalities from 1990 to 2010, this paper asks the following questions. First, on what basis do municipalities positively correlate GHG reductions and economic growth? Second, have municipalities achieved these goals?

Sharma, Ajay - asharm4@uwo.ca
Where Others Fail, Municipalities Prevail: An Analysis of Collective Municipal Action on Climate Change in Canada and the United States
One of the more intriguing developments in the field of climate change centers on the voluntary actions of North American municipalities. In contrast to their respective federal governments, municipalities in Canada and the United States have collectively organized and proactively implemented a broad range of climate change initiatives. Their actions are primarily informed by ICLEI's 'Cities for Climate Protection' [CCP] program - a framework for municipal climate change policy. As of December 2009, North American municipalities accounted for approximately 73% of ICLEI's total global membership of 1,098. Additional modes of collective action are observable through the actions of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and the Clinton Climate Initiative, The emergence of these and other avenues of action suggest that municipalities will not wait for federal direction on climate change. By examining the impact of policy networks, knowledge transfer and inter-jurisdictional and trans-border cooperation, this paper identifies and evaluates the key factors that allow for sustained action on climate change at the municipal level in Canada and the United States.

Sharpe-Harrigan, Melissa - msharpeharrig@trentu.ca
Membership in the Global City: The Successes (and Failures) of Municipal Multiculturalism in Toronto
Evidence shows that the City of Toronto, due to the size and demographic of its population, has declared itself to be a global city. This research paper uses this identity as a starting point by asking "How are global cities able to offer alternative understandings of membership to their residents?" Indeed, as I will show, the City often understands

membership to be more encompassing than national citizenship in its policies, providing evidence that such an understanding of urban citizenship is possible. The City policies also have a continued focus on engaging all members of the City of Toronto in its civic life, and implement a program of multiculturalism that turns away from colonialist understandings of citizenship, and promotes urban citizenship as an alternative for its residents. The diversity-related policies of the city only go so far along these lines, however, and are limited in their parallelism to national policies. In approaching diversity policies through 'diversity management', the City constructs diversity as an issue requiring management. Other policies demonstrate that the City is quite focused on how the corporation of the City of Toronto might benefit from its diverse population in promoting itself as a global city. These examples challenge and limit the potential of the City of Toronto to offer space for universal citizenship practices grounded in justice and equality. Through analyzing recent diversity policies of the City of Toronto, this paper complicates understanding of urban citizenship, urban scale, and membership within the city.

Shepherd, Robert - rpshepherd@rogers.com
Transparency and Accountability in Infrastructure Stimulus Spending: A Comparison of Canadian, Australian and US Programs
In the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, governments around the world adopted spending policies that focused on stimulating short-term growth and economic recovery. As a means of achieving these goals, countries chose to ramp up spending on public works and infrastructure. The injection of billions of dollars on infrastructure projects was expected to create thousands of jobs, particularly in the construction industry. While this investment has helped to fund many municipal infrastructure projects, the rapid infusion of public funding has raised serious concerns about accountability and transparency including how best to monitor and evaluate the allocation and impact of the funds and report back to citizens. These concerns have been fuelled by the lack of credible evaluation built into the stimulus programs. In the absence of transparent reporting and rigorous data analysis, meaningful accountability is seriously undermined and Canadians have no way of knowing what results have been achieved or if, as is claimed, the billions of dollars spent has been disproportionately channeled into Conservative (government) constituencies. In the absence of transparency, the government has asked the country to accept on trust that the money has been spent effectively. Our initial research into the governance, transparency and reporting of infrastructure stimulus programs in Australia and the US indicates there are significant variations in the levels of transparency and accountability achieved in their infrastructure stimulus programs and we believe these differences, challenges and concerns will make a direct and important contribution to the themes explored in this panel.

Sherwin, Kara - kara.sherwin@mytwu.ca
Securitization and Humanitarianism: The Project of Human Security and the Uneven Distribution of Life
Human security, as a project and doctrine, emerges as response to an uneven distribution of the human and the humane. Securitizing discourses of 'liberation' involve projects of self-determination and individuation institutionalized as human rights. It is my intention to investigate the ways in which the installation of liberty, as in the right to self-determination, reflects not merely an emancipation of empire, but is complicit in the governmentalization and securitization of empire as well. Here, the discipline of self-governance is fundamental to sustainable development as a de-ethicalized, therapeutic practice aimed at recreating and containing bare life as not merely naked, but self-reliant. The main focus is to investigate the technologies and practices neoliberalism endorses as self-governing and how these reproduce bare life. Indeed, freedom is both a legal status and a human practice; to understand the global consequences of liberty it is necessary to orient oneself towards the discursive, technical and administrative uses and ramifications of emancipation as autonomous self-government. Human security depicted as human freedom, must acknowledge that the practices of freedom somewhere vulnerablize and compromise such practices of those elsewhere. In what ways do the freedom practices of qualified lives, as techniques of citizenship, impose upon and limit the intended freedom practices of bare lives? Such inquiry must take place within the larger framework of human development as a governmentalized therapeutic humanitarianism which constitutes and responds to the continuing liberal problematic of security through freedom. Predominant referenced theorists:
Giorgio Agamben, Mark Duffield, Mark Neocleous, Vanessa Pupavac.

Shesterinina, Anastasia - ashester@interchange.ubc.ca
Deliberation in Post-Conflict Societies
Few, if any, studies have considered the potential of deliberative democratic processes in societies emerging from violent civil conflict, though the application of the model of deliberative democracy to less severe cases of divided societies has found resonance with a range of theorists. Merging basic insights of deliberative democratic theory with observations in post-conflict socie-ties and social psychology of conflict, I advance a model of post-conflict deliberation as follows. Despite little attention to post-conflict deliberative processes in the literature, these processes are not just possible or normatively desirable, but vital to post-conflict transformation. The post-con-flict context, while far from the deliberative democratic ideal, provides windows of opportunity for initiation of deliberation on the most difficult dividing issues – a necessity if post-conflict so-cieties are to transform the deadlocks of civil conflict. The post-conflict context, on the one hand, entails enduring civil violence. Hence, deliberation in this context cannot conform to the ideal de-liberative conditions of inclusion, equality, and reasonableness. On the other hand, however, this context pressures the parties to find functional solutions

to problems underlying and arising from violent civil conflict, which is highly difficult to achieve if deliberative conditions are not created. The initial task, therefore, is to locate entry points that would provide a platform for deliberation in post-conflict societies. Such entry points are most likely to be found in areas where the parties have had cooperative experience in the past and require cooperative work to derive indispensable mutual benefits. When these conditions are met and the parties are safe and able to talk sincerely, deliberation can be expected to tend towards the ideal and facilitate post-conflict transformation. I illustrate my argument with contrasting cases in the Georgia-Abkhazia post-conflict environment.

Shlozberg, Reuven - reuven.shlozberg@utoronto.ca
Strange Complementariness: Charles Taylor and Hannah Arendt on Moral Agency, Shared Responsibility, and Politics
Despite the centrality of certain categories (e.g., judgment) to both thinkers' view of moral agency, Charles Taylor`s and Hannah Arendt`s thought is rarely considered together. This paper argues that both thinkers offer complementary understandings of moral agency, a synthesis of which provides a rich account of moral agency and its political import. The classic criticism of Arendtian moral agency is that the multiplicitous, narrated, and performed self she envisions lacks the stable core needed for bearing moral responsibility, a criticism which Taylor's account escapes. But this difference, I contend, stems from Arendt's focus on the self as making a particular decision rather than across time, as Taylor does. Drawing on ideas from Paul Ricoeur and Adriana Cavarero, I thus show that these two accounts are in fact compatible and complementary. I then consider this conclusion in light of the case of moral agency in immoral societies (e.g., Nazi Germany). I proceed to showing that, given this synthesized view of moral agency, Taylor`s insistence on the ubiquity of moral agency in political choice is more persuasive than Arendt's insistence on divorcing morality from politics. I then spotlight some difficulties Taylor runs into in translating moral agency into specific political commitments, which Taylor understands in terms of recognition and respect for (some) individual rights. I end by considering whether Arendt`s notion of shared moral responsibility avoids these difficulties and thus provides us with better terms for translating moral agency into political commitments than the language of rights that Taylor adopts.

Simard, Louis - lsimard@uottawa.ca
Gouvernance énergétique et participation publique : le cas du Québec
Depuis un peu plus d'une décennie, le secteur québécois de l'électricité a été l'objet de transformations majeures de son mode de régulation et de ses instruments d'action publique. La création de la Régie de l'énergie en 1996 est au cœur de celles-ci. Cet article vise à rendre compte de l'expérience de la Régie de l'énergie, et plus spécifiquement de la question de la participation du public via les audiences publiques. La première partie reconstitue l'évolution de la question de la participation publique en lien avec la création de la Régie de l'énergie au fil des politiques publiques, des lois et règlements. La deuxième partie propose une évaluation de sa procédure à l'aide des critères proposés par Callon, Lascoumes et Barthe (2001) et une analyse exploratoire de l'expérience des audiences publiques. La troisième partie compare le cas québécois aux cas de l'Ontario et de la Colombie-Britannique. À la lumière de ces premiers constats de recherche, le cas du secteur de l'électricité au Québec montre notamment une certaine altération dans le temps de l'idéal délibératif formulé au départ et une mise en œuvre restreinte de la participation publique en raison de la formulation de cet instrument d'action publique.

Simmons, Julie - simmonsj@uoguelph.ca
Empowering Mothers or Protecting Midwives? The Intersection of Reproductive Autonomy and State Regulation in the College of Midwives of Ontario
Many have argued that the women-centred reproductive autonomy philosophy of care upon which midwifery is premised is compromised through state regulation. In Ontario, regulation under the Registered Health Professions Act (RHPA) has inserted the state as a third party in the relationship between mothers and midwives, with the state medicalizing the practice of midwifery through the terms and conditions it imposes for self-regulation. An alternative line of argument is that by dictating the terms and conditions for self-regulation in a way that encourages transparency through public involvement in the monitoring and disciplining health professions, the state regulation empowers citizens, (mothers), vis a vis health professionals (midwives). This paper identifies (drawing upon the annual reports of the College) the state/civil society/health profession nexus reflected in how the College of Ontario Midwives exercises its discretion, processing patient complaints through the "complaint" or "discipline" committees. The paper also evaluates the impact of the Health System Improvements Act 2007 (HSIA) on the relationship between mothers and midwives, in light of these observations about the College. Relative to other health professions, the College of Ontario Midwives encourages use of the complaints (as opposed to discipline) committee, reflecting a "problem solving" rather than punitive approach, in step with midwifery's non-hierarchical vision of the midwife/mother relationship. Ironically, because the HSIA focuses on citizen empowerment through transparency with respect to discipline (as opposed to non-punitive remedies to complaints), the College's avoidance of discipline procedures gives the appearance of protecting midwives at the expense of the public interest.

Simpkins, Reese - reese.simpkins@gmail.com
Beyond Recognition and Intersectionality: Trans and the Politics of Becoming
Using examples from the trans rights movement in Canada, the paper considers the flaws inherent in politics of recognition. Drawing on a Deleuzo-Guattarian framework, the paper argues that even models of recognition based on

intersectionality fail to adequately address the underlying, substantive multiplicity and movement inherent in trans (an umbrella term that incorporates many non-normatively sexed and/or gendered people and identities). Because politics of recognition require the affirmations of an Other, the paper contends that recognition politics are limited to a reactionary politics based upon inclusion within existing, albeit intersectional, categories as opposed to an active politics of transformation. In theorizing trans as a substantive multiplicity, a dynamic movement of becoming, the paper outlines a politics of becoming that emphasizes the movement underlying all identities and identifications. The emphasis on becoming as opposed to being—on acts and forces as opposed to identities and identifications—opens up new avenues of exploration outside of those limited by a politics of recognition, thereby producing new bodies and new relationships—new assemblages. In this sense, the dynamic movement that characterizes trans assemblages requires attending to trans politics, in particular, and politics, in general, in terms of a politics of acts, a politics of impersonal forces, a politics of becoming. The paper concludes with a discussion of the importance of recognition politics for trans people, but cautions against limiting politics to this framework. Only a politics based on both recognition and becoming can alleviate suffering and challenge oppression.

Simpson, Sheryl-Ann - sns64@cornell.edu
Divergent Urban Governance and Geographies of Necessity:Social Housing Policy in Winnipeg and Toronto
Municipalities across Canada are under similar pressures to adopt policies that ft within the framework of neoliberal urbanism, in spite of these pressures, rather than converging, policy solutions for social welfare processes are increasingly diverging across Canada and increasingly along territorial lines. This paper uses the case of social housing policy in two cities—Toronto and Winnipeg—to examine this divergence and to examine its impact in terms of, the constructions of political communities, and the potential development of highly localised, uneven geographies of necessity across the country. Social housing policy is a particularly strong lens through which to examine these regional differences because of decisive changes on the federal level in terms of support for housing production, as well as the ways that housing combines highly material, place-based and symbolic elements. Toronto and Winnipeg sit at opposite ends of a spectrum of social housing innovations; in Toronto there is a rapid move towards dismantling or privatizing the public and social housing system, while in Winnipeg there is continued support, from multiple levels of government, for publicly funded interventions to support public and affordable housing. The goal of this paper is not to evaluate the success or failure of particular policy choices, but to examine them as part of a processes public politics, through a framework that draws from both the policy feedback literature and the urban governance literature to build an understanding of the potential trajectories of urban politics engendered through these policies.

Simpson, Wayne - wayne_simpson@umanitoba.ca
Promise Meets Reality: Balanced Budget Legislation in the Canadian Provinces, 1990-2010
Two decades have passed since the first wave of balanced budget legislation in Canada. The recent economic downturn affords researchers the opportunity to evaluate the success of these regulations in encouraging fiscal responsibility. This study compares the original motivations and objectives behind the various pieces of balanced budget legislation passed by provincial governments in the late twentieth century, on one hand, with the reactions of provincial governments addressing the 2008-2010 recession, on the other. The former are identified through a detailed qualitative analysis of Hansard, government press releases, and media reports. Government reactions will be assessed by examining various legislative reforms, changes in political rhetoric, and fiscal responses to the recession. Preliminary analysis suggests provincial governments have not fulfilled the objectives of their original balanced budget legislation. This failure is due to a variety of factors, including: changes in government; the (perceived) exceptionality of the recession; the global paradigm shift (away from neo-liberalism toward neo-Keynesianism); policy leadership (by the Obama administration and Harper Government); and others.

Singh, Anita - anita.singh@dal.ca
Stephen Harper's India Policy: Domestic Determinants of Canadian Foreign Policy
Stephen Harper's government has made considerable efforts to improve Canada's relationship with countries like India and China. To some extent, the decision to re-engage with India, in particular, can be explained by India's phenomenal economic and political growth. However, successive Canadian governments have all attempted to improve Canada-India relations for the same reasons, with little success. On the other hand, the Harper government's attempts have proved fruitful, resulting in improved trade relations, Memoranda of Understanding in transportation and energy, and of course, a Nuclear Cooperation Agreement. This research suggests that the growth of Indo-Canadian interest organizations provides a more nuanced explanation of the Harper government's success in Canada-India relations. Among the most economically successful, urbanized and professional ethnic communities in Canada, Indo-Canadians have shown signs of political engagement and interest group activity, largely in order to rectify the long-time negative relationship between Canada and India. In this pursuit, three groups have come to the forefront: the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce, the Canada-India Foundation and the Canada-India Business Council. These organizations have not only manifested their economic power into political clout within Canada, but used their transnational relationships in India to push the political agenda toward improving bilateral relations. The research concludes that Indo-Canadian organizations have been important inputs in forming foreign policy, existing in the nexus of favourable international, domestic and community conditions that have allowed for its political success.

Singh, Shane - singh@uga.edu
Canadian and American Voting Strategies: Does Institutional Socialization Matter?
This paper uses data from an online voting experiment to examine the impact of institutional design on both the vote decision process and vote choice. More specifically, we examine how Canadian and American voters differ in their vote decision process and the choice they make under two and four candidate election competitions. Our expectation is that Canadian voters, who are more familiar with a multiparty electoral context, will adjust to the increased complexity of the four party competition by engaging in a more detailed decision process. Alternatively, we expect U.S. voters, who are less familiar with multiparty competitions, will withdraw, employing a less detailed vote calculus under these more complex conditions. The results from our study offer insight into how institutional design and socialization affect voter decision processes.

Skogstad, Grace - skogstad@chass.utoronto.ca
Constructing a Transnational Paradigm in the European Union: The Case of the GMO Risk Regulation Paradigm
This paper examines the development of the EU's paradigm to regulate the risks of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) as a case study in transnational paradigm development in which transnational actors, both within and outside the EU, through their strategic interactions and discourses, have played a determinative role. The paper conceptualizes policy paradigm development as a conflict-prone exercise in knowledge-making, and identifies the factors that account for why some knowledge claims prevail over their competitors at a given point in time. These factors include the positional advantages, resources, and legitimacy of competing discourse factions; the fit between competing factions' epistemic ideas and the broader normative context; and systemic-wide events that intersect with knowledge-making activities in sectoral policy arenas. The analyses suggest that transnational paradigms are prone to a hybrid character, a feature that makes it difficult to settle epistemic controversies in transnational paradigm development, contribute to their ongoing controversy, and frustrate the legitimation of paradigmatic knowledge claims.

Slowey, Gabrielle - gaslowey@yorku.ca
No More Assuming: Mobilizing Traditional Knowledge to Build Indigenous Governance
To date, it has been assumed that traditional knowledge is present within co-management institutions and self-government negotiations by virtue of the presence and participation of First Nations peoples within them. Consequently, traditional knowledge is incorporated into governance through a "top-down" process, whereby authorities such as the federal government create a space within already-established institutions for Aboriginal peoples to participate. This model attempts to defuse conflict between government and First Nations through the creation of more inclusive regimes of governance over areas of mutual concern.
Departing from this premise, this paper shifts away from this assumption and instead considers how traditional knowledge can be mobilized to build new governance regimes. It contemplates such questions as: If a traditional knowledge process takes place as part of the broader project of building a self-government regime, will the governance that results be different? Given that traditional knowledge is a process by which a relationship is fostered between the past and present, how does this process enable an adaptation of knowledge within the modern governance context? I posit that, in order to reflect Aboriginal world views and cultural values, governance regimes must be designed through a "bottom-up" process, rooted in the oral tradition and traditional knowledge. I conclude this is the only way to achieve what Kalt and Cornell (1998) refer to as "cultural match", thereby granting greater legitimacy to new governing institutions and structures.

Slowey, Gabrielle - gaslowey@yorku.ca
Dealing with the Deer: The Politics of Co-Management in Ontario
In Ontario, overabundant deer populations have severely impacted the forests of Point Pelee National Park, Rondeau Provincial Park and the Pinery Provincial Park. To deal with and mitigate these impacts, the parks' initiated a series of deer via culls in the early 1990s. A key component of these culls was the negotiation of an agreement between representatives of the Rae government with the local First Nations communities that were ultimately assigned the task of performing the culls. Although the NDP government of the day viewed this as a co-management agreement, the question arises: is it really? Drawing on recently conducted field research, this paper theorizes that different management strategies can exist given the variant nature of state-First Nation relations. This paper posits that a key element with the Rae government was its desire to work with (as opposed to against) First Nations. This presented First Nations in the province with a rare opportunity to work with government officials in a positive manner and to achieve a deal that remains in place today. The objective of this paper therefore is to flesh out the dynamics of this relationship to better understand if/how local stakeholders are consulted, and if and how traditional ecological knowledge about white-tailed deer and the surrounding ecosystem are integrated and used along with western scientific approaches. The significance of this paper is that it provides insight into the political maneuvering required and management methods employed to manage white-tailed deer in Ontario which has yet to be explored.

Small, Tamara - tsmall@mta.ca
Canadian Government in the Age of Web 2.0

E-government refers to the "use of technology to enhance access to and delivery of government services to benefit citizens, business partners and employees" (Silcock, 2001: 88). Within the literature, there is a debate on whether e-government is merely about service delivery or if it can increase democratic engagement. In 1999, Canada became one of the first governments to move online and was distinguished early as a leader in e-government. The Internet, however, has transformed since the late 1990s. The term Web 2.0 is used to describe this transformation; "Web 2.0 harnesses the Web in a more interactive and collaborative manner, emphasizing peers' social interaction and collective intelligence, and presents new opportunities for leveraging the Web and engaging its users more effectively" (Murugesan, 2007: 34). Web 2.0 is thought to contribute to e-democracy. Due to inherent participatory characteristics, it is argued that Web 2.0 allows for "grassroots participation, forging new connections, and empowering from the ground up" (Granick, 2008). Like political parties and politicians, government departments are also employing Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. This paper assesses this trend; first the paper examines the extent to which Web 2.0 technologies are employed by government departments. Next, it uses Chadwick and May's (2002) oft-cited models of interaction between states and citizens (managerial, consultative and participatory) to assess the development of Canadian e-government in the age of Web 2.0.

Smith, Michael - mepsmith@hotmail.com
Keeping Independent Officers of Legislatures Independent: The Institutional design of the appointment Process under the Condition of Majority Government
Independent legislative officers are supposed to provide the entire legislature with non-partisan, evidence-based assessments of government activities and their impact on the public. To get good quality independent legislative officers, a well-designed appointment process is critical, as they are legislative, not governmental appointments. However, when there is majority government in a Westminster parliamentary system, how can the appointment process ensure that the will of the entire legislature is separated from the will of the government? We can easily understand how a government would be concerned with a zealous investigator with a flair for vigorous public communication. For that reason consensus on the appointment from all recognized political parties is preferred.
Over the last 10-20 years, the Legislative Assembly of Ontario has changed the appointment process for independent officers. This change was from a formal, structured appointment through a Standing Committee of the Legislature, to an informal, ad-hoc committee with all-party representation. The proposed research question therefore is: which process is better equipped to prevent the governing party from making the appointment decision without the consent of the opposition parties? The paper will approach the issue by comparing two cases from Ontario's recent history: the 1999 appointment of Gord Miller as Environmental Commissioner, and the 2010 reappointment of André Marin as Ombudsman. Using interviews from those involved, this paper will argue that the informal process offers the opposition parties more avenues to obstruct the will of the government and force compromise.

Smith, Miriam - mcsmith@yorku.ca
Neoliberalism and Employment Equity in Canada in the 2000s
This paper explores the ways in which tools of auditing, benchmarking and soft law have replaced evidence-based statistical techniques in federal employment equity policy in the 2000s. Drawing on the comparative literature on the recent evolution of 'human rights', 'civil rights' and 'equality' policies in the U.S. and, especially, the U.K., the paper argues that the recent evolution of employment equity policy in Canada must be viewed through the lens of an emerging template of soft law practices that is circulating transnationally through the mechanism of professional expertise, especially, the professional expertise of compliance professionals such as lawyers and human resources' experts. In particular, the paper will evaluate how institutional factors shape the translation of this template into domestic policymaking and the extent to which women, racialized minorities and other stakeholders in equity policy have lost political agency, visibility and influence under these new techniques for managing workplace diversity. Empirically, the paper will be based on a reading of government and NGO reports as well as selected interviews with policymakers and NGO key informants. Finally, I will draw out the implications of the analysis for the interplay of institutional factors in policy development.

Smythe, Elizabeth - elizabeth.smythe@concordia.ab.ca
Global Food Governance, Trade Rules and the Right to Know the Provenance of Food
As movements have developed at the local and global level around concerns about the nature and quality of food, the demands for greater knowledge about the provenance of food have increased. Provenance encompasses much more than just geographic origins and includes social and cultural aspects as well as ethical issues around food production (Morgan, Marsden and Murdoch). However, access to knowledge about the provenance of most food is governed by national regulations on labeling and increasingly international rules and standards that judge whether these labeling regulations constitute barriers to trade. The global governance of food labeling involves a struggle over these standards rules involving an array of actors in forums such as the Codex Alimentarius and World Trade Organization (WTO). Restrictive standards regarding the acceptable justification for mandatory labeling of food products are coming under increased pressure from growing demands regarding food provenance. This has been reflected recently in the move in the United States to mandatory Country of Origin Labeling for meat and the vote in June 2010 in favour of mandatory Country of Origin Labeling in the European Parliament. This paper examines these cases and the way in which they have

been addressed by governance institutions such as the Codex and the WTO and argues that existing rules are unlikely to stop the move to more transparency about the provenance of the food we eat.

Snow, Dave - adsnow@ucalgary.ca
Straddling the Divide: Conservatism and Populism in Harper's Canada and Howard's Australia
In 2003, future Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered a speech in the House of Commons regarding the Iraq war that plagiarized from a speech by then Australian Prime Minister John Howard. Harper and Howard, as it turns out, have far more in common than some borrowed words – both are conservative politicians who defeated an incumbent party that had been in power for over a decade. In order to both obtain and maintain power, both leaders had to identify and create policies that satisfy two 'wings' of their respective parties – social conservatives and classical liberals – that do not always share the same priorities. This paper uses a comparative framework to explore similarities between the Howard and Harper governments in terms of both policy content and political/ideological framing. Despite governing a decade apart in very different economic circumstances, there exists a remarkable similarity in both leaders' major policy platforms, including anti-crime measures, lower taxes, and less funding for the arts. Moreover, both leaders made frequent appeals to populism, using 'wedge politics' and 'dog-whistling' to divide the community between 'ordinary' Canadians/Australians and an apparently out-of-touch elite. Utilizing recent developments in the political theory of populism, we examine how both leaders sought to portray themselves as knowing what 'the people' really wanted in such a way that allowed them to straddle ideological divisions and satisfy their electoral coalition.

Snyed, Adam - asneyd@uoguelph.ca
Competition, Coordination and Corporate Social Responsibility: African Timber and Cotton in Comparative Perspective
This paper focuses on the horizontal movement of rule-making authority from sovereign states to transnational governance systems evident in the timber and cotton sectors south of the Sahara. Building upon the analyses of non-state, market-driven governance advanced by Benjamin Cashore and his collaborators over the past decade, this contribution embraces a comparative approach. It sets out to understand why certain new systems operative in these two sectors have gained authority relative to other systems. To do so it analyzes the governance 'competitions' that have ensued as divergent new systems for cotton and for timber have vied for legitimacy and supremacy in their respective areas. The paper also assesses the attempts that several prospective new governors of African cotton and timber have made to coordinate, harmonize and align their efforts. The implications of governance competition, coordination or the lack thereof for non-state, market driven systems and for approaches to corporate social responsibility more generally that do not command high levels of instrumental, structural or discursive power are detailed in the second half of the paper. The paper ultimately argues that several coordination failures have the potential not only to undermine the robustness and effectiveness of the systems that have emerged on top, but also to detract from the demonstrably stronger benefits and prospects of systems that have been actively disempowered. The paper concludes with some thoughts gleaned from the case studies on the possible opportunities and threats that could accompany efforts to reform the status quo.

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The South Sudan Referendum, Round #1: North American Press Framing of the Separation Option in Coverage of the 2010 Sudanese Election
While for many observers the result of the spring 2010 election in Sudan was closer than expected (President al-Bashir won with 68% of the vote), the outcome was really never in doubt. However, in that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that in 2005 ended the long-lived civil war in the South called for a referendum in 2011 to determine the South's future status with respect to Sudan, the 2010 election was critical in setting the stage for that referendum. Specifically what this paper examines is the "framing of the separation option" for South Sudan in coverage of the election in the "newspapers of record" and major capital city newspapers in the United States and Canada – The New York Times and The Washington Post and The Globe and Mail and The Ottawa Citizen, respectively. By the time this paper is presented, we will know the outcome of the referendum, if indeed it is held on schedule in January 2011. While we can all hope that further bloodshed can be avoided, given the two-phased civil war in southern Sudan that lasted over 25 years in which an estimated two million people perished, and more recently the Sudanese government's heavy-handed response in Darfur, it is felt by many analysts that renewed violence is very likely should the South vote for independence. It has been claimed that the identification of problems likely to lead to civil violence is difficult, thus complicating strategies of conflict prevention. We do not dispute this, but submit that if a case of a "responsibly to prevent" ever was possible to anticipate, South Sudan is one of those cases. Therefore, the questions we address in this paper are: (1) did important newspapers in fact "alert" American and Canadian populations to the likelihood of violence resulting from the referendum vote, and, if they did, (2) how did they "frame" the international community's "responsibility to prevent" another humanitarian crisis in the making.

Soroka, Stuart - stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca
Political Knowledge, Racial Bias and Attitudes toward Immigration
Past research suggests that citizens' attitudes toward immigration are driven, in part, by attitudes toward racial diversity. In this study, we draw on a unique online survey experiment conducted with a representative sample of Canadians (n=1000) to directly test this assertion. The analysis is based on a 2X2 experimental design embedded in a series of

immigrant vignettes that vary the racial background and social status of an individual applying for immigration to Canada. First, we examine the extent to which implicit racial cues decrease support for immigration. Second, we test whether this effect is stronger when immigrants are portrayed as low skilled (and hence an economic threat) versus when they are highly skilled. And finally, we explore the effect of political sophistication, measured by an extensive battery of current political knowledge questions, with the expectation that sophistication may mediate the relationship between racial cues and immigrant attitudes. Results offer new and unique information on the structure of Canadians' attitudes on diversity and immigration.

Spicer, Zachary - zspicer@uwo.ca
Weapons of the (Politically) Weak? Speaker Selection as Strategic Dissent in the Ontario Legislature
The majority of academic studies examining legislative dissent have focused on public acts of dissent – that is, legislators physically standing and voting against their party or criticizing them in the media. This is understandable, as nearly all votes in legislatures are public. However, there is a lone secret ballot vote conducted in legislatures: the vote to elect a Speaker. In this paper, we examine Speaker selection in Ontario and find that in the seven votes to select a Speaker since the Ontario legislature began using a secret ballot, the Premier has rarely seen his choice for Speaker elected. In four out of seven votes, their caucus has voted against them. We ask why this private act of dissent is more common than public acts of dissent, testing three factors identified as likely to increase dissent: party popularity, cabinet size and the percentage of new MPs entering the party at each legislative term. We find that individual level indicators best explain the paradox of private acts of dissent and that the Speaker selection process involves three groups of actors, each with their own preference order in decision-making: 1) the government backbench, 2) the Premier's Office, the Premier and Cabinet and 3) the opposition. Overall, we find that the private vote matters a great deal. Public voting reduces the levels of dissent experienced in caucus, but if MPPs were allowed to vote by secret ballot on more matters, the consequences could be much more severe for a governing party.

Staring, Scott - staring@fas.harvard.edu
The New Europe: Transnational Hegemony
Jürgen Habermas has described the European Union as a "transnational alliance," a model of political organization that he puts forward as an alternative to the hegemonic politics pursued by the United States. As early as the mid-1960s, the political philosopher George Grant expressed skepticism over such a conception of Europe. The attempt to build a transnational alliance, in Grant's view, merely demonstrated how deeply postwar Europe had absorbed an American liberal-technocratic ideology that subordinated all national attachments to the imperative of open trade and administrative efficiency. However effective a union was at countering American domination in the short term, Grant was convinced that the long-term effect of the EU would be to ensure that Europe fell into the American mode of hegemony. In recent years, Habermas has argued that, beyond developing a more robust constitution, Europe should have its own president, foreign minister and army. As a more administratively coherent unit, Habermas argues, Europe would be able to forge an independent foreign policy that could challenge American unilateralism in world affairs. Habermas has repeatedly justified the 1999 NATO intervention in Kosovo as an instance where Europe intervened to deliver its vision of a postnational world to a country in need. I argue that the arguably expansionist implications of Habermas' designs for a reinvigorated European Union give us pause to reconsider Grant's arguments today.

Stavro, Elaine - estavro@trentu.ca
Engaging Affect: Rethinking Dissensus and the Political
In this paper I will focus on the recent turn to aesthetics and the body and its import for radical democratic thinking. Presently affect theorists (ie Deleuze, Ranciere,Connolly, Massumi. Panagia) dominate this field, but I will turn to an earlier generation of thinkers, existential phenomenologists, Merleau-Ponty and Beauvoir who embraced aesthetics, theorized the micropolitical, yet had a different understanding of the relations between the body, sensation, affect and the political. Granted the effect of images has been under explored by political theorists and this concern has more salience in our new media driven world, however this isn't going to do away with the need for speaking citizens who receive and make meanings and represent their arguments to others. Towards this end, an appreciation of the non-foundational and intercorporeal insights of the existential phenomenologists , who do not insist upon a radical divide between the cognitive and the sensible have the potential for harnessing affect to micro and macro political projects, a serious shortcoming of the affect theorists.

Stephenson, Laura - lstephe8@uwo.ca
Negative Partisanship in Canada
The concept of party identification and its role in vote choice has been well-documented in Canada and elsewhere. Partisan identities can influence opinions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours. However, most work on partisanship has neglected the flipside of partisan attachment – the potential negative associations with partisan rivals. While party identification operates as a force promoting a specific vote choice, a negative partisan identification may also have important effects, either in reinforcing partisan leanings or directing strategic behaviour. We argue that the concept of partisanship is incomplete until negative sentiment (i.e. repulsion or hostility) is considered. Especially in a multi-party system like Canada, understanding the role that negative partisanship plays in political attitudes and behaviours is

important. In this paper we outline the concept of negative partisanship and theorize about its relationship with positive party identification in Canada. We then examine the extent to which negative partisanship exists and its relation to positive party identification using 1988 Canadian Election Study data. We also evaluate, empirically, the additional explanatory power provided by including negative partisan identification in standard vote choice models. We conclude that negative partisanship should not be neglected by political scientists seeking to understand political behaviour in Canada.

Stephenson, Laura - lstephe8@uwo.ca
Identity, Economy and Integration: Evaluating the Sources of Public Opinion on Canada-US Integration
Canada and the United States share the longest undefended border in the world and are each other's largest trading partners. While the relationship between these two countries has ebbed and flowed over time, it remains of political, economic and strategic importance. Despite most scholarly work focusing on the relationship between political and economic elites, public support for the bilateral relationship in both Canada and the United States is key. Yet, and perhaps surprisingly given the importance of the relationship, little is known about the nature and depth of public support for the Canada-U.S. relationship and virtually nothing is known regarding the correlates of opinion for strengthening political and economic integration. Using data collected in July 2010 from nationally representative surveys of 1000 Canadians and 1000 Americans, this paper will explore the following questions: what is opinion about the past and future of the relationship; to what extent do Americans and Canadians think integration is a good thing and what is the nature public support for future strengthening of North American integration? Drawing on existing work in the EU context (e.g. Hooghe and Marks 2004), we theorize and test a range of economic and political explanations to account for the nature of opinion on Canada-US integration. Given the importance of the relationship, we believe that this paper will contribute to our understanding of the public support which undergirds it.

Stevenson, Michael - mstevenson@balsillieschool.ca
Conceptualizing the Power of The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in International Agricultural Development
Throughout much of the twentieth century and continuing today, private philanthropic foundations have exerted considerable influence over research trajectories and multilateral policy responses to food security challenges across the global south. Yet despite their obvious significance as transnational actors, to date there has been limited theoretical or empirical study on the means by which private philanthropic foundations exercise power in global governance. Indeed neither the recent body of literature examining non-state actors involved in the governance of domains typically associated with the state, nor studies on the origins of norms shaping the world order have specifically focused on foundations. Through an examination of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's recent foray into food security issues, this paper argues that private foundations exhibit considerable power to achieve influence over how complex societal challenges are addressed. The paper examines the ideas informing the foundation's approach to agricultural development, the strategies it has employed to advance its ideas, and ultimately, why the ability to advance its ideas matters for global governance.

Stewart, David - dstewart@ucalgary.ca
The Alberta Legislative Assembly
This paper explores the character of the Alberta legislature under the current Progressive Conservative government led by Premier Ed Stelmach. While it shares many features with its provincial and federal counterparts, the operation of the legislature and its committees bears the imprint of a prolonged period of single party legislative dominance. To the degree that there have only rarely been viable alternative governments in the legislature over recent decades, it is questionable whether it can be said to operate as a fully functioning Westminster-style parliament.

Stockdale, Liam - stockdlp@mcmaster.ca
Theorizing the Emergent Primacy of the Sovereign Imagination: Futurity, Temporality, Affect, Security
With the turn to risk as arguably the dominant governmental technology in contemporary security practice, the imagination has become an increasingly crucial component of the sovereign security decision. In this context, the inherently future-oriented nature of the logic of pre-emption that underwrites the post-9/11 security climate de-links the governance of security from concrete knowledge, instead placing imaginary constructions of the future at the core of the sovereign decisional rationality. The paper proceeds to make the case for consequently granting greater theoretical attention to the role of temporal narratives and affective knowledge(s) in such practices of security governance. With regard to the first, it is argued that any security decision rooted in the logic of pre-emption must be based upon a particular temporal trajectory that informs the imaginary constitution of both those potentially catastrophic futures deemed possible, and that "future perfect" which is to be secured by pre-empting them. As regards the second, it is claimed that, in the instance of a pre-emptive security decision—be it by a titular state sovereign or any of the Butlerian "petty sovereigns" that populate the contemporary security landscape—the decider must also rely primarily upon affective knowledge(s) since that imagined irruption being secured against has not yet occurred, and in fact may never. Accordingly, it is concluded that, with the emergence of imagined catastrophe as key to the governance of security, conceptualizing the latter in terms of rational, calculative decision-making based on concrete knowledge is no longer tenable, if it ever was.

Stoney, Christopher - cstoney@connect.carleton.ca
Transparency and Accountability in Infrastructure Stimulus Spending: A Comparison of Canadian, Australian and US Programs
In the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, governments around the world adopted spending policies that focused on stimulating short-term growth and economic recovery. As a means of achieving these goals, countries chose to ramp up spending on public works and infrastructure. The injection of billions of dollars on infrastructure projects was expected to create thousands of jobs, particularly in the construction industry. While this investment has helped to fund many municipal infrastructure projects, the rapid infusion of public funding has raised serious concerns about accountability and transparency including how best to monitor and evaluate the allocation and impact of the funds and report back to citizens. These concerns have been fuelled by the lack of credible evaluation built into the stimulus programs. In the absence of transparent reporting and rigorous data analysis, meaningful accountability is seriously undermined and Canadians have no way of knowing what results have been achieved or if, as is claimed, the billions of dollars spent has been disproportionately channeled into Conservative (government) constituencies. In the absence of transparency, the government has asked the country to accept on trust that the money has been spent effectively. Our initial research into the governance, transparency and reporting of infrastructure stimulus programs in Australia and the US indicates there are significant variations in the levels of transparency and accountability achieved in their infrastructure stimulus programs and we believe these differences, challenges and concerns will make a direct and important contribution to the themes explored in this panel.

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Local Tobacco Control Coalitions in the United States and Canada: Contagion Across the Border?
As efforts to enact tobacco control policy have evolved, so have the institutional arrangements supporting and promulgating these efforts. In the United States, the CDC has adopted as its 'best practice' networks of community-based advocacy coalitions as the platform for prevention and policy advancement efforts. This arrangement, which progressed after the COMMITT, ASSIST, and Smokeless States trials, is implicitly consistent with a bottom-up approach to tobacco policy advocacy and adoption. In the United States, this network of coalitions is funded by both public and private sources.   While some research has begun to emerge on the nature and structure of these coalitions, institutional arrangements and the institutionalizations of coalitions nevertheless remain one of the lesser-explored but important dimensions of tobacco control policy in the United States as an influence on state policy and even central policy. Although these local tobacco control coalitions were slower to develop in Canada, Canada did participate in the COMMITT study and funding by the central government since the mid 1990s has enabled their establishment and continuing consultative roles at the provincial and federal levels. The question arises as to the similarities and differences between these coalitions and institutional arrangements between Canada and the United States. This paper examines this question in terms of the funding and organizational characteristics of these institutions, the process through which they attempt to influence tobacco control policy at the provincial and federal levels, and the tobacco-related health outcomes in their jurisdictions. How much have the Canadian organizations borrowed from their counterparts in the U.S., or vice versa, in structure, and have the processes and outcomes been similar? What do the findings tell us about the possibilities of lesson drawing on various levels across borders in dealing with common global health problems?

Suarez, Carla - carla.g.suarez@gmail.com
Transitional Justice and Child Soldiers
Transitional justice mechanisms and discourse tend to reinforce 'victim' and 'perpetrator' dichotomies in post-conflict societies. Child soldiers challenge these labels in particular ways that transitional justice scholars have yet to take up. Although scholars debate the agency of child soldiers, whether they are all 'victims' or if some 'voluntarily' joined rebel or armed forces as a form of empowerment, there is consensus that the (re)insertion of ex-child soldiers into communities is a deeply complex process. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs are criticized as technocratic exercises counting the number of guns and combatants while failing to rebuild social relations. In response to this, communities are increasingly using traditional justice mechanisms to promote social reconstruction during transitions from war to peace. Using Northern Uganda and Sierra Leone as case studies, this paper examines the contributions and limitations of using traditional justice mechanisms to (re)integrate ex-child soldiers after mass violence. Traditional justice mechanisms also present an opportunity to better link transitional justice and DDR processes both in theory and practice, which have operated in isolation from each other.

Summerlee, Lydia - lydia.summerlee@gmail.com
Voter Turnout in Manitoba: An Ecological Analysis
Voter turnout in Manitoba provincial elections has been in general decline since the mid-1970s.   As in most advanced democracies, the trend remains a puzzle to even the most trained observers. Our failure to solve this dilemma is not due to a lack of effort or resources, but rather the narrowness of our approach. Two important elements are missing from conventional studies, which focus solely on public opinion surveys. First is the sense that context matters – that environmental and historical factors have as much of an effect on a community's level of electoral participation as its residents' personal attributes. Just as there are certain types of people who are less likely to vote, so, too are there less participatory societies. These insights are not lost on scholars of international politics, whose country-by-country

comparisons have shed much light on the turnout decline as a global phenomenon. For their part, Canadian analysts have often ignored geographic variations in voter turnout. This leads to the second shortcoming of the extant research on turnout in Canada, namely that it focuses almost entirely on federal, versus provincial, politics. Addressing both of these shortcomings, the present analysis breaks the province down into separate electoral communities, in an effort to understand the community-level factors influencing the rate of voter turnout among Manitoba's 57 electoral districts. Combining data from Elections Manitoba and the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, it consists of an ecological analysis of electoral participation. Supplementing existing survey-based research, the results of this study will be of use to election authorities, policy analysts, academics, and students of politics seeking a broader understanding of the decline in voter turnout in Manitoba (and beyond).

Sutcliffe, John - sutclif@uwindsor.ca
Borderland Community and the Reform of the Windsor-Detroit Border
A growing and diverse academic literature exists on the functional and cultural linkages between border communities at both the governmental and societal levels. These examinations of borderland communities seek to explain why and when linkages develop and assess the implications of these linkages in cases where they are found. In North America, Detroit-Windsor is the quintessential metropolitan border community along the Canada-U.S. border. It is a community that shares many problems and policy concerns. Over recent years one of these concerns has been the reform of the Detroit River border crossing. This is the busiest land border crossing in North America and it is central to the regional economy as well as the wider North American economy. Over the past decade, the senior governments have debated reform of the local border infrastructure and the access routes to this border. This reform will have a major impact on the local communities and various local actors on both sides of the border have sought to participate in the policy debate and influence the decision-making process. This paper examines the extent to which local actors in Detroit and Windsor have interacted and sought to coordinate their policy positions and strategies within the border reform debate. The paper focuses on the extent of the interaction among community groups, business organizations and municipal government. The paper examines these interactions within the context of the theories of border communities.

Sutherland, Liz - liz.sutherland@rogers.com
Hannah Arendt, Republican Cosmopolitanism and the Problem of Crime Against Humanity
This paper brings Hannah Arendt's political theory into conversation with the work of three republican cosmopolitan theorists (James Bohman, Lena Halldenius, and Duncan Ivison) to answer the following question: Is there a version of 'republican cosmopolitanism' that can rise to the challenge of Arendt's critique of sovereignty, her 'paradox' of human rights, and her call for a 'new law on earth' to address crimes against humanity? Republican cosmopolitan theorists offer an alternative to liberalism in attempting to understand how concepts such as rights, responsibilities, freedom, and democracy can be translated to the global level in a world of interdependence and trans-national risks. In extending republican theory beyond the boundaries of the state, these theorists have focused mainly on questions of political justice and, more recently, distributive justice. My aim is to apply their framework to global problems involving what we call 'crime against humanity' and the duty of the international community to respond to atrocities perpetrated by states against their own people. On one hand, certain facets of republican cosmopolitanism have been inspired by Hannah Arendt's notion of a 'right to have rights' as well as her brand of republicanism, with its emphasis on active participation, citizenship rights, and a critique of state sovereignty. On the other hand, not all republican cosmopolitans share Arendt's skepticism regarding both human rights and the potential for a just cosmopolitan order. I assess these convergences and divergences in my exploration of the roots and implications of this strand of international political theory.

Taylor, Zack - zack.taylor@utoronto.ca
Who Voted for Rob Ford? Unpacking the 2010 Toronto Municipal Election
Conventional wisdom has it that Rob Ford's victory in the October 2010 Toronto mayoralty race represented an angry populist repudiation by suburbanites of outgoing mayor David Miller's centre-left, downtown-focused agenda and the fiscal expansion that occurred under his watch. The explanation is inadequate, not least because Miller's focus, especially in his second term, was on improving services, public safety, and transportation options in suburban areas largely populated by low-income immigrants. In the absence of exit polling we cannot know with precision who voted for which candidate and why. Analysis of election results in relation to census data can, however, enable the testing of several hypotheses, including that (a) potential benefit from Miller's suburban policies was trumped by belief in the need to cut government "waste," (b) that Ford's message of fiscal probity resonated with both middle class residents and less-well-off immigrants living in suburban areas, (c) turnout was higher in the suburbs than in the inner city, benefitting Ford, and (d) opponents Smitherman and Pantalone appealed to the same types of voters, thereby splitting the centre-left vote. In the GIS-based analysis, voting results will be analyzed in relation to location in the city, turnout, immigrant status, income, housing density, housing tenure, level of car ownership, unemployment rates, and educational attainment. Results will be compared to a new analysis of the previous non-incumbent election in 2003, when Miller won against two opponents on the centre-right. In an important innovation, the analysis is performed at both the ward and voting district levels.

Tenove, Chris - cjtenove@gmail.com
International Criminal Justice and the Possibilities for Democratic Inclusion

This paper addresses the convergence of two important normative problems in global politics: the form that democracy ought to take under conditions of globalization, and the lack of accountability of international criminal tribunals to victims of conflict. Building on the work of James Bohman and Iris Marion Young, I develop an approach to global democracy that focuses on the democratization of existing institutions of global governance. I argue that we should identify different constituencies corresponding to the different governance powers of these institutions, and include those different constituencies in appropriate processes of deliberation and decision-making. Such an approach can help address a well-recognized shortcoming of international criminal tribunals: they have tended to be accountable to states alone, and not to victims of conflict. This problem was recognized before the drafting of the Rome Statute, and transnational advocacy networks and some states struggled to include mechanisms for Court accountability to victims. The resulting mechanisms are impractical and largely symbolic, but they are an important development. The paper concludes by arguing that further democratic reform of the ICC and other international criminal tribunals could make these institutions more efficacious and just.

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Identifying Ridings' Profiles. A Typology of Political Competition Configurations in Canadian Federal Elections
This paper proposes a thorough exploratory account of political competition at the federal riding level that culminates in a typology of ridings' electoral profiles. More specifically it seeks to answer three questions: what are the empirical profiles of electoral competition at the federal district level? Are they stable over time? Are they spatially clustered?
I expect that electoral competition can be captured by a parsimonious typology, that stability over time is the rule, and that spatial clustering is the most likely geographical arrangement of ridings with regard to political competition.
The last three federal elections are considered in this paper (2004, 2006, and 2008). Variables included in the dataset are the vote shares of major parties as well as non-voting for each of the 308 ridings. In order to delineate empirically ridings' profiles with regard to electoral competition, I perform and compare the results of two types of multidimensional analyses: Principal Component Analysis and Hierarchical Ascending Classification.

Thistlethwaite, Jason - j2thistl@uwaterloo.ca
Governing the Next Crisis: Climate Change Risks and the Financial Sector
Although the politics of international financial regulatory reform have dominated media headlines, policy agendas, and academic debate, little attention has been directed towards the reform of international financial standards to deal with environmental challenges. This gap is unfortunate considering the potential influence that the "greening" of international financial standards could have in shifting capital markets towards investments that promote sustainable economic growth. In recent years, a transnational policy community defined through alliances between financial firms and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) have recognized this potential and have developed their own voluntary or "best-practice" financial standards promoting the governance of climate change risks. This paper will explore the politics involved in the formation of this transnational policy community by examining the emergence of climate change risk standards in the international insurance and accounting markets.

Thomarat, Michelle - thomarat@ualberta.ca
Love and/or Money: Parental Status, Monogamy and Citizenship in Canadian Family Law
While divorce and re-marriage among heterosexual couples have resulted in the extension of parentage, or parent-like relationships, beyond a sole mother and a sole father, this development has been restricted to child support. Parental status determinations are more complicated. Parental status requires people named as parents to consent to adoption, provides children with potential inheritance rights, grants citizenship and determines lineage. In this area of the law, both legislation and judicial decisions have largely maintained the legal fiction of the natural family in which the child of a relationship is the presumed biological progeny of the adult participants. Of course, adoption and single-parenthood have troubled this attachment, but it is the demand for the legal recognition of same-sex parentage that has pushed the law to confront the bases on which parentage is determined. After outlining the contemporary legislative and legal context governing parental status decisions, we consider the consequences of explicitly recognizing the biological ruse in parental status determinations. We focus our attention on child support, monogamy and the determination of citizenship. More specifically, we argue that the prospect of recognizing multiple parents may lead to a fracturing of the nuclear family model that undergirds both family law and Canadian citizenship. The consequences of such a development may enhance autonomy in the organization of familial lives, benefit children, and compel consideration of the kinship basis of national citizenship. But there may also be negative consequences associated with recognition, including a loss of freedom, to which we will also attend.

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"Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by

the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

Thomas, Melanee - melanee_lynn@yahoo.co.uk
Sacrificial Lambs No More? Women Candidates and Party Competitiveness in Canada
After a period of steady increase in the 1980s and 1990s, women's descriptive representation in Canada has arguably stalled. This is despite the fact that every federal political party outside of the Conservative Party of Canada has some sort of nomination procedures designed to increase the number of women candidates they field. The discrepancy between parties' emphasis of their diversity of candidates and women's continued political underrepresentation suggests that many women candidates remain sacrificial lambs. This hypothesis posits that women candidates are significantly more likely than men to serve as party standard bearers in ridings where their party does not expect to win. Using [NAME OF MA's dataset], this paper tests the sacrificial lamb hypothesis across time. The expectation is that parties across the political spectrum field male candidates in their strongholds and in battleground ridings, while fielding the majority of their female candidates in constituencies where they stand little to no chance of winning. This tendency is not anticipated to vary significant across time or party. The paper concludes with a discussion of the representational implications of emphasizing the diversity of a party's candidate slate while downplaying the certain defeat of candidates from historically underrepresented groups.

Thomas, Paul - paul.thomas@utoronto.ca
Less "Responsible": Assessing the Comparative Turn in Canadian Legislative Studies
Repeated reviews of the Canadian legislative studies literature have found that it tends to be both largely atheoretical and isolated from developments in the broader context of comparative politics. This situation is understood to be the result of the "responsible government approach," which has led legislative scholars to focus more on defending the perceived benefits of Canada's existing system of parliamentary democracy rather than critically comparing it with other institutions. While other areas of Canadian Political Science are seen to have recently undergone a "comparative turn" characterized by a greater tendency to both draw on and contribute to international developments in comparative politics, there has yet to be any exploration of whether this trend extends to legislative studies. This paper conducts such an analysis by studying publication patterns within Canadian legislative studies over the past 25 years. The review reveals that over the last decade Canadian legislative scholars have become more likely to both publish internationally and to utilize internationally developed theories in their work. However, the study also finds that Canadian legislative scholars remain primarily limited to being "takers" who apply internationally developed theories to the Canadian context instead of "makers" who develop new approaches by comparing Canada to other jurisdictions. Nevertheless, Canadian scholars do appear to have moved beyond the unquestioned acceptance of the responsible government approach and are actively subjecting several of its core assumptions to rigorous testing and verification.

Thompson, Charles - charles.alistair.thompson@gmail.com
Investigating Government Policies by Legislative Committees: An Attempt to Change Institutional rules and Legislator Activity in the Westminster System
Under Order 126 of the Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, certain standing committees are empowered to independently study and report to the Legislature on any issue that falls under their mandate.Today, this provision of the Standing Orders has fallen into disuse, but this was not always the case. In its various incarnations, Standing Order 126 has been used in the past as a tool by standing committees, and in particular by their Opposition members to investigate and scrutinize government policy. Later, it was used as a tool to engage regular members by giving them a role in the formation of public policy. This is no longer possible. Amendments to the Standing Order and the experience of committee-drafted legislation have dampened the enthusiasm of the legislature to use the measure.

Standing Order 126, as it is known today, has a long and complex history dating back to the 1989s. Its adoption in 1989 was motivated by a need to restore civility to an increasingly aggressive legislature. Its subsequent weakening and amendment were likewise, functions of changing political tides. A question suggests itself: are we as citizens better off for the fall of S.O 126? Is independent committee investigation a tool to enhance democracy in Ontario, or does it merely invite greater partisanship and discord? The goal of this paper is to investigate the political context that produced S.O. 126, and to track its metamorphisis over time with a view to assessing its success in achieving its goals of reducing partisanship and engaging backbench members. It concludes that amendments to the Standing Orders are limited in their capacity to meaningfully engage the backbench in the face of party dominance over members' activities.

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Race and the Schematic State
While pluralist and institutionalist theories of political sciences depict the state as a neutral political arena where competing interests combat, more critical schools posit that the state plays an active role in maintaining racial hierarchies. The recent efforts of the state in addressing circumstances of racial inequality through anti-discrimination policies also suggest it is at times benign. How do we explain these simultaneous and contradictory faces of the state? How might we think through, within, and beyond the state and its complex relationship to race? This paper offers four interrelated approaches to rethinking this relationship, focusing on the state's involvement in making racial classification systems. First, it disaggregates the monolithic state by reconsidering the divisions between state/society, the trend of networked governance, and the fragmented nature of policy-making processes. Second, it interrogates the notion of repressive state power, instead examining the ways in which race is animated by various practices of social signification. Third, it contends that race is a transnational and politically contested concept that exists in excess of national borders. Finally, it develops a framework of the schematic state and suggests that the state is neither wholly sinister nor benign, but fundamentally schematic. Here, I conceptualize the state as both a fragmented set of actors and an arena and argue that a primary goal of the schematic state is to make the population legible. In doing so, the schematic state normatively defines the boundaries of social, legal, and political acceptability in the politics of race.

Ticku, Alisha - alishat@yorku.ca
Growing Pains: (Un)mapping Geographies of Citizenship, Labour and Migration in Dubai
This paper explores contemporary globalization which has led to significant shifts in transnational migration and national citizenship regimes. While on the one hand, neoliberal economic globalization has placed emphasis on 'opening up' borders for the 'free' flow of trade, on the other hand, migration and labour have become increasingly important sites for regulating citizenship-based entitlements and shaping notions of national belonging. Set against these tendencies, this paper asks how the proliferation of temporary and visa-based work permit programs impacts the stratification of workers, based on national origin? I develop an original analysis focusing on the relationships between Canada and the Gulf Region, which includes the six oil rich countries comprising the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). In specific, I explore the construction of Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE) as a modern, cosmopolitan city premised on rapid industrial capitalist development under the networks and logics of globalization. The methodology of (un) mapping exposes the logics of empire building, seen through the stratified subject positions of (Emirati) nationals, ex-pat professionals and labour migrants. I ask how various categories of subjects understand and know themselves through the organization of space, as well as their encounters with different subjects. Through an intradisciplinary approach, spanning diverse and overlapping areas of study in Political Science, including International Political Economy (IPE), Women and Politics and Area Studies on the Gulf, I ask the relevance of this case study and develop new theoretical tools in understanding national subject formation as well as shifts in migration, labour and citizenship policy transnationally.

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Mixed Messages from Nunavut: Can Cultural and Language Policy Redefine Public Governance on Aboriginal Terms?
The creation of a cultural homeland, where Inuit Qaujimajtuqangit (that which is long known by Inuit) and the Inuit language are fully realized, was central to Inuit visions of Nunavut long before its creation as a territory. Not surprisingly, therefore, initiatives to embed IQ in territorial governance, and protect and promote the Inuit Language through new language policies, have been central to the development of Nunavut. However, while scholars have analysed both IQ initiatives and Inuit Language policy initiatives, there has been little comparison of the development of these two policy areas. This paper therefore considers why two policy initiatives, that were linked by Inuit activists in early visions of Nunavut and connected through Nunavut's department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, have evolved in such different ways during Nunavut's territorial development. Drawing on archival documents and interviews with cultural/language policy activists in Nunavut, this paper compares the development of each policy area from the pre-beginning of Nunavut through to the contemporary period. It argues that although IQ remains a distinctive feature of territorial government operations and policy outputs in Nunavut, policies to recognize and protect the Inuit language have been easier to realize. Indeed, the paper suggests that although the Government of Nunavut has redefined the parameters of language policy by developing legislation to protect an Aboriginal language, it has not been able to develop IQ initiatives in ways that radically redefine approaches to public governance on Aboriginal terms.

Tolley, Erin - emtolley@gmail.com
Framed: Visible Minorities, the Media and Politics in Canada
Successive waves of the Canadian Election Study confirm that the media are a vital link between voters and politicians. Indeed, most Canadians are not directly involved in politics or government, and it is through the media that they obtain the bulk of their information about elections, politicians, and policy issues. As such, the quality, accuracy and tenor of the media's coverage of politics has important implications. The literature on gendered mediation suggests that the media cover female politicians differently than male politicians, tending to highlight their femininity, roles as wives and mothers, and interest in so-called women's issues. What is not clear, however, is if candidates from other marginalized groups experience similar patterns of coverage.

Drawing on the literature on framing, heuristics and modern racism, this paper proposes a theory of racial mediation and presents new data on the media's portrayal of visible minority candidates in Canadian federal politics. The analysis is based on a content analysis of the media's coverage of a sample of visible minority and non-minority candidates in the 2008 federal election. It posits that visible minorities are portrayed differently than their non-minority counterparts with the media disproportionately emphasizing visible minorities' racial background, apparent novelty, outsider status, and their interest in so-called minority issues. The paper has consequences for the political communications literature, as well as the literatures on elections and minorities in politics. In addition, it also discusses the methodological implications of conducting content analyses using both computerized text analysis and traditional hand-coding approaches.

Tossutti, Livianna - ltossutti@brocku.ca
Local Perspectives on Immigration and Diversity in 15 Ontario Municipalities
A growing number of small and mid-sized municipalities outside Canada's three largest census metropolitan areas are becoming involved in the attraction, settlement, retention and integration of immigrants and cultural minorities. Case studies and comparative research have identified several factors driving local and regional interest in an area that is not formally within their constitutional or legal mandate. These drivers include local political leadership, economic development imperatives, demographic pressures to replace aging populations, the desire to avoid social unrest and promote harmonious intercultural relations, pressure from civil society organizations, and provincial government incentives. In Ontario, a federal-provincial partnership to strengthen the role of local governmental and non-governmental actors in settling immigrants has provided further impetus for more municipal activity in this domain. This paper presents evidence from semi-structured interviews with 150, randomly-selected opinion leaders in 15 small and mid-sized Ontario municipalities about the factors that have driven municipal and/or regional interest (or lack of interest) in this policy field. The study explores their perceptions about whether immigration and diversity are seen to contribute to the city's identity, economic, political/civic, and social/cultural life, as well as their views about whether local publics are receptive to immigrants and visible minorities. This comparative study will contribute to theory building on why the immigration and settlement policy domain increasingly involves a multilevel governance approach. It will also provide descriptive evidence on whether there is a congruence between community leader and public opinion about the benefits and disadvantages of immigration, and whether local opinion leaders themselves are drawn from diverse backgrounds.

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Why Financial Speculation Is Necessary in the Modern Capitalist System
Financial speculators are often derided in the popular media and by politicians for undermining economic stability. Particularly during the 2008 financial crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis, speculators and hedge funds were given a large share of the blame for jeopardizing the international economy and forcing countries to adopt unpopular austerity measures. Yet despite the rhetoric, hedge funds play an important role in raising private equity for risky economic ventures that are otherwise difficult to finance, and they warn other firms and managers that risk may be too high to invest pension and retirement funds where losses may have broader social implications. Although hedge funds are imperfect, this paper will argue that under contemporary conditions of modern finance, financial speculation plays a necessary and important role in both financing risky economic ventures and warning other firms about bad investments. It will then argue that two avenues exist to address some of the problems related to financial speculation. The first is institutional reform: hedge funds remain part of the shadow banking system, and require institutional oversight and regulation to protect and promote public and private interests. The second alternative requires a reassessment of the contemporary financial system. Hedge funds and financial speculation are an outcome of contemporary neoliberal global finance, and thus there may be a need for a broader re-examination of the capitalist system in order to address these problems.

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There will be no backbench*: The democratizing impact of backbench participation on cabinet policy committees.*

When Premier McGuinty was elected in 2003, he reformed his cabinet committee structure to increase caucus participation. The reform saw backbench MPPs chair all three policy committees of cabinet. In addition, each member of caucus was assigned to a cabinet committee. To determine the extent to which committee work truly engaged caucus, the cabinet structure was examined and committee chairs and members were interviewed.

Participation in cabinet decision making *has* empowered the backbench, giving it real but modest policy influence; it has had a minor decentralizing impact on the executive-legislative balance of power in Ontario. Engaging caucus in executive decision making has also yielded political benefits—increased cohesiveness within the government caucus. The reform was criticized on exactly this point; that it would restrain the backbench from holding the government to account, because the backbench would be co-opted by cabinet. This critique fails to account for the extent of party discipline in Ontario; backbench dissent is largely absent in its politics. Rather than insist on an anachronistic role for the backbench, further reform encouraging backbench policy influence should be pursued.

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Quebec Women and Legislative Representation
La mémoire retient que les femmes du Québec ont été les dernières de la fédération canadienne à pouvoir voter aux élections législatives de leur province, un droit qu'elles acquirent en 1940. En revanche, avec près de 30% de députées et, surtout, la quasi parité femmes-hommes au cabinet, le Québec fait aujourd'hui preuve de leadership en matière de participation politique des femmes. L'objectif de cette communication est de brosser à grands traits un portrait de la participation des femmes aux institutions législatives québécoises, et ce, en quatre temps : primo, analyser les luttes suffragistes; secundo, présenter quelques chiffres quant au nombre de femmes députées et ministres, de 1960 à 2011; tertio, examiner quelques explications de l'évolution de la représentation descriptive des femmes à l'Assemblée nationale; quarto, évaluer quelques propositions afin que le Parlement du Québec accentue le taux de féminisation de sa députation.

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Partisan, Problem Solving and Deliberative: The Logics of Muslim Immigrant Integration in Liberal-Democratic States
While some maintain that the challenge of Muslim immigrant integration has provoked a turn to an assimilationist "civic integrationism," others have highlighted liberal states' roles in establishing corporate bodies representing Muslims' interests in what amounts to state sanctioned group-based politics. Still others have highlighted the role of courts in mediating disputes over conflicting rights claims, through compromises aimed at balancing demands for freedom of religious expression with other core liberal values. What are we to make of these divergent trajectories across and even within states? In this paper, I argue that Muslim immigrant integration proceeds according to distinctive, institutionally patterned spheres of interaction and their accompanying logics. The sphere of electoral/party politics and parliamentary debate reflects a strategic, "partisan" logic, where actors weigh the costs and benefits of either reaching out to Muslim voters or capitalizing on anti-Muslim animus among the population at large. Conversely, the incorporation of Muslims qua Muslims is driven by a "problem solving" logic; Muslim groups are granted standing in corporatist bodies to tap their authority in addressing problems of mutual concern. Finally, the courts operate according to a "deliberative" logic in a politically neutral context governed by law. I develop this argument and apply it to select country cases, with an eye to explaining variation in the relative importance of one or another of these logics within and across liberal-democratic states.

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Normative Contexts, Domestic Institutions and the Transformation of Immigration Policy Paradigms in Canada
and the United States
This paper examines the liberalization of immigration policy-making in Canada and the United States in the post-WWII period. I argue that paradigm change in both countries was driven by shifting norms pertaining to race, ethnicity, and human rights that cast discriminatory paradigms in a critical light. Opponents of racial discrimination in immigration policy took advantage of this new normative context to highlight the lack of fit between Canada's and the United States' commitment to liberal norms and human rights and their extant policy paradigms. This pressure set in motion comparable processes of paradigm "stretching" and "unraveling" that culminated in paradigm "shifting" in the mid-1960s. Paradigm unraveling and shifting were subject to different political dynamics: Canada's institutional configuration granted the executive branch and bureaucracy a high degree of autonomy that allowed policymakers to experiment with new ideas. These approaches congealed into a new paradigm that eliminated racial discrimination while maintaining a degree of selectivity based on immigrants' potential contributions to the Canadian economy. Conversely, the greater openness of the American political system and the pivotal role of Congressional committees led to a more politicized process. As a result, the executive branch's effort to recast immigration policy in terms similar to Canada's was compromised. The end result was a patchwork solution that aimed at mollifying distinct and conflicting interests. Thus, while Canada and the United States replaced discriminatory policy paradigms with more liberal alternatives, their respective solutions were distinctive.

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Media Coverage of Women's Leadership Coups in New Zealand and Australia
When a woman topples a man from the top political job, it's big news. The party leadership challenges initiated by women in New Zealand and Australia were prime time media spectacles featuring live television broadcasts, front-page headlines and photographs, and sensationalized opinion and analysis. Helen Clark became the first woman leader of a major New Zealand political party when she won the Labour leadership in 1993. With her ascension to the governing National Party leadership in 1997, Jenny Shipley became New Zealand's first female prime minister, though Helen Clark secured the title of first elected woman prime minister with her 1999 campaign win against Shipley. Most recently, Australia boasted its first woman in the prime minister's role when Julia Gillard seized the Labor party leadership in June 2010. Our paper analyzes television and newspaper reportage of these three leadership 'coups' and argues that, while the news coverage was shaped by contextual factors, it also evidenced gendered mediation - - news frames and evaluations that reflect sex-based assumptions about the performance of gender. We argue that the media scripted these events as prime time melodramas, employing violent coup discourses and sensationalized plot lines to tell the stories. As a result, media coverage highlighted the threat of the feminine and re-inscribed patriarchal norms of political leadership.

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Cultural Negotiations: Examining Multiculturalism and the Limits of Anti-Essentialism
In this paper, I critically examine the "anti-essentialist" critique of liberal multiculturalism. Whereas proponents of multiculturalism tend to treat cultures as distinct, internally homogeneous units, and argue for protecting and preserving that distinctness, critics such as Seyla Benhabib argue that such an approach imposes an artificial identity on group members, downplays individual agency, and suppresses intracultural difference and dissent. In light of the anti-essentialist critique, I revisit the main arguments for liberal multiculturalism found in the work of Will Kymlicka, and interrogate his underlying assumptions concerning culture. I argue that his approach shares conceptual difficulties in terms of both accounting for the dynamic nature of cultural groups and accommodating certain kinds of difference. While acknowledging that the anti-essentialist critique provides persuasive objections to popular conceptions of culture within political theory, I critique Benhabib's proposed 'social constructivist' alternative to liberal multiculturalism. I argue that her proposal overemphasizes the emancipatory potential of non-essentialist discourses while ignoring the ways by which unequal power relations between minority and majority groups preclude effective intercultural dialogue. By attempting to divorce minority claims from questions of cultural identity, her model is ill-suited for identifying how and why the claim has meaning and value for its claimants, which precludes much of the deep intercultural dialogue and understanding necessary for doing justice to minority claims. I further argue that none of Benhabib's proposals exceed the framework of or provide a coherent alternative to liberal multiculturalism. I conclude by suggesting some ways to reconcile social constructivism and liberal multiculturalism, and point to ways by which theorists might think about and cope practically with overlapping identities and cultural complexity.

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Putting the 'Jus' in Jus Post Bellum: Humanitarian Crises and Their Aftermath
Jus post bellum, surprisingly, is a new concept in just war thinking. Its main premise is simple: just as the decision to go to war and the conduct of war are moral relations governed by rules, the obligation to act with justice continues even after a war is finished. A conquered enemy is likely to find themselves in a position of vulnerability. Proper conduct after war is over can guarantee a more lasting peace, and better institutions and practices in the state loses. What work there is on jus post bellum is focused on war in general. However, considerations that are appropriate for a generic war do not always apply to humanitarian interventions. The violence typical of human rights crises touches all spheres of life. The problem is not just the absence of institutions and political actors untainted by the crises, but the difficulty of sustaining any institutions at all in a society that has turned on itself.
In this paper, I will use the case of Rwanda to demonstrate the difficulties of jus post bellum theory and the unique problems arising from the aftermath of a humanitarian crisis. I will contend that the primary concern of Hugo Grotius in Book III of his masterwork, De jure belli ac pacis, is the elaboration of principles that can restore order and increase the likelihood of peace after a severe conflict. Using these as a guide, it becomes possible to imagine a jus post bellum more useful for contemporary international relations.

Trott, Stephen - stephen.trott@utoronto.ca
Political Reform Through Gradual Policy Process: Interdependent Policy Dialogue in China
In the fall of 2010, discussions of political reform in China were once again in vogue among Western scholars of China. This followed well-publicized musings by Premier Wen Jiabao about political reform in late summer, and was amplified by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to imprisoned Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. Nevertheless, the seemingly perennial question, "whither (and when?) China's political reforms?" seems no closer to resolution. This paper will approach the question from both grassroots, and policy-process lenses. It will provide a detailed dissection of processes of the all-too-slow, incremental political reform which has been going on in China in recent decades. While grassroots rural elections have been widely studied, this paper will analyze the restructuring of urban institutions of grassroots governance in recent decades. Urban "community construction" (chengshi shequ jianshe), which has also introduced limited elections, has proceeded through an illuminating process of iterative policy dialogue. This dialogue has bound together instances of grassroots policy innovation and initiative with the political dynamics of high-level elite politics, and mid-level municipal and provincial politics, to produce novel institutional changes in the lowest tier of Chinese urban governance. Eschewing both top-down and bottom-up perspectives, this paper will argue that one path of political reform in China is through the highly fragmented and interdependent process of gradual policy-making.

Tungohan, Ethel - ethel.tungohan@utoronto.ca
"Domestic Work is 'Real' Work; 'Migrant' Workers are 'Real' Workers": A Comparative Assessment of Civil Society Organizing on behalf of Migrant Domestic Workers
Civil society organizations that attempt to advance the interests of migrant domestic workers face numerous hurdles in their activist pursuits. The legitimacy of their projects are frequently questioned by sending and receiving states and by other stakeholders such as employers associations. On the one hand, sending and receiving states that rely on migrant domestic worker programs to meet their economic and caregiving needs oftentimes view civil society efforts on behalf of migrant domestic workers as impeding state objectives. On the other hand, stakeholders like employers' associations see attempts to improve migrant domestic workers' situations not only as promoting unnecessary regulations but also as violating households' right to privacy. 'Mapping' migrant domestic organizations' responses to these constraints therefore

provides a useful way of assessing the range of strategies conceptualized by civil society. By mapping these responses, this paper is able to highlight the similarities and differences that exist between and within migrant domestic worker organizations in migrant-receiving states like Canada, Singapore, and Hong Kong and in migrant-sending states like the Philippines.   This paper argues that despite institutional variations between states like Canada, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, the range of responses made by civil society organizations in reaction to state policy are similar. Namely, civil society organizations invariably recognize the gender inequities emerging from migrant domestic worker programs and therefore see 'gender equality' as an important end-goal; where these organizations differ lies in how they each vary in their understanding of gender equality.

Turenne Sjolander, Claire - cturenne@uOttawa.ca
For Whom do we Grieve? Representations of Death and Dying in Afghanistan
This paper examines the English and French language media in five countries (Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and France) in order to assess the construction of those who die and those who grieve in the war on terror as persecuted in Afghanistan. Those who are worthy of grief are those who are worthy of life. Through this examination of media representations of death and grief in the war in Afghanistan, the paper traces the ways in which the 'right to grief' establishes a hierarchy of the 'right to life', privileging largely white, western troops over the deaths and grieving of the oriental (Afghan) other.   This practice of International Relations, as witnessed in western media and in the statements of western governments, helps to perpetuate the western foundations of the theoretical discourse in International Relations, and this relationship will be examined in the way in which International Relations as a discipline is constructed upon the fear of death and the discomfort round grief.

Turgeon, Luc - lturgeon@uottawa.ca
Discursive Sedimentation and Policy Change: The Case of Early Childhood Education and Care in Ontario and Québec
In September 2010, the government of Ontario rolled out its full-day kindergarten initiative for four- and five-year-olds. While child care activists argued fifteen years ago that the abolition of the Canada Assistance Plan would lead to a race to the bottom in the early childhood education and care sector (ECEC), the Ontario initiative demonstrates the willingness and capacity of Canadian provinces to devise generous new social programs. At the same time, the approach followed by the Ontario government is significantly different from the one adopted by the other provincial innovator in the ECEC sector, Québec, which has preferred to invest in child care for all children under five and has shown a willingness to finance a number of providers of ECEC services. This paper seeks to explain this policy divergence. I argue that the different paths adopted by Québec and Ontario can be traced back to the 1970s, when child care activists in both provinces adopted different discourses around ECEC. These discourses left sedimentation at the level of political vocabularies and practices that had a defining impact on the evolution of ECEC system in both provinces as opportunities for change opened up in the last fifteen years. In developing this argument, this paper makes a strong contribution to the literature on paradigm shifts and policy change (Hall, 1993; Thelen, 2005; Wong and Peng, 2008).

Ugland, Trygve - tugland@ubishops.ca
The New Norwegian Immigration Act: Learning from Canada?
Public sector reformers act in an international context where states learn from each other, imitate each other, react to each other, and present reforms to each other. The interactive reform process is apparent in Norway's adoption of its new Immigration Act, which became law on 1 January 2010. Its development was influenced by the Canadian immigration policy model, a process which will be explained in this paper. Three different perspectives are employed to explain the role the Canadian immigration policy model played in the Norwegian reform process: a structural/instrumental, a cultural/institutional, and a myth-based. The paper will therefore yield theoretical insights into policy processes of imitation and learning between states, thus enhancing our understanding of why national policy models can be relevant in areas geographically distant from their original contexts. Practical insights, with the potential to improving public policy outcomes in both Scandinavia and Canada will also be discussed. The research objectives outlined will be met through a case study for which the main sources will include public documents and personal semi-structured interviews with key policy elites involved in the Norwegian immigration policy reform process.

Urayama, Seiko - amayaruokies@hotmail.co.jp
Immigration Justice as a Theory of Global Distributive Justice
Not only global distributive justice theorists but also theorists who are trying to dealing with justice in immigration have not paid an adequate attention on the benefit and burden caused by the international movement of people. On the one hand, remittances from rich countries to developing world today are so huge that they help the economy of developing world.Admitting more and more people in developed countries from developing ones might contribute to the global redistribution of wealth. On the other hand, there is a growing concern about the brain-drain problem.Sending countries would suffer from a lack of human resources for creating and running the society by losing the most talented and active part of their population. This means that there exists benefit and burden on the movement of people, which their fair distribution matters. I will examine how existing lines of thought on immigration admissions deal with these positive and negative impacts of the international movement of people. Theories I will examine are Joseph Carens' argument from freedom of movement, David Miller and Michael Walzer's nationalism argument, and Daniel Bell and Christine Straehle's

view of global economic redistribution. Finally, I will propose that the borders of developed countries be open fairly. Developed countries may welcome the people from the developing countries. At the same time, their immigration policy should not harm the developing countries.

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Who We Are: International Re-organization and the Dynamics of Multi-Level Integration
Although nation-states within Western Europe continue to integrate at the regional level, domestically they are disintegrating along parochial lines. Domestic tensions between autochthonous and non-autochthonous groups have swelled, manifesting in major shifts in the European political landscape and periodically erupting into violence. In a dramatic about-face, national governments have largely abandoned a tradition of liberal immigration and multicultural citizenship practices, installing in lieu a series of assimilatory policies under the rubric of national integration. How do we reconcile international integration with national disintegration in Western Europe? This puzzle is not commonly addressed because the two phenomena are predominately studied in isolation of one another; their interaction effects are thus largely overlooked. The main conceptual thrust of this proposal is that any social being belongs to multiple ordered levels of political community and that their sense of attachment to any particular level is a function of integration. However, the extent to which a political community is integrated is not fixed and thus significant variance in the degree of integration at one level may have observable ramifications for integration at others. Applied to the Western European case, where there has been a significant degree of fluctuation in terms of integration, we can deduce that integration at the regional level is in part responsible for developments at the domestic level.

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The Transfer of Governance from the Nation State to a Corporate Global Economy
The purpose of this document is to analyze the emerging phenomenon of the transfer of state governance to global economic corporate governance. After determining the economic globalization processes driven by a corporate global economy, which affects the formation of glocalized business – intergovernmental networks, we discuss their outcome and impact. Finally we outline the main challenges facing governance driven by a corporate global economy.
Key words: global economy, globalization, governance, corporate economics.

Varughese, Anil - anil_varughese@carleton.ca
Globalization, Developmental State, and Social Policy: New Evidence from India
This paper considers how rapid economic ascent may be reinforcing or transforming longstanding neglect of social citizenship in India's public policy. Much of the scholarly attention on India's recent economic growth has sidestepped questions of distributive justice and the larger implications of a non-inclusive accumulation process on citizenship. The paper tackles this gap from the vantage point of the rural poor by examining recent governance reforms such as the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGA). Based on recent evidence from multiple states on the implementation of NREGA and other such reforms, the paper will address the following questions: How has the making of social policy changed under globalization? Is there a counter-intuitive effect that has forced the Indian state to pay more attention to social policy? Do the new reforms represent fresh thinking on citizenship, expanding its scope beyond civil and political equality to a basic set of rights and entitlements in the social realm? Alternatively, are they merely mechanisms to legitimize a lopsided growth process and reproduce conditions of exclusion and dispossession? The paper promises to offer new theoretical insights to the literature on developmental states as well as on state-society relations under globalization.

Verdun, Amy - averdun@uvic.ca
Euro Adoption Messy Strategies in Central Europe
In the Treaty of Accession, the signatories agreed that all New Member States (NMS) that joined the European Union (EU) in 2004, would adopt the euro, even if no timetable was provided. Why have some NMS not been able to join the euro area even if they made serious attempts at the outset? What are the circumstances and policies in these countries that have led them not yet to adopt the euro? There is no consensus among economists regarding whether or not adopting the euro in the short run is a good idea (Buiter, 2000; De Grauwe and Schnable 2005; Schadler 2005). An economic cost-benefit analysis would suggest that in the long run euro adoption is positive for NMS. Yet macroeconomic analyses do not explain change in government policies that may lead to euro adoption. Constructivist analyses (Dyson, 2006, 2008; Johnson, 2006), focusing on collective identity, policy learning, knowledge transfer among central bankers and other political elites, as well as adjustment to global pressures and Europeanization, are also unable to explain the speed of euro adoption. This paper adopts a domestic politics approach to analyze the euro adoption process in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Based on an examination of government documents, reports, academic literature and face-to-face interviews that we conducted in order to assess the role of domestic politics in explaining euro adoption process in NMS; government policies, electoral cycles as well as constitutional rules, turn out to be crucial in explaining the lagging euro adoption process.

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Dealing with the Deer: The Politics of Co-Management in Ontario

In Ontario, overabundant deer populations have severely impacted the forests of Point Pelee National Park, Rondeau Provincial Park and the Pinery Provincial Park. To deal with and mitigate these impacts, the parks' initiated a series of deer via culls in the early 1990s. A key component of these culls was the negotiation of an agreement between representatives of the Rae government with the local First Nations communities that were ultimately assigned the task of performing the culls. Although the NDP government of the day viewed this as a co-management agreement, the question arises: is it really? Drawing on recently conducted field research, this paper theorizes that different management strategies can exist given the variant nature of state-First Nation relations. This paper posits that a key element with the Rae government was its desire to work with (as opposed to against) First Nations. This presented First Nations in the province with a rare opportunity to work with government officials in a positive manner and to achieve a deal that remains in place today. The objective of this paper therefore is to flesh out the dynamics of this relationship to better understand if/how local stakeholders are consulted, and if and how traditional ecological knowledge about white-tailed deer and the surrounding ecosystem are integrated and used along with western scientific approaches. The significance of this paper is that it provides insight into the political maneuvering required and management methods employed to manage white-tailed deer in Ontario which has yet to be explored.

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Insular Nationalism in Puerto Rico and Newfoundland: The Role of Political Parties and Political Leaders
Nationalism in island settings has been analyzed in the last few years from various angles. For some, islands are unique places where news forms of governance can develop, providing insights for 'continental' nations (Hay, 2006). As Baldacchino (2004) points out: "insularity, isolation, and small size provide the geographical, if not also administrative, logistic, cultural and historical properties to render the existence of such jurisdictional pockets, whether sovereign or merely autonomous, much more likely." Most studies have therefore analyzed island autonomy through their peculiar characteristics. In this presentation, I will argue that political parties and/or political leaders have played an important role in the development and expression of nationalism in Puerto Rico and Newfoundland. In order to do so, I will first summarize what is meant by island nationalism. Then, I will examine important historical events where nationalism was expressed in both Puerto Rico and Newfoundland. In this part, it will be shown that political parties played a predominant role in Puerto Rico, whereas nationalism was led by political leaders in Newfoundland. The comparison between Puerto Rico and Newfoundland will therefore reveal how different islands exhibit different forms of nationalism.

Vieille, Stephanie - svieille@uwo.ca
Thinking About Justice Through a Maori Lens
Bringing "Justice" in the aftermath of mass violations of human rights is a crucial step in ensuring long-term peace and encouraging reconciliation. The field of transitional justice has only recently started to explore and pay attention to local, customary mechanisms of justice. Existing descriptions of "justice" within the field of transitional justice, however, are often unable to account for the type of "justice" that is embodied in customary mechanisms of justice. This paper argues that the Western, individualistic and legally based approaches to "justice" are often antithetical to the conceptions of "justice" embodied in these mechanisms. Using New Zealand's Maori as a case study and exploring the Maori conception of "justice," this paper discusses the limitation of the field of transitional justice and the challenges likely to be met in trying to accommodate alternative mechanisms and conceptions of justice.

Vine, Timothy E.M. - tvine@uwo.ca
Power, Politics and Truth: A Case Study of Australia and South Africa
Transitional justice scholars have paid insufficient attention to differences in the construction and execution of mechanism of reconciliation, especially truth commissions. Such mechanisms are the product of the political conditions of the society in which they were created. Fundamental differences in the distribution of power in settler societies compared to post-colonial societies cannot help but result in institutional difference in truth commissions and the possibility these mechanisms hold for reconciliation. By undertaking a comparison between the Australian truth commission and the post-apartheid South African truth commission these differences can be brought to the fore. This comparison can also help scholars of transitional justice better understand the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, and shed light on the possible challenges this commission faces.

Viriasova, Inna - iviriaso@uwo.ca
The Schmittian Political: Deciding on the Unpolitical
The question of "the political" and its difference from "politics" has preoccupied so-called post-foundational political thought for several decades now. Along with praise, the political, as one of the major notions of contemporary political ontology, has received a number of criticisms. For example, Badiou, Rancière and Foucault point at its overly philosophical nature and a resulting lack of engagement with real politics. However, there has been almost no criticism of the thought of the political in regard to its nearly totalizing ontological status. I suggest that the totalizing tendency of the political can be traced back to Carl Schmitt, a German legal theorist who introduced the concept into the theoretical discourse of the 20th century. While Schmitt famously defines the political through the distinction between friend and enemy, I suggest that we can fully comprehend the scope of the political only by complementing it with a reading of his Political Theology (1922) that proclaims that the political is "the total, and as a result we know that any decision about

whether something is unpolitical is always a political decision." In other words, it is not enmity but a decision on distinction that defines the political. I argue that there are two kinds of decision on distinction that define the political: a decision on "us" and "them," and on "the unpolitical." In the latter case the political is constituted and delimited through a decision on that which is different from it, neither friend nor enemy – the unpolitical (not a-political) or an exception. As a result, the political leaves no room for the unpolitical as such, i.e. an outside beyond exception.

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"Modernizing" Employment Standards? Bringing the Law in Line with Weak Enforcement Practices Through Ten Years of Neo-Liberal Regulation in Ontario
On 25 October 2010, as part of its efforts to 'modernize' employment standards (ES), the Ontario government enacted the Open for Business Act, 2010. Creating significant modifications to ES regulation, this Act alters ES enforcement procedures fundamentally by, among other things, requiring workers facing ES violations to first approach their employers for a resolution, mandating that workers and employers provide information on their claims before they will be accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and giving new powers to ESOs to facilitate settlements between workers and employers, including unprecedented discretion over monetary compensation for workers. Tracing a decade in the evolution of the modernization strategy from which these measures emanate, we argue that this Act amounts to bringing the formal laws in-line with already weak and outmoded informal ES enforcement practices. In this way, its terms reflect the crystallization of a neoliberal model of ES enforcement after ten years of crisis, challenge, and change. The paper first advances a conceptual framework for understanding the erosion of ES by integrating insights from scholarly literature on neoliberal labour market regulation, new public management, and neoliberal racism. It then outlines several phases of ES policy development between 2001 and 2010 that, while at times claiming to offer strategies of protection for 'vulnerable workers', instead entrenched an individualized, complaint-based enforcement model. The Open for Business Act, 2010 cements this model with the overall result that so-called 'modern' ES in Ontario continue to remain outdated and poorly enforced.

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The Challenge of Expanding Employment Insurance (EI) Coverage: Charting Exclusions and Partial Exclusions on the Bases of Gender, Immigration Status, Age, and Place of Residence and Exploring Avenues for Inclusive Policy Redesign
EI plays a critical role in Canada's income security system. However, its role is undermined increasingly by a misfit with patterns of labour force participation. In recent decades, women's labour force participation rates have risen dramatically, there has been a shift in the balance between permanent and temporary international migration for employment, industrial restructuring has transformed Canada's regions, and school-to-work and work-to-retirement transitions have become more complex. These developments have, moreover, occurred alongside changes in the nature of employment, including the expansion of part-time and temporary paid employment and solo self-employment. The formulation and implementation of EI policy has not kept pace with such shifts: although the stated intention of EI's hours-system introduced in 1996 was to address the changing nature of employment, full coverage still hinges on the norm of the mid-aged adult male citizen industrial worker engaged in full-time permanent employment following a life-course divided into discreet segments of education, work, and retirement and sustained outside the labour force by female care-giving. There is therefore a need to rethink EI policy in light of the intended beneficiaries: which workers should be served by this vital income security program, as distinct from those currently covered? What should it take to be a member of the labour market meriting EI income replacement when a separation of employment occurs? Addressing these questions, this paper charts the gap between EI coverage and changing labour market realities using a combination of policy and statistical analysis and identifies remedies for closing this gap.

Walchuk, Brad - bwalchuk@yorku.ca
Minority Report: The Rise of Canada's Fifth Party System
Canadian politics has long been defined by its patterns of party competition. The classification of Canadian party politics has often divided them into eras, commonly referred to as party systems. Most scholars agree that there have been four party systems observable throughout Canadian history: the first party system (1867-1917), the second party system (1921-1957), the third party system (1963-1993), and the fourth party system, which began following the 1993 election. In this paper, I argue that the fourth party system came to an end following the 2004 general election, and that Canada has been in a fifth party system since that time. I assert that the present era should not be seen as merely a 'transitional period' between party systems.
While there have historically been transition periods between party systems, the 2004 election represented the beginning a new, fifth party system. While the presence of minority governments may be the most obvious feature of the new party system, other institutional changes support the fact that Canada is experiencing a new party system. Changes to the Canada Elections Act, which came into force in 2004 and 2006 have altered the way in which parties raise funds and are reimbursed for election expenses. Another important aspect of the fifth party system is how parties mobilize support and communicate with voters. The rise of Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and other forms of social media have significantly altered political communication. This combination of factors suggests that Canada is experiencing a new, fifth party system.

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Is Rooted Cosmopolitanism Bad for Women?
Considering the emerging doctrine of rooted cosmopolitanism, I invoke Susan Okin's concern for the status of women. This work involves three distinct tasks; first, I describe the doctrine of rooted cosmopolitanism; second, I review the debates over multiculturalism which Okin's questioning set off; third, I consider how Okin's assessment of multiculturalism, her claim that it is indeed bad for women, bears on rooted cosmopolitanism. following this agenda, I show that as Okin's concern for women holds under multiculturalism, so too it should hold under rooted cosmopolitanism. As responses to, and debates over Okin's argument require, this does not mean that women are necessarily at risk under rooted cosmopolitanism, but that rooted cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism share the potential for ignoring internal minorities in their efforts to validate the rights and significance of the various groups –nations, states, ethnic or linguistic groups—to which individuals affiliate. In identifying this weakness or danger, my analysis points to a second insight into rooted cosmopolitanism, that it has a meaningful relationship to multiculturalism; while it would be going too far to describe this an a parallelism or isomorphism, based on the status of women and internal minorities in the two theories, here I identify at least one way in which the two theories mirror each other.

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The Problem with Transnational Approaches to Global Justice
Recent discussions of global justice (Erskine 2008, Kang 2008, Forst 2001) have posited transnational communities as offering a way beyond the nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism deadlock. On the one hand, nationalists and statists argue that a globalist or cosmopolitan approach depends on a community which lacks the institutions required for justice, does not appreciate the ways in which particular states have failed to secure justice internally, threatens to perpetuate colonial or ethnocentric ideals, and inverts the priority of our obligations to others by prioritizing strangers over kin and country. On the other hand, globalists argue that efforts towards global justice which are grounded in the nation or the state, fail to understand the global context of domestic injustice, are incapable of managing the actually existing global economy, defy the very meaning of justice by allowing for national partiality, and falsely reify the arbitrary boundaries of states. Responding to this face-off, proponents of transnationalism hold that efforts of global justice should be located in transnational communities, such as labor unions or aid organizations (eg. Partners for Health in Haiti). In the proposed paper, I critically examine the limitations of transnational communities, arguing that their efficacy in addressing issues of global justice is significantly circumscribed by the character of our membership in them. More precisely, unlike our position in the nation-state, our membership in transnational communities is voluntary. They are 'elected affinities," and for this reason do not bind us in any necessary way.

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Healthiness and Pathologies in Intergovernmental Agreements
Relations between the two orders of government in Canada have endured considerable stress in recent years. These dynamics have negatively impacted the working relations among federal-provincial-and territorial officials. Put simply, trust ties between the orders are weak and needing repair. Public confidence in the abilities of the governments of Canada to respond to key challenges of the day has witnessed a precipitous decline. This paper argues that part of the problem lies in the politics and processes of intergovernmental agreements in the country. Agreements between the two orders of government are vital to the management and success of the Canadian federation. According to Joanne Poirier, a rough estimate of federal-provincial-territorial agreements in 2002 put the number at 1,500 to 2,000 (2002: 427). These agreements cut across vast arrays of sectors and vary considerably in the processes used to achieve an agreement, the degree of details they include, the types of conditions they impose, and the monitoring mechanisms deployed to ensure compliance. Despite their significance, however, the features and characteristics of agreements have not been studied systematically. This paper seeks to fill this gap by starting to cover the factors that lead to compliance and non-compliance with intergovernmental agreements. Based on information drawn from interviews of federal-provincial and territorial intergovernmental officials, this paper will distill some of the common features that either facilitates or impedes compliance, identify some generalizable lessons, and propose some recommendations to both orders of government of processes that may increase the likelihood of compliance.

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Canada's Student Partners Program and Inter –jurisdictional Learning in the International Student Market
The Student Partnership Program (SPP) is a Canadian initiative that has been introduced to Northern India to match and manage international student admissions to certain Canadian colleges. The policy has had initial success, and provides a tool that can be used as a stepping stone to achieve PR status for qualified international students in Canada. The policy can be seen as a form of inter -jurisdictional learning between Australia and Canada with regard to the successes and pitfalls of Indian student attraction. There are various observations that can be made about the SPP in terms of its impact on the sending and receiving end of the migration circuit, what it says about the nexus between the migration and education industry, and the ongoing global 'war for talent'.

Waterman, Robert - rwaterma@uwo.ca
Accountability and Non-governmental Actors in Canadian Public Governance

In the tradition of democratic theory, elections are recognized as important mechanisms of accountability. However, migration of regulatory responsibility outside the boundaries of elected governments necessitates a different conceptualization of accountability relationships. As governments pursue partnerships with societal actors and disperse political authority across multiple levels of government questions of public input and accountability within the democratic governance process arise. This paper examines how the migration of authority, and the resulting engagement of private actors in public governance, affects democratic input and accountability in Canada. Analyzing cases of authority migration enacted by provincial legislation between 1946 and 2005, the paper assesses the extent to which Canadian provinces have utilized non-governmental bodies in public governance and the nature of the ensuing accountability relationships. Using regression analysis, political ideology of the party in power and fiscal capacity of the government, measured by debt, budgetary surplus or deficit, and provincial economic performance, are evaluated as predictors of when government is likely to migrate authority to non-governmental bodies. The existence and relative strength of accountability relationships between non-governmental actors and both government and society are evaluated using the rules stipulated in the legislation. The legislation is coded based on existence of requirements for non-governmental actors to justify actions, the ability of government or societal actors to question and pass judgment, and the ability of government or societal actors to sanction non-governmental actors. The findings will contribute to our understanding of the creation and democratic accountability implications of these bodies in Canadian Politics.

Watkins, Mel - melwatkins75@gmail.com
From the Global to the Local: Giving De-Globalization a Chance
Most of what passes for history takes place in the interstices between the local and the global. Globalization – which is shorthand for the global is in control; or is it that it is out of control? – is turning into an endgame.
The time has come – indeed, it is already past due – for less economic globalization: less trade and investment and corporate control across borders and, above all, less speculative movements of capital. With crises occurring and catastrophes imminent, there is surely a certain urgency. There is already a considerable literature that argues for de-globalization (an ugly word, but then so is globalization) and needs to be synthesized and updated; this paper will explore some highlights with specific references to Canada.
What to do about catastrophe in the face of enormous entrenched power hardly permits of any clear answers. One possibility, that merits out attention as political economists and political activists, may be found at the local level feeding into the global.
A case in point in Canada could be opposition to pipelines to move Alberta's tar sands oil, spearheaded by aboriginal paper who are talking of non-violent direct action which the rest of us could join and support. The American writer Rebecca Solnit sets out for us, in a recent book, A Paradise Built in Hell, how, in the face of catastrophe, people affected quickly come together to help each other in remarkable demonstrations of solidarity and compassion – which is in marked contrast to much media reporting and of the tone of most novels on these matters. Nevertheless, the left cannot be unaware of the historic tendency for prolonged crises to lead to authoritarian governments. We should work for the good and against the bad.

Webb, Daniel - djwebb@ualberta.ca
Urban Citizenship and the Commons: Thinking the City as an Ethical Space
Qualitative and normative approaches to understanding cities and the problems they face in the late modern era have been limited largely to the academic disciplines of sociology, anthropology, geography, and urban planning. Within these disciplines a growing critical literature is amassing which has provided insightful and promising prescriptive analysis for contemporary urban problems. Where, then, is political science situated in relation to this growing field? The answer is that questions of the city are largely absent from the discipline (outside of a growing literature related to "urban citizenship"). The sub-field of urban politics is dominated by quantitative and "regime-theory" approaches to city politics. Urbanists tend to be more concerned with building rational models of institutional behavior than exploring ethical issues like how urban inhabitants should or might live well in their neighborhoods and public spaces. However, it is in the sub-field of political theory that the lack of normative work on the city is much more conspicuous and disconcerting. After all, in the history of political thought the city or polis has been a central category of analysis because it is in the city that citizens have the most direct control over their lives and the way in which they are governed. In my paper I explore the relationship between the city and political theory, and ask a series of questions: Why have political theorists seemingly lost interest in studying the city as site of ethical life? To what extent should the consideration of ethical life be situated in the city (vs. the national or the global)? Finally, I argue, it is the classical category of the "commons" and the relatively new idea of "urban citizenship" that contain the most potential for re-linking (critical) political theory with one of its foundational objects of study: the city.

Weibust, Inger - Inger_Weibust@carleton.ca
Look at me!: When (and why) Do States Consent to Monitoring Under International Agreements?
Under what conditions will governments permit the collection and dissemination of performance data that permits benchmarking and international scrutiny? Constructivist IR theorists argue that monitoring has an impact on state behaviour, independently of any penalties or consequences. This school of thought holds that international scrutiny ("naming and shaming") influences state behaviour. States wish to maintain favourable reputations in the international

community. The contending political economy view is that monitoring and negative publicity alone have little impact, unless they lead to a sanction against undesirable behaviour. The debate raises the question: if either "naming and shaming" or punishment are effective in constraining states or changing state behaviour, why would states agree to be subject to the monitoring and publicity which these require? What is the possible benefit to governments of consenting to monitoring, particular for those governments likely to be the targets of external pressure for change? The study, in the form of a comparative case studies, will examine factors which explain variation in the degree and intrusiveness of oversight consented to in a range of international agreements, focusing on the environment and human rights, such as: - the NAFTA trinational oversight mechanisms on the environment and labour.

Wesley, Jared - wesley@cc.umanitoba.ca
Voter Turnout in Manitoba: An Ecological Analysis
Voter turnout in Manitoba provincial elections has been in general decline since the mid-1970s.   As in most advanced democracies, the trend remains a puzzle to even the most trained observers. Our failure to solve this dilemma is not due to a lack of effort or resources, but rather the narrowness of our approach. Two important elements are missing from conventional studies, which focus solely on public opinion surveys. First is the sense that context matters – that environmental and historical factors have as much of an effect on a community's level of electoral participation as its residents' personal attributes. Just as there are certain types of people who are less likely to vote, so, too are there less participatory societies. These insights are not lost on scholars of international politics, whose country-by-country comparisons have shed much light on the turnout decline as a global phenomenon. For their part, Canadian analysts have often ignored geographic variations in voter turnout. This leads to the second shortcoming of the extant research on turnout in Canada, namely that it focuses almost entirely on federal, versus provincial, politics. Addressing both of these shortcomings, the present analysis breaks the province down into separate electoral communities, in an effort to understand the community-level factors influencing the rate of voter turnout among Manitoba's 57 electoral districts. Combining data from Elections Manitoba and the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, it consists of an ecological analysis of electoral participation. Supplementing existing survey-based research, the results of this study will be of use to election authorities, policy analysts, academics, and students of politics seeking a broader understanding of the decline in voter turnout in Manitoba (and beyond).

Wesley, Jared - wesley@cc.umanitoba.ca
Promise Meets Reality: Balanced Budget Legislation in the Canadian Provinces, 1990-2010
Two decades have passed since the first wave of balanced budget legislation in Canada. The recent economic downturn affords researchers the opportunity to evaluate the success of these regulations in encouraging fiscal responsibility. This study compares the original motivations and objectives behind the various pieces of balanced budget legislation passed by provincial governments in the late twentieth century, on one hand, with the reactions of provincial governments addressing the 2008-2010 recession, on the other. The former are identified through a detailed qualitative analysis of Hansard, government press releases, and media reports. Government reactions will be assessed by examining various legislative reforms, changes in political rhetoric, and fiscal responses to the recession. Preliminary analysis suggests provincial governments have not fulfilled the objectives of their original balanced budget legislation. This failure is due to a variety of factors, including: changes in government; the (perceived) exceptionality of the recession; the global paradigm shift (away from neo-liberalism toward neo-Keynesianism); policy leadership (by the Obama administration and Harper Government); and others.

West, Jessica - jwest@balsillieschool.ca
Governing Contemporary Security Challenges: The Canadian Approach to Pluralist Security in Outer Space
Space as a security issue has grown in prominence following several high-level events including the intentional destruction of satellites by China in 2007 and the US in 2008. But space as a security concept is contested. Much of the focus to date has emphasized traditional national/military security concerns, in particular the potential weaponization of space. But space is emblematic of the contemporary evolution of security to include non-state/non-military issues, with many different security claims being made on space including human security, environmental security, and corporate security, in part as a result of Canadian efforts to develop a pluralist approach to governance based on 'security of space.' I propose to examine this pluralist securitization of space in order to achieve two complementary goals, empirical and theoretical, intended to contribute to the growing literature on security governance. First, I will draw on Karen Fierke's concept of a 'security cluster' to examine how the various security referents are connected, and to assess the extent to which this pluralism has been implemented in the practices and policies of space security governance beyond rhetoric. Second, I will consider the extent to which the lack of a comprehensive regime governing outer space, which is traditionally cited as a governance gap, instead resembles a 'regime complex' in which an array of institutions and rules converge on a given issue-area. My hypothesis is that a pluralist approach is viable for security issues characterized by diverse security referents, and that this is best governed through the regime complex model.

White, Graham - gwhite@chass.utoronto.ca
In the Presence of Northern Aboriginal Women? Women Politicians in the Territorial North

Women have held the premiership in all three Northern territories. In the constitutional negotiations of the early 1990s, three Northern Aboriginal women were called "the mothers of Confederation". Yet in the most recent Nunavut election only one woman was elected. And women are few and far between in powerful Aboriginal governments and organizations in the North. This paper seeks to discern the numerical and substantive influence of women holding elected office in the three Northern territories. Given the high proportion of the territorial population which is Aboriginal, special attention will be paid to the Aboriginal dimensions of this issue. Accordingly, data will not only be presented and analysed on numbers and positions of women (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) in territorial legislatures and cabinets but also on numbers and positions of women elected to serve in the principal Aboriginal governments and organizations across the North.

White, Linda - lwhite@chass.utoronto.ca
Institutional `Stickiness' and Ideational Resistance to Paradigm Change: Canada and Early Childhood Education and Care Policy
When do ideas become so convincing they overcome past policy practices? This paper examines the phenomenon of alternate paradigm construction in the case of early childhood education and care (ECEC). The first part of the paper examines the origins of new ECEC ideas and documents the process of alternate paradigm construction that is underway, mainly at the international level amongst transnational actors and international organizations. The paper argues that transformations in ECEC policies signal the emergence of new ideas about desirable ECEC policies but that variations across liberal welfare states --Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States-- in ECEC provision and funding indicate that the emergence of a new ECEC paradigm in these jurisdictions is not yet complete. The second part of the paper examines the curious outlier of Canada. While other liberal welfare states are increasing significantly their ECEC investment in some manner, Canada, outside of Quebec, has remained resistant. In seeking explanations for English Canadian resistance to the new alternate paradigm, the chapter highlights the institutional and ideational barriers encountered by political actors supportive of new ECEC ideas. The paper thus highlights both the potential for paradigmatic change as well as the points of resistance in ECEC policy.

Whiteside, Heather - heather.whiteside@sfu.ca
Economic Crises and the Evolution of Dispossession and Repossession in Canada
Harvey's (2003) theory of accumulation by dispossession (a modern-day enclosure of the commons) provides an insightful way of understanding how the capitalist state helps to smooth out the crisis-prone tendencies of the capitalist system. Yet how exactly this theoretical construct applies empirically to the Canadian case remains under-examined. This paper seeks to help fill in the gaps. It will also argue that while this theoretical construct is a useful tool of analysis, it is nevertheless incomplete. A serious economic crisis could urge on dispossession, or it could equally produce what can be termed 'repossession' (e.g., expropriation, the development of a welfare state, the socialization of private sector debt, etc.). This dialectic has tended to present itself in a chronological fashion (e.g., the broad shift from the Keynesian era to the neoliberal era) but the twin processes of repossession and dispossession can also co-exist in time. Today we are witnessing an overlapping of the two as the response to the recent/ongoing crisis continues to evolve. More than merely a technocratic policy concern, this oscillation engenders fundamental shifts in the distribution of power, authority, control, democratic accountability, and responsibility for social reproduction. The purpose of this paper is to tease out how this has occurred historically and how it continues today in Canada. The rich heritage of critical political economy literature (Canadian and otherwise) will be tapped into throughout the paper. Debates and key concepts in the literature will be explored in new ways, and novel theoretical contributions made in the process.

Whitfield, Gregory - gjwhitfield@wustl.edu
Democratic and Liberal Principles of Legitimacy
The publication of Rawls's Political Liberalism signalled an important turn in his thought which critics have not been altogether kind to. Whether or not this move gave away something of his earlier work's commitment to justice continues to be an issue Rawlsians and critics wrestle with. Part of this new debate concerns his so-called "liberal principle of legitimacy" and whether the principle is properly characterized as emphasizing the procedural elements of legitimacy, and thus is democratic in nature, or if it evinces a more thoroughgoing commitment to substantive liberal justice. I consider a fascinating recent paper of the former sort from Simon Căbulea May in an effort to show that the democratic argument is mistaken. While it may represent a lower standard than complete justice, Rawlsian legitimacy does in fact contain a strong substantive commitment to particular elements of justice. The argument proceeds through discussion of whether a Rawlsian account of legitimacy is best defended through a minimal sufficiency standard, as May believes, or whether there are some aims whose achievement ought to be maximized, as I claim. I further suggest that whatever Rawls may have thought, Rawlsian arguments are stronger on this account, and that this should cause us to rethink the move between Theory of Justice and Political Liberalism where he abandons the formulation of the principles of justice which sees parties claiming a right to the 'most extensive' system of basic liberties in favour of an sufficiency-based account.

Widdowson, Frances - fwiddowson@mtroyal.ca
Aboriginal Peoples, Political Science and Research Ethics: Should Indigenous Politics be Studied Differently?

In the development of research in Canada, there are increasing attempts to ensure that the study of human subjects is conducted ethically. As a result, bodies like the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council [SSHRC] recommend that research ethics boards should be put in place to review research applications requesting funding. Of particular significance is research pertaining to the study of groups that are perceived as vulnerable. There is great concern about the impact that research can have on aboriginal people, for example, because of the power imbalances instituted by colonization. It is argued that additional protection should be provided to the native population, and it is assumed that the enhancement of indigenous cultures should be a goal of the studies conducted. But to what extent do these developments in research ethics place onerous constraints on political scientists? Political scientists from a variety of perspectives will give their views as to whether it is appropriate to ask academics to take a position on cultural enhancement in their research. Presenters also will inquire if these guidelines have the potential to compromise academic freedom. Questions will be asked about the relationship between ethics guidelines and the politicization of research, and the possibility that this development could inhibit, rather than enhance, a researcher's attempts to increase knowledge about the actual character of indigenous politics.

Wiebe, Sarah - swieb103@uottawa.ca
The Reserve as Political Place: Ecological Citizenship in Aamjiwnaang
Forgotten spaces reveal the boundaries of belonging – of citizenship – in any political community. This paper explores the experience of an Aboriginal community encircled by the highest concentration of polymer and petrochemical production in Canada (Scott 2008, 2009; Ecojustice, 2007). This zone profoundly affects its closest neighbours, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation, who report an array of health and environmental concerns, including elevated rates of cardiovascular, respiratory, neurological and developmental illnesses, as well as high rates of cancer, miscarriage, abnormal birth patterns, damage to their landscape, and traditional way of life (Mackenzie et. al., 2005, Ecojustice, 2007; Lockridge, 2010). To understand these health and environmental harms, this paper examines Aamjiwnaang's location within the Chemical Valley. I argue that the reserve can be understood as a "political place". It is not merely a plotted grid on a map, but a space imbued with interpretive meanings (Augé, 1995; Relph; 1976; Thornton, 2009; Yanow, 1998; Yanow 2006). I ask: in response to concerns about health and the environment in Aamjiwnaang, what forms of citizenship emerge? Through an interpretive methodology, which draws from textual analysis and interviews, I explore how forms of resistance reveal emergent practices of ecological rights and responsibilities. These practices, which include activities such as bio-monitoring, bucket brigades and body-mapping, illuminate the challenges for Aboriginal communities seeking state redress for environmental health issues, and the inextricable link between body and landscape. In conclusion, I contend that the reserve's location and resistances in the Chemical Valley illuminate new forms of ecological citizenship.

Wiens, David - wiens@umich.edu
The Statist Implications of Cosmopolitan Commitments
Cosmopolitans are committed to the belief that all human beings hold equal status as the fundamental units of moral concern and should thus be extended equal concern and respect by all other human beings. Cosmopolitans often argue that this commitment implies a cosmopolitan institutional scheme; that is, institutional arrangements that include at least some supra-state institutions that have global jurisdiction with respect to some issues and are granted authority to (i) undertake initiatives in service of cosmopolitan objectives and (ii) legitimately constrain the activity of states in pursuing those objectives. Contrary to this, I argue that cosmopolitan moral commitments have important statist institutional implications. In general, this is a familiar refrain; e.g., Blake (2002) and Sangiovanni (2007) argue that cosmopolitan moral commitments entail limiting the scope of distributive justice to states, while Goodin (1988) and Ypi (2008) argue that certain instrumental considerations imply that cosmopolitan moral objectives are most effectively realized by a system of states. Diverging from extant offerings, I argue instead that cosmopolitan institutional arrangements are self-defeating in certain important cases. Given a particular well-regarded theory of how successful economic and political development occurs, certain cosmopolitan arrangements — such as international redistributive schemes or institutionalized humanitarian intervention — undermine conditions that are necessary for achieving successful development, whereas preserving a system of sovereign states maintains these conditions. This is significant because successful development is the most effective means for actually realizing the cosmopolitan's objective, viz., to protect people's rights and increase their well-being.

Williams, Lisa Marie - lismwill@gmail.com
Cabinet Shuffles: The Entrance and Exit of Legislators of Legislators and the Legislative Role of Ex-Ministers
An important aspect of parliamentary democracy is the periodic cabinet shuffle. This paper will examine the impact of a cabinet shuffle on the Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly who were previously cabinet members. An assessment will be made on the reasons why someone was selected a cabinet minister, why the minister has let the cabinet and how that experience has affected the legislative role the member now has. An analysis will be made of the public interpretations of the minister's entrance and exit and this will be compared to self-assessment by the minister to these events and their impact on the member's current legislative role.

Williams, Russell Alan - russellw@mun.ca
Policy Capacity, Evidence-Based Policy-Making and Institutions: Canadian Regulatory Responses to the Finacial Crisis

Evaluating the capacity of policymakers to engage in evidence based policy-making remains one of the most intractable problems in policy studies. While recent research has explored the question from the perspective of the skills and capabilities of policy analysts (Howlett and Newman 2010, Howlett and Oliphant, 2010), it remains the case that the knowledge policy makers bring to effective learning in their respective domains will be impeded by institutional considerations. Effective evidence-based policy responses to events like the requires that agencies not feel threatened by the extent to which new ideas may impact the agency's role and responsibilities in relation to pre-existing struggles with competing authorities. This paper explores this problem in relation to the Canadian response to the financial crisis. Canadian supervisory and policy-making capacity are fragmented amongst different agencies responsible to different levels of government and charged with competing and overlapping responsibilities. Thus, while policy analytical capacity in a "cognitive sense" is quite high (Canadian policymakers showed a great deal of skill in managing the financial crisis) over the longer term institutional rivalries have limited the lessons provided by the financial crisis for regulatory reform, particularly the competing jurisdictional agendas of the key federal and provincial regulators. As a result, Canada has shown a consistent reticence to support the more comprehensive European and American initiatives to reform the industry. Successful reform requires effective learning by officials and agencies open to new policy ideas, conditions which do not exist in Canada.

Yates, Charlotte - yatesch@mcmaster.ca
Workers Wanted, Diversity Discouraged: Immigrant Settlement and Inclusion in Rural Ontario
Prior to the current economic downturn, rural areas in Canada had been experiencing increased labour market shortages in recent years coupled with a declining rural population and thus a declining rural labour force. This has led governments to turn their attention to both expanding certain categories of immigration and encouraging the relocation of new Canadians to non-traditional regions as a means through which such shortages could be addressed and solved. Despite the push toward settlement in rural communities, these areas have been characterized by heterogeneous communities that not only lack the resources and institutions to settle immigrants but exclude newcomers from full inclusion. Through looking at the case of one rural southwestern Ontario community, this paper will argue that traditionally accepted indicators of immigrant integration, such as labour market participation, wages and occupational achievement relative to settled Canadians, and new immigrant language proficiency are not, and cannot be, indicators of inclusivity and integration especially in rural areas. This paper argues for an expanded understanding of integration that looks at both the inputs and outputs of the process of migration as being integral elements in affecting one's integration into a community. As such, the ability of an immigrant to settle and feel included within rural communities is conditional and shaped by factors such the process through which they have migrated, the availability of and diversity of community services and governmental institutions to assist in settlement, and the existence of barriers caused by race and gender.

Yin, Hongxing - hyin2@buffalo.edu
What's the Border For? Canadian and American Public Perceptions of the Sources of Economic and Consumer Security Threats and Support for Border Cooperation
Since the terrorist events of 9/11/2001, the Canadian-American border has experienced a significant process of securitization. Despite the hopes of some Canadians, the arrival of the Obama administration's secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano as done little to reverse the "thickening" of the border. While the most obvious objective of much of this border activity has been targeted at Islamic terrorists, there are also threats that emanate from the continental neighbor (illegal immigration or the importation of dangerous consumer products and food for example). This paper represents an exploratory analysis of the public opinion dimension of border security. Specifically, we use a pooled series of six years of parallel surveys of representative samples of American and Canadian citizens (conducted annually 2005-2010 by Nanos Research) to identify the segment of these countries who number the other country (Canada or the US, out of their top 7 trading partners) among the most significant sources of threat (and hence in need of careful scrutiny by border officials). Pooling respondents over the period, we seek to profile these individuals who sense a proximate threat from either side of the Canadian-American border in terms of their demographic characteristics (age, education, region, gender, etc). Secondly, we explore whether these respondents who feel the need for border security for goods and people coming from their neighboring country are more likely to feel closer to other major trading partners than Canada/the US. Finally, we inquire whether these respondents are more likely to resist measures of border security cooperation measures.

Young, Lisa - Lisa.young@ucalgary.ca
Women's Representation in the House of Commons
Despite decades of advocacy, both inside political parties and in the broader public arena, women's representation in the Canadian House of Commons remains stalled below the one-quarter mark. This paper will review the trends in women's representation over time, noting the significance of the party system and parties' recruitment efforts for these trends. The paper will draw on literature regarding the role of party recruitment and gender differences in political ambition to consider the some of the ways in which women's representation might increase over time.

Young, Lisa - lisa.young@ucalgary.ca
The Fourth Canadian Party System Revisited

A decade ago, Carty, Cross and Young (2000) argued that a new (4th) Canadian party system was emerging. This argument centered around change in five dimensions of the Canadian party system: the emergence of new parties, regionalization of party competition, diversification of party type, increased democratization of party organization and increased fragmentation of the electorate. This argument was based largely on evidence from the 1990s and the general elections of 1993 and 1997. Four elections have taken place since the advancement of this thesis and we propose to revisit it in light of events that have transpired in the past decade. Some of the changes justifying a reexamination are the merger of the two parties on the right of centre, the replacement of the Liberals by the Conservatives as the governing party and the reemergence of minority governments after six consecutive majority results.

Young, Lisa - Lisa.Young@ucalgary.ca
Quebec Women's Attitudes Toward the Niqab
In 2009 the issue of reasonable accommodation was reignited in Quebec when a young woman refused to comply with her CEGEP instructor's request that she remove her niqab. It was a French language class and the instructor maintained that she needed to see students' faces in order to evaluate their French pronunciation. The young women refused on the grounds that there were men in the room. The Quebec government's response was Projet de loi no 94, a bill introduced in the National Assembly in March 2010 which effectively bans women from wearing the niqab when working in or receiving services from a number of public sector institutions. Using data from the Quebec Women's Political Participation Survey, an original telephone survey that went into the field in June and July of 2010, the paper investigates francophone women's thinking on the issue of the niqab, and attempts to identify the key arguments that lie behind their positions on the issue. More specifically, it examines the role of religion and feminism in shaping women's positions on the issue. What it finds is that Quebec women's thinking on the issue of the niqab is complex and driven by a mix of factors that are not always easily explained.

Zaato, Joshua Jebuntie - jzaat040@uottawa.ca
Contractualism as a Reform and Governance Tool: A Critical Analysis of Urban Water Management Reforms in Ghana
The paper examines critical governance and value for money (VFM) concerns and complexities in the State Owned Enterprises (SOE) reform program in Ghana. It particularly examines the potential trade-offs inherent in the theory regarding democratic governance and the New Public Management (NPM) professed belief in VFM empirical indicators. This analysis is informed by the concern that in the SOE reform process, democratic concerns and processes like accountability, rule of law, transparency are often circumvented or marginalized in favour of VFM indicators like efficiency, efficacy and economy (3Es). The paper uses the Ghana Water Company Ltd (GWCL, the 'Grantor'), which has been the subject of massive reforms since 1983 as a case study. Once touted as a strategic SOE that should remain under public ownership and control, the GWCL signed a five years management contract with a private water company, Aqua Vitens Rand Ltd (AVRL, the 'Operator') for the management of urban water in 2005. The analysis is based on data gathered from multiple sources including semi-structured interviews, discussions with managers of GWCL/AVRL and analysis of internal and external documents. Such a comprehensive analysis will contribute to the limited research and knowledge on the potential value conflicts in SOE reforms in Ghana in particular and developing countries in general.

Zakaria, Patty - al9156@wayne.edu
Are Political Deficits in Lebanon Self-imposed or Externally Inflicted?
Since 1975 Lebanon has been plagued with political instability and conflict. With the official end of the Civil War in 1991, Lebanon has been attempting to move towards a lasting peace and political stability; however, several factors have prevented Lebanon from achieving these goals. This paper will seek to examine whether Lebanon's political deficits, in terms of weak democratic institutions and political instability, are self-imposed or externally inflicted. In terms of self-imposed factors, this refers to historical events during the Civil War and political corruption. Historical events, such as assassinations of key political agents during the war, are begin used by political parties to influence and shape the modern political landscape of the country. The lingering ties to the past have been used to instigate violence within the country. In addition to history, political corruption can also be a factor pushing the country away from democratic ideals and leading them down a slippery slope of fraud, bribery, and evasion of the rule of law within governance. Fro example, corrupt elections in combination with ties to the past, creates a formula for political instability and war in the nation. In terms of external effect, this refers to Syria and Iran's support of Hizballah in an attempt to influence Lebanon's political landscape as well as to offset US sphere of influence in the region. This study will invoke a mixed method approach of multivariate analysis as well as case studies.