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*Confounding classic models of voter behaviour: The challenge of automatic cognition*

This paper examines the dissonance at the intersection of classic, social-psychological models of voter behaviour and contemporary, multidisciplinary investigations of non-conscious - or automatic - cognitive processes. Taking inspiration from researchers such as Paul Quirk and James Kuklinski, the paper will explore the assumptions at work in classic social-psychological voter-behaviour research and suggest a reassessment of those models in light of contemporary cognitive science. While significant advances have been made, the dominant mode of voter-behaviour inquiry remains largely within the sphere of the Michigan tradition - a tradition rooted in classic social psychology that focuses on models of active, systematic cognition, heavily influenced by classic models of social and economic interaction. What these studies do not take into account - in Canada and elsewhere - is the influence of non-conscious, automatic processes of cognition. This paper will explore readily available avenues of investigation into phenomena often miscategorized as, for example, instances of irrationality or voter error. It is hoped this paper will demonstrate that this mode of inquiry is ripe with explanatory and predictive potential - not for the purposes of depriving voters of their essential, rational humanity but, rather, to improve our understanding of our innate strengths and weaknesses when engaging with such a complex and demanding process as participatory democracy. This paper is the first installment in a course of ongoing theoretical and experimental research intended to incorporate contemporary models of cognition into our theories of voter-behaviour and political communication.

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*Human Rights, the Question of Palestine and the Paradox of the United Nations*

As an international organization, the United Nations (UN) has held out the promise of overcoming domestic and international challenges to the principle of universal human rights. In particular, in the aftermath of the experience of German Nazis and the Jewish genocide, the UN General Assembly adopted the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By 1966, the General Assembly had also adopted the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, along with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Although this trajectory towards the establishment of an International Bill of Human Rights has widely been perceived to be successful in supporting challenges of practices of colonialism, slavery, and discriminatory ideologies based on legalized racism, there remain scholarly debates. In particular, the extant scholarship on human rights tends to pit those who uphold the universal applicability and possibilities of human rights against those who feel it masks biases whether towards national citizenship, ethnocentric (Western) and secular values and interests, or inequitable social relations including those of class and gender. We argue that the UN has served as a site for the institutional support of both rights advancement and rights denial. In this way, better understanding contemporary debates such as those generated by the Durban process, as well concretizing abstract debates over the universality of human rights may arise from attending to the foundational development of the UN as an international organization in relation to both the human rights revolution, as well as the unresolved Question of Palestine.

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*Prefigurative Practices- An Epistemological Shift in Conceiving Indigenous Self-Determination*

Frantz Fanon's Marxist-humanist manifesto on Algerian independence *The Wretched of the Earth* continues to be broadly applied as relevant to the context of Indigenous decolonization on/of Turtle Island. Recently its ongoing appeal and some of the contours of its limitations have been given insight by Dené scholar Glen Coulthard. Particularly significant is Coulthard's interest in a concept of prefigurative practice, as it is gestured toward but not elaborated by Fanon. I will suggest this concept may be mobilized to describe a kind of 'epistemological shift' in conceiving self-determination being articulated by numerous critical Indigenous thinkers away from a discourse of recognition's presuppositions of Indigenous political and intellectual dependency. For example, self-determination seen as an attainment or assertion of sovereignty as it can be reconciled to and under the dominant state order, the continued intransigence of which is still acutely experienced by Indigenous peoples. It is to reconsider seeking legitimacy and verification through discourses and structures complicit in foundational and ongoing dispossessions and other colonial violences against Indigenous peoples - to affirming and enacting their inseparable vital presence, lands, cultural lifeworlds, narratives and practices of resistance to these violences. I will argue that as a move from demanding accommodation and a defensive posture to focusing on self-(re)generative, 'alterNative' forms of community, this shift challenges us to apprehend the expression and exercise of self-determination as it is made immanent in everyday praxis, grounded in Indigenous understandings of freedom and what it is to live a good life.

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*Interregional Cooperation between the AU and NATO: the case of promoting Peace and Security in Libya*

Libya has witnessed the most deadly confrontation of what has been called the "Arab Spring". The Libya political crisis attracted several actors into that country. The key among these actors is NATO which enforced the Security Council Resolution 1973 to protect civilians. Although the NATO-led air operation included states beyond the North Atlantic alliance, African states and regional organizations played a marginal role to enforce the Security Council resolution. Indeed, some African states openly opposed or criticised the NATO intervention in spite of the fact that NATO supported the AU in its intervention efforts in Darfur and Somalia. Moreover, the Libya intervention appears to have had a wider impact on (in)security in African states as it is being played out in northern Mali where Al Qaeda elements, and Tuareg rebels who fought for Col. Ghaddafi have captured towns and imposed strict Sharia laws. Against this background, this paper seeks to address two interrelated questions. First, what has been the impact of NATO's intervention in Libya on its cooperation with the AU to

promote peace and security in Africa? Second, how can the AU and NATO turn their disagreement on the Libya intervention into an opportunity to strengthen the emerging interregional cooperation between them? I argue that even though the AU faces structural and financial constraints it is better equipped than its predecessor, OAU, to play a leading role and collaborate with NATO and the UN to promote long term peace, security, and stability in Libya.

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This roundtable is devoted to the interaction between IR theory and the study of Indigenous Politics. The field of International Relations has been mostly silent on the issue of Indigenous Politics (and/or complicit in its silencing), while the study of Indigenous Politics has not drawn extensively on the insights of IR theory. Empirically, the politics of indigenous peoples seems fruitful ground for IR scholars. Indigenous peoples often organize across state borders and are increasingly turning to global networks and institutions. Furthermore, a fundamental mechanism of indigenous-settler relations - the treaty - is a key concept in the field of international relations, yet remains understudied. From a theoretical perspective, the neglect of indigenous politics in IR itself is in need of further exploration, as is the role of theories of international relations in the marginalization and colonization of indigenous peoples. This roundtable, as a keystone of the workshop, confronts and engages with these absences in the field of IR, and asks how the study of indigenous politics may inform or challenge international relations theory, how IR theories may appropriately and usefully be applied to the study of indigenous peoples, and how IR theory has contributed to the marginalization of indigenous peoples.

**Allam, Nermin** (nermin\_allam@yahoo.com)

*The January 25th Uprising: A Revolutionary Situation in Egypt's Contentious Politics*

Popular media dub the episode of mass protests that swept Egypt in early 2011 and led to President Hosni Mubarak's resignation as a revolution. The paper at hand takes a different stance providing a nuanced conceptualization of the uprising. It suggests that the January 25th uprising is an episode of contention within Egypt's contentious politics. This episode of contention ostensibly qualifies as a revolutionary situation and not a full revolution. Charles Tilly (1978) writing on historical and modern revolutions, distinguishes between a "revolutionary situation" and a "revolutionary outcome" arguing that for a revolution to be complete it has to combine both. According to Tilly, a revolutionary situation exists when some kind of collective action against centers of power is evident-whether these actions are demonstrations, riots, social movements, revolts, civil wars, or other manifestations of antagonism toward the state. Meanwhile, a revolutionary outcome displays an actual transfer of power to members of the revolutionary coalition. Building upon these assumptions, the paper advances by applying the elements characterizing a revolutionary situation to the Egyptian uprising. It combines theoretical contributions garnered from relevant literature and primary data gathered from personnel interviews with protestors and political activists. Conceptualizing Egypt's uprising as a revolutionary situation in Egypt's contentious politics yields several utilities. It helps explain the persistence of agitations post the uprising. Also it denotes that the eighteen days leading to the ousting of Hosni Mubarak -which is the locus of the study- is part of a cycle of resistance, not the end point of it.

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*Philanthropy and Women's Political Activism in the Egyptian January 25th Uprising*

The paper questions the extent to which women's participation in philanthropic organization influenced their engagement in the January 25th uprising that led to the ousting of president Hosni Mubarak. Philanthropy is certainly not new to Egypt. Beneficent organizations proliferated in Egypt from the last third of the nineteenth century. However women's groups played a predominant role in philanthropy especially that directed towards women and children, in the decades leading to the uprising. Women's activities and services contributed to easing the economic burden and brought female members closer to the deteriorating economic conditions and societal ills in Egypt. It is thus worth investigating, the extent to which the experience of female members contributed to their mobilization against the Mubarak's regime. A regime that, constantly failed to support its citizens. Furthermore, it is intriguing to consider the possible ways in which their success in helping the poor might have activated women's sense of collective agency and in turn empowered them to participate in the uprising. This is particularly important considering the apolitical nature of the organizations and women's ostensibly "maternal" role in them. The organizations' overarching maternal discourse combined with their potential in empowering their female members challenge the liberal conceptualization of agency as synonym to resistance against relations of domination. In investigating these questions, the paper builds upon the post structuralist understanding of agency and utilizes primary data gathered from personnel interviews with female members representing several charitable organizations.

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*Ummah or tribe? Islamic practice, ethnic chauvinism, and political attitudes in Indonesia*

Does Islam promote ethnic tolerance? The relationship between Islam and non-religious communal identities is complex. On the one hand, Islam obliges adherents to submit to a universalistic religious code in which loyalty is directed towards a divine creator and a community of co-religionists rather than a secular community of co-ethnics or co-nationals. Islam, then, could diminish co-ethnic solidarity. On the other hand, Islam also promotes public worship practices that reinforce communal bonds and potentially provide the social foundations for strong collective identities, be they religious or ethnic. Rather than eroding ethnic identities, Islam may reinforce them. I examine the relationship between Islam and ethnic tolerance through an analysis of political attitudes in Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim

country. Using survey data collected during the lead up to the 2009 presidential election, I explore the relationship between religious practice and expressed preferences for co-ethnic candidates. My findings indicate that, all else being equal, practicing Muslims are more likely to report a preference for a generic co-ethnic candidate. The finding is not simply an artifact of intra-Indonesian differences in religiosity across regions and ethnic groups. The results suggest that Islamic practices strengthen the communal bonds that produce co-ethnic solidarity. Though theologically Islam is a universalistic religion, in practice it solidifies local non-religious identities.

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*Economic hard times, electoral insecurity, and the adoption of extraterritorial voting rights*

The growing size and economic clout of migrant communities has prompted a redefinition of democratic citizenship. In increasing numbers, authorities are extending out-of-country citizens the right to vote in home-country elections. Whereas one-quarter of all democracies extended overseas voting rights in the 1980s, today over one-half offer extraterritorial voting rights of some kind. While existing scholarship has acknowledged the trend, the question of when and why governments extend rights has not been investigated systematically across cases. Our paper examines the adoption of extraterritorial voting rights using a new dataset. We argue that an interaction of domestic economic and political conditions produces pressure for franchise extension. Specifically, established incumbents facing re-election in a slow economy use franchise extensions to shore up waning political support and boost remittance flows. Though there is a distinct global trend toward extraterritorial voting, the timing of these reforms is determined by the short-term political calculus of partisan actors.

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*Political economy of the Arab Spring: A regulation theoretical approach*

This paper delivers analyses of the state, capital, and the crisis in the Arab Middle East in the context of the French theory of regulation. I develop concrete concepts within the framework of this theory and deliver an alternative explanation of the crisis which contributed to the revolutionary situation. My argument unfolds along two hypotheses: 1), what is in crisis is a mode of regulation, not of accumulation regime: crisis of the authoritarian-corporatist mode of regulation/state. 2), accumulation proceeded since the 90es qua wage-deferential, an articulation of extensive, intensive, and hybrid forms of surplus value production and appropriation, a neoliberal previous regime of accumulation: Finance was not so much facilitator of accumulation as in the metropolises (a finance-led regime of accumulation, cf. Sablowski/Alnasseri 2001), rather a mechanism of redistribution and appropriation of wealth qua dispossession. Thesis: The crisis of the statist regime of accumulation and the particularistic-clientalist mode of regulation (cf. Alnasseri 2004) since the 70es (cf. Alnasseri 2001) opened up a space for restructuring under neoliberal policing. What developed were an authoritarian-corporatist mode of regulation and an extensive-extroverted, speculation-driven regime of accumulation. The current neoliberal regime was/is exclusionary, created and imposed by (international too) institutional, political, economic, ideological, and, above all, by physical violence and constraints, thus it was a non-hegemonic constellation in its origin. What is in crisis, is its regulation, a four folds crisis which were condensed as a crisis of the state.

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*Dealing with Difference in International Relations*

The first attempts to formally study International Relations (IR) began with the main purpose of preventing war. Hence, the study of international relations classically fixated its scope to the analysis of the causes of war and the conditions of peace among states. This concentration has fed into the dichotomy of "us" versus "others". The issue of 'othering' and how IR deals with difference could be looked at through how the dominant theories in the field have drawn lines around imagined and physical spaces in their attempt to exclude others. In my view the problem of creating insiders/outside and focusing on differences by making them bold is a legacy inherited by IR from the early theoretical debates. What I try to show in the first part of the paper is that this identity has established itself through particular exclusions. Therefore part of this paper will focus on how the early debates in the field of IR have created specific boundaries to the identity of the field. However recent debates in the field do challenge and are more critical of the boundaries defined by IR and those persons, places, and academic fields that it considers as outsiders. That is why the second part of the paper will mainly focus on what many critical scholars think the field should be. Hence I will attempt to "come to see many centers or, even better, no centers - but rather people and places and positions" in the field of IR.

**Amin-Khan, Tariq** (tkhan@politics.ryerson.ca)

*Securitization and Western Media's Incendiary Racism: A Critical Appraisal*

Using political economy and social history approaches, the paper addresses two current manifestations of the new Orientalism: incendiary racism of the media, and securitization. Edward Said identified Orientalism as a product of colonial domination, which has in the post-colonial era undergone a number of iterations. In the current context, this new Orientalism is expressed as the clash of civilizations thesis of Samuel Huntington and others - an outlook swiftly absorbed in Western states since 11 September 2001. The paper analyzes the consequences of this outlook: the rise of white supremacy assertions and Western media's demonization of Muslims and Islam as raced, gendered, and culturally inferiorized portrayals to ostensibly project the 'superiority' of Western culture. However, underlying this notion of 'Western superiority' are large insecurities that have shaped the security state and its militaristic responses, which have severely harmed and destabilized the Orientalized. The paper addresses how the emulation of the US security state paradigm by all Western states ends up targeting diaspora Muslim youth and racialized immigrant communities. By contrast, in Muslim majority states incredibly greater harm is caused by the actions of the US and NATO militaries. The paper concludes that the securitization of state and society has led to a

precipitous decline of cherished rights-based ideals of liberal democracy, and encouraged the field of security studies whose ardent adherents aggressively support the present forms of militarization and the suppression of democratic rights both at home and overseas.

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*Political Discussion Networks and Political Activities in Canada*

There is a rich literature which chronicles the effects of political discussion (or social) networks on various forms of political behaviour and engagement. This literature suggests that the characteristics of these networks (for example, the composition of one's network, as well as the extent of political discussion and conflict with network members) have profound influences on political attitudes and behaviour (Zuckerman and colleagues various years; Huckfeldt and colleagues, various years; Mutz 2002, 2006; Fitzgerald and Curtis 2012). To date, this literature has been largely focussed on the United States (with some European exceptions such as Germany) and has generally neglected the case of Canada (but see Harell et al. (2009) for an exception looking at youth). This paper begins to address this omission by applying and testing the theoretical insights of this literature in the Canadian case. Specifically, the paper explores the characteristics of political discussion networks and lays the empirical bases for understanding the extent to which these discussion networks influence political activities. The empirical source for this paper is a new nationally representative survey of the Canadian population.

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*Contesting New Monetary Policy*

One of the most significant policy legacies of the subprime crisis is that none of the mechanisms by which the Federal Reserve has traditionally managed market liquidity are any more relevant. The transformations that have emerged with this change in monetary policy, together with the very significant alternation in the Fed's balance sheet, have engendered new institutional capacities that are much more likely to facilitate and promote financial stability. The crucial point is that with the ability to pay market rates of return the Federal Reserve now has greater capacity to influence how banking institutions hold and allocate funds. All this means that any attempt to understand monetary policy, including the relationship between liquidity and inflation, in the same light as before the crisis misses the very important transformations in state capacity that have already occurred. Thus within the hierarchy of the Federal Reserve today the so-called exit strategy is not so much about going back to the original intertwining of public and private institutions, as it is building the technical expertise to fully apply its new capacities and efficiently manage its existing balance sheet obligations. The significance of this, not least in terms of the extent to which the Fed now functions as what The Economist calls 'the world central bank', is that as the Federal Reserve now refashions and reconceives its relationship to financial markets it is helping to build a new regulatory framework for the management of international finance.

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*A New New Orientalism? Geopolitics, Pragmatism and Racism in Recent Constructions of the Middle East*

This paper focuses on a seeming contradiction and "dance" between what may be labeled "Islamophobic" and "Islamophilic" positions in the contemporary state and media discourses on the Middle East in Western states. While ongoing Islamophobia continues to provide ideological justification for some of the internal and foreign policies Western states, more recently there have emerged "Islamophilic" tendencies in foreign policy, in the form of supporting "moderate Islamic" forces, especially in the pragmatism in responding to the so-called "Arab Spring". While this represents a historical continuation of Western support for Islamism that was common during the Cold War, it is a shift from the Islamophobic discourses and policies of the post-Cold War period, especially since 9/11. While "Islamophobic" and "Islamophilic" discourses may appear to be opposites, the paper argues that in terms of intellectual constructions of the Middle East, they represent two sides of the Orientalist logic, continuing to reduce Middle Eastern politics to a culturalist dimension. The new new Orientalism treats Middle Eastern people as political subjects, but (prefers to see them) as defined by their culture/religion. It defines (moderate) Islamism as the typical (as well as the preferred) politics of the people of the Middle East. The paper also challenges the perception that the "Islamophilic" shift in Western policy might be the grounds for more peaceful relations with the Middle East. It is argued that the ongoing "dance" between "Islamophobia" and "Islamophilia" will likely keep relations tense in the foreseeable future.

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*Regional transportation governance model and metropolitan planning: looking at Montréal and Vancouver*

Since the 1980's because of sustainable development concerns, public transit has become a cornerstone of metropolitan policies addressing issues of circulation of goods, social justice and reduction of gas emissions. But often when benefits become clear, then economic, institutional and political issues arise. The context of metropolisation, characterized by institutional fragmentation and uncertain governance, raise as many questions challenges. In this paper, we look at local civic parties dealing with public transit in the Montréal and the Vancouver metropolitan regions. We examine how those cities political culture influence regional transportation governance, and planning. The research is based on the analysis of official documents and semi-structured interviews with municipal elected officials and public servants, including representatives of municipalities and transportation authorities both in Montréal and Vancouver. In the end, this paper discusses understandings of metropolitan government roles in the face of metropolitan challenges to transportation planning challenges. The paper will draw on research done by the author about horizontal governance and sustainable planning.

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*Mexico : The Next Bric Member?*

Mexico is the second largest economy in Latin America. The country is also the second most populous in the region. But, traditionally, Mexico assumed a limited role in international affairs. The paper will examine the new foreign policy of the country, especially in relations with the other emerging powers. Panel description: In 2001, economist Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs Group coined the term BRIC to describe the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. The BRIC acronym also signals a fundamental change in the world economy because it is expected that the sum of these emerging economies would outweigh that of the G8 in 2027. This fundamental change would initiate a dramatic change in the politics of international relations in addition to create a multipolar world. Whereas this forecast may prove to be exact, it is to wonder whether the BRIC is a coherent international organization designed to offer an alternative to the G8. The BRIC began its first meetings in 2009 in the aftermath of the economic crisis by advocating a greater participation of emerging economies in international financial institutions. The second meeting addressed a plethora of global problems creating specific forums of international finance-related agricultural problems. Since the meeting of 2011, South Africa joined the group which became BRICS and focused on economic forums and sustainable development in the fields of energy and agriculture. The last meeting held in New Delhi in 2012 focused on the creation of a Development Bank offering an alternative to the funding of traditional financial institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF. The panel will focus on the role of the BRICS and its ability to create a coherent organization able to implement common policies. It will seek to determine if the common objectives of its members can move in an articulate international organization or if national interests are too divergent to build a coherent organization such as the BRICS. Each speaker will present a country and its relation within the BRICS. First the speaker will outline the objectives his respective country establishes by joining the BRICS. He will then present his country's economic integration within the BRICS to show if the organization had an impact on the pace of integration in international trade. He will then detail how his country votes on UN resolutions to show if the BRICS is a cohesive organization when non-economic issues arise. The speaker will then conclude by answering the question about the nature of the BRICS: is it an empty shell or real organization? Each of the four speakers will have 15 minutes to present their respective country and a question period of 15-20 minutes will complete the session.

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*Stalled in the Expanding Universe of Women and Representation in Canada*

The numbers of women elected to legislatures across Canada has stalled around 25 percent on average in legislatures across Canada. At the same time analysis of levels of representation by women has expanded the range of settings in which descriptive representation is tracked, analysed and publicized. Despite ten-fold increases in the levels of representation in the House of Commons, legislatures, Senate, and at the municipal level in the last fifty years gender parity remains a distant aspiration. Without a strong demand for change, will further change occur? In such a context what role might political science play in a new round of social change?

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*A Study of Relationship between Norm Compliance and Generalized Trust*

This study sought to examine how the impact of social norms as stability factor of social behavior act on generalized trust. The present research is a survey study through questionnaires among people over the age of 18 years in (1,5,6,8,17) regions of Tehran to explore this hypothesis, we have paid. Research findings show that the cultural dimension of norm compliance includes charity, loyalty, cooperation and generalized Altruism with little difference to the social dimension of norm compliance include tolerance, honesty, truth seeking and protecting human rights had more impact on social trust. Generalized emotional dependence is another variable accompanied by norm compliance play significant role in generalized trust. norm compliance through empathy variable (indirect effects) can further be involved in explaining generalized trust variable. Investigation of the underlying variables (education, socio-economic status, age, income and marital status) showed that between those variable socio-economic status had significant and positive effect on generalized trust.

**Atkinson, Michael** (michael.atkinson@usask.ca)

*The Dilemmas of Provincial Public Finance*

In recent decades, the role of the provinces in governance and policy development significantly increased, both compared to the role of the federal government and to the situation prevailing in other federal countries such as Australia and the United States. This is true because, in Canada, many of the economic, environmental, and social policy challenges involve provincial or shared responsibilities. Considering this, scholars, organized interests, and informed citizens should pay closer attention to policymaking in the provinces and how their actions shape, and are shaped by, other actors. Unfortunately, as major sites of policy change, provinces have been largely understudied. In this broad paper, we show why and how provinces matter in designing and implementing policies that affect the everyday life of Canadians and the development of our economy and society in a changing world, particularly in a federal system characterized by recurrent tensions between Ottawa and the provinces. This paper will set the stage for the three other contributions to this panel, which focus on more specific issues such as public finance, the regulatory state, and provincial civil services, respectively.

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*Les États africains face aux entités infra-étatiques*

Plusieurs États apparaissent comme des agrégats d'entités qui ne ménagent guère leurs efforts pour afficher leur autonomie, parfois au détriment de l'État. Parmi ces entités infra-étatiques, les chefferies et royaumes traditionnels occupent une importance particulière. Ces systèmes traditionnels de gouvernance ont survécus à l'administration coloniale et à la naissance de l'État moderne. Ils continuent à jouer un rôle majeur dans les sociétés africaines sub-sahariennes constituées à près de 60% de populations rurales pour qui, l'allégeance aux structures traditionnelles de gouvernance est plus importante que l'allégeance à l'État qui, par ailleurs, a du mal à se projeter comme puissance publique au-delà des zones urbaines. Dès lors, on voit cohabiter, se superposer, ou s'affronter des structures administratives

étatiques et traditionnelles. Dans une approche systémique et stratégique, cette communication voudrait répondre à cette question : Comment les États africains négocient leurs rapports aux chefferies et royaumes traditionnels qui, dans certains pays, apparaissent comme de véritables sous-états dans l'État ? Il s'agira concrètement de mettre en lumière les rapports entre ces différentes entités administratives et surtout d'évaluer les différentes stratégies déployées par des États (par exemple Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Sénégal et Burkina Faso) à l'endroit des entités infra-étatiques. Lesquelles stratégies oscillent entre fédéralisme explicite et implicite, délégation, subsidiarité, indifférence, voire exclusion. Cette étude débouchera sur une acception fonctionnelle et dynamique de l'État tout en montrant comment son rapport à ses entités infra-étatiques influence la manière dont il se projette sur la scène internationale.

**Bailey, Christiane**

*Zoopolis: A Political Deconstruction of Animal Rights Theories*

A major appeal of Kymlicka and Donaldson's ground-breaking political approach to animal rights is the move beyond the necessity of having to choose between rights and relationships. Relational approaches to animal ethics (such as Palmer) do not challenge, but complement and improve traditional animal rights theory (ART). They resist the idea that what is owed to an animal is owed to all animals with similar capacities by acknowledging relation-based obligations toward different animals (domesticated, liminal, and wild). I will focus on the way in which *Zoopolis* avoids some of the flaws of traditional ART (1) by discrediting the phantasm of the wild animal leading its life free from human interactions and deconstructing false dichotomies such as autonomy/vulnerability; (2) by getting rid of the over-intellectualized understanding of moral agency (often confused with rational moral reflection); (3) by challenging our impoverished conception of animal agency and (4) moving beyond the parsimonious account of animal minds, limited only to sentience. Focusing on suffering makes it harder to secure the right to life and liberty – making us unable to express what is wrong with captivity and killing – and blinds us to the agency of animals – forcing us into the simplistic dichotomy between non-interference/domination insofar as we do not recognize the capacity of animals to co-author the rules of relationships.

**Baker, Dennis** (bakerd@uoguelph.ca)

*The Politics of Pardons: What the Prerogative of Mercy Teaches Us About Canadian Executive Power*

Two recent controversies have highlighted the power of the Canadian government to address the pleas for mercy from those convicted of violating its laws. First, in 2010, faced with the prospect that a notorious criminal would soon be eligible, the Harper Government revamped Canada's statutory process for granting pardons (now to be called "record suspensions") by expanding the discretionary authority of the National Parole Board to deny applications. Second, in 2012, Harper's Cabinet advised the Governor General to exercise the Royal Prerogative to provide clemency for a group of farmers who had been convicted of violating the terms of the Canadian Wheat Board Act. While some assume that the executive's clemency prerogative co-exists with the statutory pardon power only because the statute recognizes (and leaves untouched) the prerogative power, the dual track to mercy might be better understood as a compromise reflecting Canada's constitutional separation of powers. In this view, s.9 of the British North America Act, 1867 could render a statutory attempt to extinguish the executive's prerogative unconstitutional. Moreover, the continuing utility of the prerogative challenges the notion that that all "arbitrary" power is necessarily illegitimate. Instead, its usage reveals the deficiency of an overly strict application of the rule of law and the corresponding virtues of discretion prudently exercised.

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*The Daviault Dialogue: The Strange Journey of Canada's Intoxication Defence*

In 1994, the Supreme Court of Canada ordered a new trial for Henri Daviault, who had been convicted of sexually assaulting a 65-year-old and partially paralyzed woman, on the grounds that Daviault had been denied the defence that he had been so intoxicated that he could not form the minimal intent necessary to commit the act. The "drunkenness defense" attracted considerable public attention and, in response, Parliament swiftly amended the Criminal Code by enacting s.33.1, which disallowed the defence for violent crimes, including sexual offences. Scholars interested in the "dialogue" between the Court and Parliament were thus primed for a future case that would pit the Court's constitutional judgment against Parliament's modification of it by ordinary statutory means. Intriguingly, that direct conflict has yet to be resolved by the Supreme Court of Canada. Instead, lower courts have divided on the issue of constitutionality of s.33.1 (with Ontario judges generally finding it unconstitutional and Quebec courts upholding it), leaving the availability of the defence contingent on one's location. In two cases (Daley (2007) and Bouchard-Lebrun (2011)), the Supreme Court has used s.33.1 to arrive at their decision but without adjudging the underlying constitutionality of the section. The Daviault sequence demonstrates the complexities and subtleties that may arise from inter-institutional conflicts in a federal state, especially where institutions are internally divided and where actors are capable of indirect signals. This paper attempts to unpack the sequence and explain its significance for understanding the dialogue between Canada's institutional actors.

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*The Domestic Origins of the Regional Integration Norm: the Case of Latin America*

Latin America is at a critical juncture in its regional integration efforts. The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States was launched in late 2011 to forge cooperation in the Americas, except the US and Canada. This new entity comes into being in addition to a number of other regional integration schemes, what some people call an "alphabet soup of acronyms". This paper contributes to the debate on "norm diffusion" by exploring the domestic dynamics in support of regional integration. I argue that while the influence of the European Union on worldwide regional projects cannot be ignored, Latin American efforts are also explained by domestic factors and processes, such as: (1) the values and interests of politicians (on the Left and the Right) and high-ranking bureaucrats; (2) the long-standing

intellectual movement in support of Latin American integration; and (3) implicit and explicit efforts to come to terms with the past in the wake of colonialism, internal conflict, human rights violations, and state failure.

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*Political Authority and the Enigma of Godlikeness in Plato's Laws*

So-called "epistemic" justifications of political authority have recently resurfaced in mainstream political thought. Scholars who have examined the plausibility of these approaches have naturally felt obliged to look to Plato, often considered the most forceful exponent of "epistocracy" or the rule of the wise. Yet many of these treatments seriously distort Plato's views concerning the desirability of epistocracy, in large part because they overlook his sustained re-examination of this idea in the *Laws*. Long under-studied, the *Laws* investigates the good regime in the absence of superlatively virtuous and knowledgeable rulers. The *Laws* is therefore of special interest to the study of regimes such as our own which aspire to vest expertise with significant political authority while remaining deeply skeptical of political leaders. The dialogue poses a fundamental question for such regimes: how can knowledge maintain a superior claim to political authority where none possess the kind of expertise necessary for excellent political leadership? The paper examines the *Laws'* approach to this problem and argues that the solution Plato proposes depends upon the development of a special type of civic virtue. I suggest that the dialogue is an exercise in non-ideal theory-in the absence of sufficiently knowledgeable rulers, citizens are better off pursuing an ideal of self-government as a second best alternative. I therefore conclude that it is a mistake to read Plato as a straight-forward proponent of epistocracy. A more accurate rendering of his thought places him at the head of the civic republican tradition.

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*A 'Western Canadian' Democracy? Populism and the Evolution of Parliamentary Government in Canada*

For a growing number of Canadian political scientists, the current Harper government's rather unprecedented assault on some of the central democratic conventions within the parliamentary system represents a low point in the history of democratic governance in this country. Yet, much to the academics frustration, Harper's dismissal of many long established conventions crucial to the democratic integrity of the House of Commons occurs without any meaningful electoral reprisal and in fact the government has gained support while doing so. Of course, recent Conservatives success is due to a number of factors but I want to suggest in this paper that part of this is tied to an emerging "anti-parliamentary government" sentiment that is taking hold of large swaths of the citizenry. Distinct from the more oft-cited instances of general political malaise and citizen disengagement, this attitude is undeniably connected to long-running value changes that have been occurring across western liberal democracies over the past 4-5 decades, but also to the legacy of the Reform Party, whose western Canadian-based populist message, especially its inherently skeptical view towards traditional representative government within a Westminster Parliament, tapped into a growing sense of frustration felt by Canadians at the lack of meaningful avenues for political participation by citizens. This paper, part of a broader comparative project considering recent developments related to citizen representation and engagement in the world's "Core Liberal Democracies" explores the extent to which a "western Canadian" conception of democracy is overtaking a more traditional "tory" conception.

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*Form and Function: Ministerial Portfolios and the Changing Scope of Government in Canada and Australia*

The most commonly used measures for analyzing the scope of government are fiscal (eg public expenditure and revenue) or public sector employment based. Yet, budgets and public employment are both relative measures, which can be affected by exogenous changes. Indeed, a decrease in private economic activity without a corresponding government retrenchment could appear as a growth in the public sector, either in terms of the proportion of gross domestic product or proportion of total employment. In an attempt to find a more robust measure of government activity, our analysis investigates the changing scope of Canadian and Australian government using ministerial portfolios. Ministerial portfolios offer a number of advantages for both longitudinal and comparative analysis. They better capture the broad scope of government activity because portfolios indicate clearly delineated functions, whether finance intensive (eg treasury), law intensive (eg attorney-general) or personnel intensive (eg public sector management). Moreover, portfolio meaning is stable across time and political systems. Finally, by virtue of its institutional character, this measure smooths the impact of exogenous and short-term variables associated with fluctuations in other measures of government size. In doing so it better captures both the scope of government size and activity.

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*The Euthanasia Dialogue: Legislatures, Courts, and Public Opinion*

On many of the issues of "morality policy" that have recently loomed large on the public agenda of most western liberal democracies - e.g., prostitution, same-sex marriage, prisoner voting rights - courts (acting under various kinds of bills of rights) have typically played a substantial role, sometimes taking policy beyond public opinion in a liberalizing direction. Euthanasia, in the form of physician-assisted suicide (PAS), stands out as a dramatic exception. On this issue, courts around the liberal democratic world have thus far been remarkably cautious in the face of strongly liberalizing public opinion, generally deferring the issue to legislatures, which have themselves (mostly) lagged well behind public opinion. This paper undertakes a comparative analysis of the PAS "dialogue" between courts, legislatures, and public opinion in several western democracies, and asks whether new rounds of litigation currently underway might launch a new pattern.

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*Migration and Welfare State Spending*

This paper explores the relationship between patterns of migration and welfare state retrenchment, using a quantitative time-series cross-sectional analysis of OECD states. The paper includes several advances on past work in the field. First, rather than looking just at welfare spending generally, we examine spending disaggregated into subdomains (incl. unemployment, pensions, etc.). We are thus able to explore whether increased immigration leads to decreased commitment toward specific programs that are (or are perceived to be) more open to use by immigrants; or whether immigration is associated with a more general decrease in support for the welfare state. Second, rather than looking just at migration generally, we examine the effect of refugees as a proportion of migrants. Doing so allows us to examine the possibility that refugees have a particularly strong impact on support for social spending. Third, we take into account not just the structure of social welfare policies, but policies relating to immigration and diversity as well. We ask, for instance, whether multiculturalism policy moderates the relationship between migration and welfare state spending. Results suggest that the connection between diversity and support for redistribution is complex. In short, migration does not lead to a decrease in the welfare state generally - the impacts of migration are felt in specific programs, and in specific contexts.

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*Le Brésil et le BRICS: à la recherche des zones de convergence « à l'interne*

Depuis la fin du XXème le Brésil prône pour une nouvelle architecture mondiale qui puisse répondre au nouveau contexte économique et politique international. L'approfondissement des instances multilatérales – qui n'entre pas en contradiction avec une approche souvent bilatérale de la politique étrangère brésilienne – est devenue le mot d'ordre de la diplomatie brésilienne dans les plusieurs domaines aussi divers tel le commerce, la sécurité, l'environnement, les finances, etc. Dans ce contexte, l'émergence du BRICS ne fait que corroborer la stratégie brésilienne, qui s'en sert du groupement pour renforcer et élargir sa présence et son importance dans les principales instances décisives internationales. Bien qu'à l'externe on ne s'en doute pas des zones d'intérêts communs, on ne connaît pas vraiment les conditions à l'interne qui puissent générer les synergies et renforcer le groupement – qui, à présent, est loin de se convertir dans un bloc économique. Dans ce sens, notre but est d'identifier les zones de convergence/divergence à l'interne du BRICS - soit bilatérales ou multilatérales – qui puissent renforcer/diluer les liens entre les pays ainsi que les stratégies à l'externe, notamment dans les forums multilatéraux. Panel description: In 2001, economist Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs Group coined the term BRIC to describe the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. The BRIC acronym also signals a fundamental change in the world economy because it is expected that the sum of these emerging economies would outweigh that of the G8 in 2027. This fundamental change would initiate a dramatic change in the politics of international relations in addition to create a multipolar world. Whereas this forecast may prove to be exact, it is to wonder whether the BRIC is a coherent international organization designed to offer an alternative to the G8. The BRIC began its first meetings in 2009 in the aftermath of the economic crisis by advocating a greater participation of emerging economies in international financial institutions. The second meeting addressed a plethora of global problems creating specific forums of international finance-related agricultural problems. Since the meeting of 2011, South Africa joined the group which became BRICS and focused on economic forums and sustainable development in the fields of energy and agricultural. The last meeting held in New Delhi in 2012 focused on the creation of a Development Bank offering an alternative to the funding of traditional financial institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF. The panel will focus on the role of the BRICS and its ability to create a coherent organization able to implement common policies. It will seek to determine if the common objectives of its members can move in an articulate international organization or if national interests are too divergent to build a coherent organization such as the BRICS. Each speaker will present a country and its relation within the BRICS. First the speaker will outline the objectives his respective country establishes by joining the BRICS. He will then present his country's economic integration within the BRICS to show if the organization had an impact on the pace of integration in international trade. He will then detail how his country votes on UN resolutions to show if the BRICS is a cohesive organization when non-economic issues arise. The speaker will then conclude by answering the question about the nature of the BRICS: is it an empty shell or real organization? Each of the four speakers will have 15 minutes to present their respective country and a question period of 15-20 minutes will complete the session.

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*Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Sub-Regional Ethnic Minorities in the Aceh Conflict*

Secessionist rebel groups and their supporters are often motivated by a sense of exclusion, abuse, and assimilation at the hands of host states. But in waging sustained armed struggles and constructing their own ethnic nationalisms, they are often guilty of replicating the sins of their enemies towards local ethnic minorities. Groups speaking of some right of self-determination rarely consider granting the same right to their own minorities and tend to write-off local ethnic nationalisms in ways which mirror national leaders. This paper seeks to provide a deeper understanding of local ethnic minorities in secessionist conflicts. Based on ethnographic research, it looks at four ethnic minorities in Aceh, Indonesia. While over 80% of the population of Aceh is Acehnese, the province is also home to Javanese, Malay, Alas, and Gayo communities. In the recent secessionist conflict, each group displayed distinct reactions, however in the end, they largely resisted Acehnese secessionism and sided with Indonesian forces. I suggest that this is a lost opportunity for rebel leaders. Historically, Aceh's minorities have sided with Aceh in anti-colonial and Islamic struggles, and these groups shared many of the grievances against the Indonesian state. However the same ethno-nationalist project which united many Acehnese in the secessionist struggle served to push away non-Acehnese communities, leading to local ethnic clashes and continued tensions in the post-conflict era.

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*Other Political Animals: Aristotle and the Limits of Political Community*

In recent years the philosophical roots of the human-animal distinction have seen a resurgence of interest among political theorists, suggesting a possible sea change in how relationships between animals and humans are understood. Yet despite this interest, Aristotle's famous dicta that 'man is a political animal' and only 'beasts and gods' might live without politics persist as the most well-known statements concerning humans and animals and how they relate politically. Perhaps stranger still is that Aristotle's voluminous biological writings, in which the sense of these statements is qualified, have gone largely ignored by political theorists. How does reading Aristotle's famous definition of the human being change in light of his statements concerning humans and animals in his biological writings? How does this change relate to the recent debates concerning the relations between humans and animals? I begin with an examination of Aristotle's biological writings, noting the manner in which Aristotle formulates the similarities and differences between humans and animals in order to outline the 'material' necessary to shape what Aristotle will consider the best possible human being. I argue that Aristotle's formulation of the human-animal distinction suggests the possibility of a political community shared by humans and animals, based in their mutual capacities for sensation (aisthesis) and imagination (phantasia). However, Aristotle's hierarchy of capacities, with the semi-divine capacity of logos at the top, ultimately serves to block the possibility of a shared human-animal political community, validating instead a hierarchy between humans and animals that persists to this day.

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*No Sale: The Consequences of Retail Politics for Youth Voter Turnout*

The modern election campaign is a well-oiled machine. Campaigns are won by the smallest of margins, as result, strategists dole out goodies to woo market segments, and potential voters are identified well before the writ is dropped. However, few questions are asked when certain groups stay home—namely young people. Young folks are largely ignored inside the war room, and this has caused a dangerous spiral of disengagement, where those under 30 largely ignore elections. Our paper focus groups to talk to those young people who don't vote to learn why being ignored matters, and how strategists can bring them back.

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Roundtable : The 2012 Quebec Election : Perspectives on the Campaign and Outcome

The provincial election held in Quebec on September 4th, 2012, brought the Parti Québécois at the head of a minority government. Following a decade of power, the Liberal Party lost the election by only four seats, despite enduring high levels of dissatisfaction. A new party, Coalition Avenir Québec, is now the third provincial party with 19 MNAs. The election occurred in a particular context, following months of student protests against rising tuition fees (the « maple spring ») ; the incumbent premier, Jean Charest, himself framed the election as a way to solve this political crisis. Mobilization also brought more Quebecers to the polls, with turnout having been at its highest since the 1990s. As part of a large collaborative project about the 2012 Quebec election led by the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship, this roundtable will highlight some of the salient findings from this project. Participants will address the student mobilization leading up to this election, the media coverage of the electoral campaign, explanations of the outcome on the basis of a post-election survey and Vote Compass data, as well as a comparative analysis including other recent provincial elections in Canada. Chairs : Frédéric Bastien (Montréal) and Éric Bélanger (McGill). Participants : Pascale Dufour (Montréal), François Gélinau (Laval), Andrea Lawlor (McGill), Richard Nadeau (Montréal) and Brian Tanguay (Wilfrid Laurier).

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*L'usage du web social par les partis politiques au Québec. Le cas de l'élection québécoise de 2012*

Dès le référendum de 1995 sur la souveraineté, les organisations politiques québécoises ont été des pionnières dans l'utilisation du web à des fins partisanes et électorales. Du site web traditionnel, les partis politiques ont maintenant investi les médias sociaux et en particuliers les plateformes de partage de fichiers, de réseautage et de microblogue comme Youtube, Facebook et Twitter. Les quelques études réalisées au Québec sur ces présences partisanes en ligne indiquent que les partis politiques québécois, à l'instar des partis politiques ailleurs dans le monde, s'inscrivent davantage dans une logique d'information que de communication ou de coproduction. Bien que les outils du web participatif ont été conçus afin de faciliter l'expression des principes de rétroaction, de participation et de citoyenneté, l'usage qu'en font les partis tend plutôt vers une normalisation où l'interaction avec le citoyen est limitée. La situation s'est-elle transformée lors de l'élection de 2012? Cette communication répond à cette à partir de données tirées d'un vaste exercice d'analyse du contenu des présences des cinq principaux partis politiques (PLQ, PQ, CAQ, QS, PV) sur les médias sociaux lors de la dernière campagne électorale. L'analyse des pages Facebook, des chaînes Youtube des partis, de même que des comptes Twitter des chefs au cours des 30 jours de la campagne officielle, en portant une attention particulière à la gestion des commentaires et de la rétroaction avec les internautes, permettra de définir les principes qui animent ces usages.

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*Going Rogue: Why a Minority Government Might Choose to Prorogue the Legislature During Executive Transitions*

Proroguing a legislature is a drastic step that not only halts the legislative process but also often draws criticism from the opposition and the general press and public. If the prorogation is unexpected and done while the government is under strong attack, a compelling

reason is needed. This paper will argue that in times of minority government and executive transition, the government does have a strong case for prorogation. When a minority government enters a period of leadership transition, many of the government's high-caliber legislators will be away from the legislature as they test the waters for their leadership bid. This situation leaves the government open to a defeat, intentional or not. The consequence could be an election before the governing party has chosen a new leader. The decision of Ontario Premier McGuinty in October, 2012 to prorogue the Ontario Legislative Assembly will be examined. An assessment will be made of the importance of the two conditions mentioned above as well as the nature of the pressures on the government in the Assembly at the time of prorogation. Interviews with Liberal MPPs and staff will supplement the public discussions and justifications. A contrast will be made with the "legislative accident" that befell the Pearson federal government on February 19th, 1968. This paper will assess the importance of this event on the 2012 decision. Finally, this paper will contribute to our understanding of executive transitions in Westminster parliaments.

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*The 2011 Canadian Federal Election: Have the Canadian Parties Finally Made the Jump to Social Media?*

The advent of social media spawned a plethora of ideas and applications for political parties and candidates. Small (2008) and Smith and Chen (2009) have analyzed political party use of digital media in Canadian elections up to 2008. This paper adapts Small's framework in her evaluation of party websites in the 2004 election and extend it to include each party's digital media campaign via information dissemination, interactivity and voter involvement. During the 2011 election, the authors 1) generated an original database based on email subscriptions to each of the five largest parties' email lists and data collected on each party's use of YouTube, Twitter and Facebook and the electorate's response to these efforts; 2) analyzed reports by PostRank, a company that provides social media data; and 3) discussed digital media strategy with party staff. While this paper draws on the notion of 'informational democracy' (Jackson and Lilleker, 2009) and more generally political communications theory, the principal objective of this paper is to generate new data on the 2011 election. Like Ward and Vedel (2006), the authors question whether use of social media has been the means of 'conversation' between parties and voters or whether it is a new avenue of political marketing. Findings suggest that parties in 2011 tailored their digital media strategy to communicate with supporters and attract new voters; established more concrete media goals; and emphasized sharing party information rather than engaging in dialogue with voters and supporters.

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*Shared Learnings: Knowledge Mobilization to Northern Aboriginal Communities*

Researchers face growing pressures to ensure that their research findings are accessible to the Aboriginal communities participating in their research. Drawing on the available literature, this paper identifies five key 'promising practices' for knowledge mobilization to Aboriginal communities. The paper then moves to present the application of these promising practices in a Canadian case study. The paper argues that successful knowledge mobilization requires, among other things, establishing trusting relationships and following through with the research ethics and processes agreed to in the beginning, developing a good understanding of the community and its interests, and making deliberate efforts to adapt information to meet the community's needs in a practical and timely way. Simply put, researchers need to invest the time and effort needed to know how to work with their Aboriginal communities, respect their ways and tailor their research communications to that audience. It is about following through with commitments made prior to the research and giving back valuable information to the communities.

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*From the 'Nanny State' to the 'National Security State': Prime Minister Harper's Transformation of the Social Contract with Canadian Citizens?*

In the national election 2006, Stephen Harper's New Right Conservative Party formed a minority government. This was the beginning of a consolidation of a major political realignment in Canadian politics, one that was kick-started with the defeat of the Brian Mulroney Progressive Conservative Party, led by Kim Campbell, in the election of 1993. The Reform Party of Preston Manning, with its very different conception of federalism, benefitted from the collapse of the PC Party and managed to elect over fifty MPs, mostly from Western Canada. A decade later, Stephen Harper would take over the Reform Canadian Alliance and reconstitute it into a right-of-centre Conservative Party to challenge the Paul Martin Liberal Party in the election of 2004. The paper analyses the impact of Prime Minister Harper's 2006 victory. As PM, Harper had the power to carry out his long sought after goal to replace, one piece at a time, the competitive/cooperative federalism, which had been in place since the end of World War II, with a watertight compartment classical conception of federalism. PM Harper's determination to withdraw Ottawa's participating in a wide range of federal-provincial cost-shared programs and to shift the bulk of federal tax dollars into Ottawa's areas of jurisdiction is now well underway. This radical restructuring of the nature and scope of the role of the central government, from the 'Nanny State' to the 'National Security State', is in the process of transforming the 'social contract' between the Canadian government and its citizens. What impact will this Night Watchman state have on the way citizens perceive their national government? What impact will this dramatic shift have on national unity, that is, on Ottawa's ability to manage regional and interstate tensions within the federation?

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*Multiculturalism in the Media: The State of Public Debate in Canada, the UK and Australia*

The last decade has seen an explosion of literature examining the effects and prospects of increasing ethnic diversity arising from immigration in Western liberal democracies. However, there is a paucity of research that examines the research question for this paper: what are the sources and structures of support for multiculturalism and the policies aimed at accommodating diversity? In order to get a sense for the nuances and variation in perspectives on multiculturalism, this research will compare media coverage of multiculturalism from 1986-2011 in 4 countries: Canada, the US, Australia and the UK. This comparative analysis will provide a sense for the frames and discourses surrounding the topic of multiculturalism over time and cross-nationally. Print news coverage can be analyzed to look for patterns in the following three areas: 1) agenda-setting and salience in regards to multiculturalism, to see if there is variance in attention from the public and policy-makers; 2) framing effects to determine which attributes and aspects of multiculturalism are emphasized; 3) tone of coverage. The results of the media content analysis will inform the debates about multiculturalism in two ways. First, by comparing it with public opinion data, we may glean better understanding about how and why some countries have higher/lower support for multiculturalism. Second, by comparing it with the Banting-Kymlicka multiculturalism policy index, we may see how public discourses in the media are related to policy change. Overall, this will inform us about the complexity of perspectives towards multiculturalism and the feasibility of multicultural projects.

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*Harringtonian Civil Religion*

In the last few years, there has been a notable surge of interest in the themes of civil religion and the battle against “priestcraft” among historians of political thought. Examples include Eric Nelson’s *The Hebrew Republic*; Paul Rahe’s *Against Throne and Altar*; Jeffrey Collins’s work on Hobbes; Jonathan Israel’s work on the legacy of Spinoza; Justin Champion’s work on John Toland; and my own book, *Civil Religion*; as well as two recent edited books - *Political Hebraism* (edited by Schochet, Oz-Salzberger and Jones) and *Civil Religion in Political Thought* (edited by Weed and von Heyking). Within the intellectual space created by this recent scholarship, this paper will focus on relevant themes in the work of the one of the two thinkers who J.G.A. Pocock identified as most responsible for the “implantation of the values of civic humanism in English political thought” - namely, James Harrington (the other being the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury). The first half of the paper explores these themes in *The Commonwealth of Oceana*; the second half examines Harrington’s account of the Hebrew commonwealth (as he conceives it) in some of the post-Oceana works, notably the debate with Henry Ferne in *Pian Piano*.

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*Systematically Mapping Policy Change: Three Cases, Four Types of Explanation?*

Students of public policy devote a large part of their work to trying to explain policy change. To that end, scholars mobilize various concepts and factors (e.g., self-interest, path-dependency, paradigm shift and policy windows). Yet, partly because of the confusion in labels, lack of attention to rival explanations and insufficient explicitness of the causal chain, the result is not always entirely satisfactory. This situation can seriously impair communication between scholars as well as theoretical development. In *How to Map Arguments in Political Science* (OUP), Craig Parsons (2007) has developed a framework based of four types of political explanations, namely institutions, ideas, structure, and psychology. While the framework has given rise to a number of applications, there has been no systematic attempt to ‘test’ Parsons’ central claims that analysts should identify the types of explanation that characterize their case. In order to assess the applicability, utility and robustness of Parson’s framework to the analysis of policy change, we apply it to three cases of policy change selected to represent a range of policy sectors and countries: (1) the adoption of the Building Independence welfare reform initiative in Saskatchewan in 1998; (2) the development of the equalization program in Australia; and (3) the changes in the transportation biofuels regime in the U.K. after concerns about competition with food production reached the policy agenda. A discussion of the value of the framework for policy scholars and of using two or more types to explain cases of policy change will conclude this paper.

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*Reassessing Provincial Public Policy*

In recent decades, the role of the provinces in governance and policy development significantly increased, both compared to the role of the federal government and to the situation prevailing in other federal countries such as Australia and the United States. This is true because, in Canada, many of the economic, environmental, and social policy challenges involve provincial or shared responsibilities. Considering this, scholars, organized interests, and informed citizens should pay closer attention to policymaking in the provinces and how their actions shape, and are shaped by, other actors. Unfortunately, as major sites of policy change, provinces have been largely understudied. In this broad paper, we show why and how provinces matter in designing and implementing policies that affect the everyday life of Canadians and the development of our economy and society in a changing world, particularly in a federal system characterized by recurrent tensions between Ottawa and the provinces. This paper will set the stage for the three other contributions to this panel, which focus on more specific issues such as public finance, the regulatory state, and provincial civil services, respectively.

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*Biometric Borders in the Colonial Present*

This paper explores biometric data collection by coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan as a technology for governing the mobility of “risky” war-affected, populations. Recent years have seen a growth in population-centric operations among Western militaries, exemplified by the growth of cultural awareness programming and the Human Terrain System. Less has been said, however, about efforts to capture

the biological identities of Iraqi and Afghan peoples. It turns out that harvesting body data is a key dimension of efforts to divide the population between civilians and insurgents, while also serving as a general strategy of population management over life perceived to be potentially dangerous. This paper examines how these dividing and governance tactics intersect with strategies of racialization and racism at the global level. It asks how biometric borders are emerging not only as a ubiquitous frontier of the “war on terror” but also as sites of struggle and contestation in North-South relations.

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*It's the Economy, Stupid? Assessing the Implications of Economic Perceptions in Provincial Elections*

A robust literature examines the relationship between the economy and vote choice; researchers have found that the public's perceptions of the state of the economy often influence voter's propensity to vote for or against incumbent governments. The proposed chapter will build on the economic voting literature to examine the broader political effects of economic perceptions. Drawing on the CPEP survey data for all provinces, the analysis will explore the relationship between economic perceptions and the public's evaluations of incumbent leaders and governments, as well as evaluations of opposition leaders and parties, partisanship, and the public's overall satisfaction with democracy in the province. The CPEP data present a unique opportunity to consider the influence of economic perceptions; despite a larger economic downturn, there was considerable variation in provincial economic fortunes at the time of the 2011 and 2012 elections. In some cases (e.g., Saskatchewan), the provincial economy was robust; in other cases (e.g., Ontario), the provincial economy was experiencing distress. Further, discussions of the economy were more central to some election campaigns than to others. The results of this chapter will advance economic voting theory by considering not only the direct effects of economic perceptions, but also their indirect effects on leadership and government evaluations, among other variables. The chapter will also advance the understanding of Canadian politics by its consideration of the interrelation of economic and political evaluations at the provincial level.

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*A Canadian Plebeian Political Experience?*

Despite the prevalence of literature on democracy, few studies seriously attempt to engage popular conceptions of political practice. To fill this gap, my paper asks whether a plebeian experience of politics exists in Canada and Québec, presenting to an anglophone public francophone research, thus trying to bridge the two language solitudes. My study is inspired by Pierre Rosanvallon's approach to politics, which attempts to liberate democracy from an institutional reading. I intend, firstly, to identify two or three Canadian and Québécois political experiences in order to determine which political practices led to the creation of political spaces. Secondly, I will analyze these political practices to discover which are animated by “agoraphobic” or “agoraphile” attitudes. Finally, I will argue that this rediscovery could be construed as part of a wider strategy to consign to memory the lost treasures of a plebeian politics.

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*Racialized Candidates and Rainbow Coalitions: The Role of Social Identity Theory and Perceived Group Position*

There is a considerable amount of research on racial affinity effects, particularly for Black and Latino citizens, but little about whether affinity effects are limited to narrow ethno-cultural lines or can apply to broader racial minority status. This question is particularly important in Canada, where racialized populations are very diverse. Drawing on Social Identity Theory, the paper develops a theory of Motivated Social Positioning which suggests that, when possible, minorities will associate themselves with the high status group - in this case Anglophone Whites - rather than other lower status ethno-cultural groups. While there is evidence of this kind of social behavior, there has been little research on its political implications. The paper argues that minority citizens are likely to show a preference for white candidates over minority candidates from a different ethno-cultural background. In other words, the prospects for “rainbow coalitions”, on the basis of group identities, are poor. In addition, a preference for white candidates over a racialized candidate of a different ethno-cultural group may produce a systematic disadvantage for minority candidates, since in Canada they are more likely to be nominated areas that are diverse, rather than dominated by a single ethno-cultural group. The paper uses new data from a web-panel of 1500 racialized participants in Canada, which presents a hypothetical election and experimentally manipulates the race of one of the candidates.

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*Unveiling Neoliberal Trends in Elder Care: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden and Alberta, Canada Using a Feminist Political Economist Lens*

Elder care policies have become of growing interest amidst projections of the increased care demands and expectations for elder care. This paper uses a feminist political economist perspective to compare elder care policies in Sweden and Alberta, Canada. The content and process of elder care policy interacts in important ways with political, economic, social, and historical contexts. Moreover, elder care policies in both contexts are being reshaped by neoliberal trends such as marketization, privatization, refamilialization, and the medicalization of elder care; paving the way for similar elder care health and social policy directions in Sweden and Alberta, Canada. These neoliberal trends are critiqued by identifying the absence of care ethics and accompanying values. An ethic of care is therefore presented as an approach to provide new perspectives with transformative potential for elder care policy development as it provides a theoretical basis from which to challenge the status quo, and, in particular, current neoliberal trends.

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*Locating the Migrant Citizen: Seeking a Decolonized view of Status*

Is it possible to envision a decolonial view of the term of status? Status holds distinct meanings within a colonized nation-state space. It determines sets of inclusion and exclusions, differing degrees of belonging, and categorizations of distinction. With the intensification of the colonial nation-state and consequences of greater regulation of borders, the criteria for determining status is being re-written. How status operates as a political rallying call within migrant justice communities and indigenous communities is an important comparison to make. Various contemporary migrant activist groups in Canada have developed multiple sites of coalition organizing. These strategies compel these organizations to view the lives of migrants in multiple sites, labour, domestic, urban and political, and also mobilize across a variety of social justice movements. In the past few years this breadth has included coalition building between indigenous rights and migrant rights. At the outset the idea of immigration and resettlement practices within the Canadian state are produced through a logic embedded in a legacy of colonization. While the question of Status remains central to the politics of migration; so to does the formulation of Status maintain a particular resonance in the politics of indigenous/settler relations. This paper addresses the need to examine the possibility of a decolonized use of the terms of Status. How would this visitation of the concept of Status challenge the claims making processes for citizenship and possibly shift the terrain of debate.

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*Between Here and There? Pre-Migration Socialization and Newcomers' Views on the Role of Women in Society*

About two thirds of immigrants settling in Canada nowadays come from countries where gender inequalities are prevalent. Yet, we know little about how these immigrant women and men integrate into the political system of their host country, and whether their political integration is structured by these pre-migration experiences with gender inequalities. What are the views of these immigrants about the role of women in society? Are their views structured by pre-migration political socialization? How enduring is this impact? Is the impact more enduring among immigrant men or women? This paper sheds some light on these questions by examining immigrant women and men's values about the role of women in society. The paper relies on a unique survey of recent immigrants in Canada conducted as part of the 2006 Canadian section of the World Values Surveys, thus allowing us to compare immigrants' views on the role of women in society to those of other Canadians and those of people still living in the country of origin. This paper contributes to a better understanding of the dynamics of political socialization and immigrant integration.

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*Province Building Through Immigration? Provincial Public Opinion on the PNPs*

a Henderson (Edinburgh) Over the last 15 years, all provinces have started to play an increasing role in management of immigration through the Provincial Nominee Programs. As a result, provinces are now active players in the field of immigration (Paquet 2012). These bilateral agreements with the federal government, however, are often signed without much visibility and media attention, with the results that we do not know the extent to which the public in each province is aware of the role played by their provincial government in the management of immigration, whether they are supportive of such a role, and what are the motivation behind public opinion support for such agreements. In this paper, we provide a preliminary answer to these questions by investigating the state of public opinion toward the PNP in all ten provinces. More precisely here, we examine whether support for a strong role of the province in the management of immigration is associated with a desire to strengthen the province's general stature within the Canadian federation. This will allow us, in short, to investigate the issue of public opinion for "province-building", something that has too often been neglected in the literature. More generally, we will also examine the variation across provinces on these questions and what might account for such variation.

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*Understanding the Impact of 'Gender' in Election Studies*

Research in political behaviour has for some time pointed to the existence of a 'gender gap,' between the political attitudes of men and women. Men and women diverge in their attitudes on many political issues, including foreign policy, social welfare spending, and crime and punishment. With this focus on the differences between women and men in political survey research, it is important to better understand the underlying assumption: that women and men form two distinct groups which can be isolated and analyzed. Furthermore, this research assumes that the biological difference of sex is synonymous with the socially constructed concept of gender. Especially in quantitative analysis, the two concepts are used interchangeably, and scholars do not carefully consider the important distinctions between sex and gender. Gender research asserts that in fact, gender is not dichotomous, but more closely reflects "a continuum of norms and behaviours socially constructed, socially perpetuated, and socially alterable" (Mackie, 2). Understanding gender as distinct from sex, and assessing attitudes and values accordingly may provide new insight into the 'gender gap.' Using data gathered during four provincial elections in Canada, we compare the traditional variable of 'sex' with a new variable that measures gender as a continuum, in hopes of better understanding the gender gap in political attitudes.

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### *Understanding Vote Choice When Electors Have Two Votes*

The paper introduces a model of electoral choice in a mixed electoral system when voters cast two votes, using survey data collected at the time of the 2010 North Rhine Westphalia election. Our objective is to understand contamination effects between list vote and local vote. To account for the endogeneity of both vote decisions, we develop a simultaneous equations model for multinomial data, estimated with limited information maximum likelihood. We contrast the estimates against those obtained when neglecting to model the endogeneity of outcome variables. We find stronger evidence of the local vote being contaminated by the list vote than the other way around. We also look at the impact of political sophistication. We find that the better informed are more likely to cast a split ticket.

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### *The Civic Duty to vote over time and the Spanish Economic Crisis*

To solve the so-called “paradox of voting” scholars have suggested a D term, that is, many persons vote because they feel it is a citizen’s duty to vote in a democracy. Yet we know little about the nature and sources of civic duty. A common assumption is that this is a stable and strongly held belief (Blais 2000). Thus, it precedes and explains electoral behavior and it is not a posteriori rationalization of the respondent. We propose to empirically test this assumption, and to determine whether or not an economic crisis can, in addition to weakening support for authorities and institutions, erode citizens’ sense of civic duty. In this paper we use data of a four wave online panel of young Spaniards the economic crisis (2010-2011). We use these data to ascertain how stable duty to vote is and we test the explanatory power of anchoring factors such as political socialization and personality. Finally, we test a fixed effects model to analyze the impact on civic duty of a set of perceptions about the economy, authorities and institutions. The findings of this study will be valuable not only for the literature on the determinants of voting, but also with respect to our understanding of the political consequences of economic crises.

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### *Turnout among immigrants: new insights on the role of political socialization, life cycle effect and social background*

Migratory background is a relatively novel factor in electoral research (e.g. Bird et al. eds. 2010; Weide 2011; Xu 2005). Electoral participation is an indicator of societal incorporation among immigrants. As a consequence, the study of turnout among immigrants provides new insights about the role of factors such as political socialization, life cycle effects and social background. The study is based on individual-level register data from the Finnish municipal elections of 2012, from those electoral wards that utilise an electronic register of voters (n=app. 330 000) combined with indicators from the Population Register Centre. In Finland, foreign citizens living permanently in the country have been entitled to vote in municipal elections since 1992. Our analysis addresses the following research questions. First, which minority groups are most prone to become politically excluded? Second, does length of residency have a mobilizing effect on turnout among immigrants and are the participation rates considerably higher among naturalized citizens compared to resident foreigners? Third, does the timing of immigration in the life cycle influence participation? Finally, is the impact of socio-demographic and -economic factors on voting among immigrants parallel to that of native voters? The results will be contrasted with findings from the Danish municipal elections of 2009 (Bhatti and Hansen 2012).

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### *The uploading of national policies during EU Council Presidencies: The Cases of France and Sweden*

What are the conditions for successful uploading of national policies at the European level, when a country holds the Council Presidency? In this paper, I look at policy uploading by focusing on the period during which an EU member holds the Council Presidency. By concentrating on this, I seek to understand the conditions shaping the successful uploading of policies. In the literature, scholars point to the ability of the Presidency to manipulate the agenda, bargain, and how this may vary across states. Most of the scholars who have looked at countries holding the Council Presidency and their behaviour have used the rational choice approach, pictured the state as a unitary actor, and discussed the issue as a one-level game taking place at the European level. In this paper, I supplement the work of these scholars by examining the dynamics taking place both at the national and European levels and how they interplay, and by integrating literature on governance and policy transfer. I draw on the concept of policy capacity and look into the choice of policy instruments for explaining the success a country may have in the uploading of domestic policies and its efficiency in using the Council Presidency for this purpose. In order to look at the conditions for success, I compare two presidencies: the 2008 French Presidency and the 2009 Swedish Presidency. For each of them, I look at success and failure cases.

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### *Creeping Parties: The rise and fall of MP power 1990-2010*

How big a role do political parties play in structuring intentional and collective forms of behaviour? How much power do individual members of legislatures have, and how has this power changed over time as a result of political parties? In the Canadian case, little attention is given to these questions among current scholarship. However, the recent period is one in which the power of the MP has fluctuated significantly, and this has important implications both for Canada and comparatively. This paper seeks to explain why we should expect a more dynamic power structure between MPs and parties than that which is normally expressed in most literature on the Canadian Parliament. It will also provide evidence to show that a more dynamic power structure than the one that is conventionally described is what actually exists. It will use illustrative examples to show that MP power increased notably in some parliamentary venues beginning late in the 20th Century. It will also outline why those gains have virtually disappeared early in the 21st Century. The primary purpose is to

provide a broad theoretical account of why we should expect MPs to expand their power as individuals within certain parliamentary settings, and to explain what role parties play not only in facilitating innovation by individual elected members, but also in being the ultimate beneficiaries of that innovation.

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*Accounting for the NDP's Orange Wave in Quebec: Mass Media, Leadership Debates, and Campaign Polls in Canadian Elections*

The 2011 Canadian election represents a significant shift within the Canadian party system as it marks the point at which the New Democratic Party (NDP) formed the Official Opposition for the first time in Canadian history. As surprising as this result was, the biggest surprise of all was that the NDP's success came as a result of a sudden "orange wave" in Quebec; a province where the NDP has never had much electoral success. The reasons for this surge remain somewhat unclear, yet continue to receive scholarly attention, and we seek to contribute to understanding the reasons behind the party's electoral success - relatively speaking - in that election. Using data from the 2011 Canadian Election Study and media sources, we argue that Jack Layton's leadership and his media and debate performances play a larger role than have been suggested in previous scholarship. Findings suggest a stronger impact based upon specific events and public responses in the chronology of the campaign.

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*The Last Days of Winter: The Impact of Climate Change on Home and Belonging*

This paper examines the ways in which climate change is destabilizing our sense of home - a figure of thought that frames and orients our experience of geo-social place. Climate participates in the creation of home by setting the background tempo of everyday life. It establishes benchmarks in terms of what type of weather to expect at different times of the year and mediates our relationship with place. It inflects, animates and sometimes alters landscape and it both fosters a sense of comforting familiarity and continually enacts change, lending a reliability and evolution to home. This paper argues that climate change challenges home by throwing off the base tempo of life and lessening the predictability of the seasons and of weather patterns. It is rendering untenable the ways in which we have adapted our behaviour and habits to these phenomena. Climate change is further destabilizing home by speeding up and making visible once imperceptible physical changes to our environment - the erosion of coastal areas and the break up of glaciers. The deterioration of our material surroundings has become an increasingly threatening reality. Adaptation - both pragmatic and psychological - to these changes will become more and more difficult due to the accelerating pace and vast scope of the alterations. As climate change progresses home will be increasingly destabilized and perhaps even impossible to reestablish.

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*How to build a representative sample for an online quasi-experiment: The case of Vote au Pluriel -- Quebec*

Inferential statistics depends heavily on the presence of a representative probabilistic sample. However, the rise of online survey where self-selection is the norm has brought new challenges to researchers interested in generalization outside the available data. This paper looks at the specific case of Vote au Pluriel -- Québec where an intense and systematic campaign of media presence has been put in place to maximize the representativeness of the sample, especially among rural and Anglophone communities. These media interventions have provided exogenous stimuli that have mobilized audiences of each given media outlet. We measure the efficacy of this strategy and discuss implications for future online surveys.

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*Promoting International Development through Corporate Social Responsibility: CIDA's New Partnership with Canadian Mining Companies*

A recent trend, as evidenced in the creation of the UN Global Compact in 1999 (which aims to bring together businesses, governments, and civil society), has been to emphasize the role that businesses can play in promoting sustainable development. It follows a concurrent emphasis on the importance of ethical business behaviour and corporate social responsibility (CSR). In Canada, this is exemplified in a recent public-private partnership between the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), three mining companies, and NGOs to deliver development projects through the companies' CSR initiatives. The Canadian government has pledged \$6.7 million to the project, out of a total of \$9.7 million (Carin, 2012). This new partnership poses serious questions about the role, if any, governments should be playing in promoting and financing the overseas CSR projects of multinational corporations based in their countries. This paper analyzes this policy, arguing that it represents a worrying privatization of development, raising questions of accountability, oversight and long-term development outcomes. It considers the theoretical implications of conceptualizing development (and the practices of development) through the lens of private enterprise, thereby contributing to recent debates within development studies. The paper will employ qualitative methods, drawing primarily on secondary sources, including documents that have been released about this new partnership (by CIDA, partner NGOs, and the mining companies). It will also draw on theoretical insights from development studies and postcolonial theory. As such, this paper is related to my wider research interests, which focus on the role of CSR in developing countries.

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*Negative Campaigning in a Multi-party System: Assessing the Impact of Party Competition through the Swiss Natural Laboratory*<sup>12</sup>

These last years, the topic of negative campaigning, especially outside the US, has attracted growing attention in political science literature. Standard theoretical models of the phenomenon assume that the party lagging behind in the polls is more likely to engage in such a

strategy (Skaperdas and Grofman, 1995; Harrington and Hess, 1996). However, this explanation, originally developed to fit the US context, is hard to adapt to European multi-party political systems. In this paper, we argue that the absence of a clear operationalization of the concept of a party winning an election in multi-party settings has led scholars to conclude that there is no competition-effect on negative campaigning in this context (Elmelund-Præstekær, 2010, Walter, van der Brug, & P. van Praag, forthcoming). To gain further and more detailed insight, this paper considers various operationalizations of party competition and applies them to the natural laboratory of Swiss politics, where government's appointments are not directly dependent on legislative electoral results. The data for this investigation was gathered within the framework of the Making Electoral Democracy Work project and includes party manifestos, newspaper ads, letters to the editor, and press coverage of about 30 party entities for a period spanning from three months before the 2011 cantonal elections in Zürich and Lucerne and before the federal election held the same year. The analysis is complemented from semi-direct interviews with campaign managers.

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*Analyzing the Legislative Evolution and Institutional Effectiveness of the Ontario Environmental Commissioner, 1993-2012*

As one of the Ontario Legislative Assembly's independent officers who reports to the House through the Speaker, the Environmental Commissioner has been responsible for upholding the Environmental Bill of Rights for almost two decades. Upon enactment in 1993, the Commissioner has acted independently from the government, serving as Ontario's "watchdog" for environmental issues. As issues such as climate change, resource availability, and sustainable energy development continue to draw attention of scientists, the media, and the public, we will examine the performance of the Environmental Commissioner. Has the Office been successful in meeting the mandate described in the original Environmental Bill of Rights? Environmental statutes have been amended over this period and they have changed the Bill of Rights. How have these changes affected the way in which the Commissioner performs his duties? This paper will analyze the evolution of these changes to the original act and explain how they have affected the way in which the Commissioner acts. Supplementing the written record, this paper will be based on a number of personal interviews. These include the commissioners themselves, the members of the panels that selected the commissioners and the legislators involved in formulating the original Bill and in changing the legislation afterwards. The paper will explain the institutional changes and evolution of gradual transformation by building on the work of Streeck and Thelen, *BEYOND CONTINUITY: INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN ADVANCED POLITICAL ECONOMIES*.

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*Putting the Apolitical into Question: A Critique of Fullness in the Work of Charles Taylor*

The familiar tensions between western secular societies and their religious minorities have been a recurring concern in Charles Taylor's work. He sees a possible mitigation of such tensions through dialogues based on openness and solidarity. However, individualism prevalent in the modern liberal state hinders projects of social unity based on common principles, which would strengthen a plural society. Taylor turns to the concept of fullness as constitutive of a space where solidarity can arise and from which individualism and community can be reconciled. Taylor has left ambiguous his definition of fullness, which reflects the nature of the concept itself as something that must eschew articulation. This paper will argue that Taylor's use of fullness, while a genuine attempt to achieve unity and solidarity in the modern liberal state, is flawed because it is a deeply personal experience that eludes a general definition. Taylor thus undermines the unifying notion he was seeking by suggesting that the experience of fullness reflects a universal need to believe in some form of transcendence, thus weakening the unity that he intended to foster among all forms of belief and unbelief. This discussion of fullness raises questions about the western conception of secularism. For example, can beliefs and personal convictions play a role to open dialogue across cultural and religious communities? Could a different perspective on the separation of religion and politics open the way for such a role? Is secular language truly restrictive of any dialogue that involves some notion of transcendence?

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*The Politics of Police Image in Argentina*

Like many police in Latin America, the police in Argentina do not have a positive image. They are popularly viewed as violent, corrupt and incompetent. Human rights organizations and journalists provide compelling evidence to support such impressions. Police need to be held accountable. Yet, effective policing relies in part on people's confidence in the police. That is, police also need to be viewed as legitimate. The Argentine Federal Police devote significant resources to external communications including the funding of a radio station, TV program, website, and magazine. Establishing the appropriate balance between police accountability and legitimacy is important for democracy and democratization. This paper uses the literature on police communications to analyze police communications in Argentina and, most importantly, the issues it raises for legitimacy and accountability. The analysis draws on extensive interviews conducted in Argentina in 2009.

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*Cost-effective drugs: ideas and policies in Australia, the UK and Canada*

A common refrain in health reform is the need to get "value for money" and this is especially pressing in the increasingly costly area of pharmaceuticals. Australia, the UK and Canada are leaders in one option regarding value for money in pharmaceuticals: the economic evaluation of drugs, where experts assess the cost of drugs relative to their therapeutic benefits, and make funding decisions on this basis. Australia was the earliest adopter of this tool in the 1980s, and the UK and Canada introduced programs in 1999 and 2002, respectively. While these policies aim to provide a neutral, evidence-based approach to drug coverage decisions, they have still prompted controversy, particularly when there is a potential for decisions to be overruled by politicians wary of limiting access to popular drugs. This paper compares systems for cost-effectiveness analysis of pharmaceuticals in these three countries and asks why they were created and how they

have affected policymakers' ideas about pharmaceutical management and expenditure control. It draws on a preliminary set of expert interviews and secondary sources to determine whether cost-effectiveness analysis was adopted for similar reasons in each country, despite the differences in timing, and whether there is evidence of cross-national learning in the policies' development. This investigation is the first step in a larger study of how ideas about cost-effectiveness analysis of drugs have affected policymakers' response to a changing policy environment for pharmaceuticals. It builds on earlier work concerning the constraining effect of elite ideas on public policy.

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*Decorum Inside the Ontario Legislative Assembly*

In the study of Canadian legislatures, decorum during question period has been subject to much study and debate. Observers usually believe that the level of decorum is declining as our legislators appear to be exhibiting higher and higher levels of hyper-partisanship. However, most scrutiny of these trends has been carried out on the House of Commons. This paper extends this analysis to the Ontario Legislative Assembly. This will be done by analyzing the written record in Ontario's Hansard. We will give special attention to such things as the naming of MPPs and the use of unparliamentary language. We made special note of fluctuations over time. This study will supplement the written record by interviewing individual MPPs. They will be asked to evaluate the level of decorum and to suggest ways decorum can be increased. The latter is very important because we cannot expect better behaviour by legislators unless the legislators themselves accept the need for reform of their own behaviour. Hopefully this paper will not only add to our scholarly understanding of parliamentary decorum but also contribute to its actual improvement.

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*Security and Freedom of Movement in Foucault's Lectures on Governmentality*

Global inequality is considered to be one of the root causes for international migration. In this context, an ethical debate on open borders has ensued, centering on whether the right of free movement should be added to the stock of human rights enjoyed by individuals. The most promising ethical case for open borders and freedom of movement has been made from a liberal egalitarian perspective, where restrictions to mobility are only marshaled when there is a direct threat to state security. From the liberal-egalitarian perspective, security and freedom of movement are understood to be contending claims in need of balance. In this paper, I show that an alternative relationship between security and freedom of movement is available in Foucault's lectures on governmentality. By exhuming a governmental conception of security and freedom of movement, I argue that they exist in a relationship of complementarity, interdependency and augmentation. The upshot of this claim is that freedom of movement becomes integral for the deployment of security mechanisms, and ceases to be an opposing consideration that can restrain the pursuit of security. The history of immigration in Australia that culminated in the MV Tampa crisis of 2001 serves as example that demonstrates this point. At different junctures in Australia's immigration history, free movement has proved to be instrumental for pursuing the goals of security, and therefore occupied a subservient position to security.

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*Yearning for a progressive research program of Canadian foreign policy*

In his seminal 1970 work on methodology, Imre Lakatos suggested that some research programs could become degenerative when the work of scholars in a particular field of study failed to be theoretically and empirically progressive. According to Lakatos, a degenerating research program is characterized by a reinterpretation of actual content-decreasing knowledge that is either theoretically or empirically deficient. This paper tries to assess in what way the study of Canadian foreign policy in the last 20 years can be characterized as either a progressive and degenerative research program. I argue that the evolution of Canadian foreign policy as a coherent research program has produced mixed results. On the one hand, there is strong tendency of scholars to engage in 'policy' relevant debates, either directed toward policy-makers or for media consumption, that seldom offer any theoretical or empirical weight. To some extent, this strand of scholarly work on Canadian foreign policy has become degenerative and stale. On the other hand, as an epistemic community, we have developed a strong, although overly Canadian-centric, tradition of theoretical thinking on the determinants of foreign policy-making in Canada. This strand has been theoretically progressive, and offered interesting debates on numerous issues. Nevertheless, our capacity to properly 'test' our theoretical assumptions has been limited, especially with respect to large-N studies. Thus, there is serious work to be done on the empirical level to elevate Canadian foreign policy into a serious progressive research program.

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*Challenging the linguistic divide: The French-fact outside Quebec and the Iraq war*

Much of the literature analyzing Canada's societal specificity with respect to foreign and defence policies issues has maintained that there is a significant divide between Quebecers' public attitudes vis-à-vis those of Canadians outside Quebec. It is not clear however what specific factors shape the varying degree of these attitudinal differences. For example, some have argued that Quebecers' attitudinal preferences are strongly influenced the "French Fact" that is, their linguistic, Francophone particularity. Alternatively, some have suggested that the linguistic divide between the French-speaking majority in Quebec and an English-speaking majority in the rest of Canada is not a sufficient condition for opinion formation. Do Québécois hold distinctive opinions on matters of international security because they are francophone or because they have been socialized within a provincial identity that informs their particular preferences on specific policy issues? To assess the respective influence of language and regional identities on public attitudes pertaining to foreign and defence policy, we compare French-speaking communities outside Quebec with French-speaking Quebecers with respect to the debate surrounding Canada's participation to the Iraq War of 2003. Our analysis of leading Francophone and Anglophone newspapers (La Presse, Le Devoir, Montréal Gazette, L'Acadie-Nouvelle, Le Moniteur Acadien, the Telegraph, L'Express, Le Régional, the Toronto Star, La liberté, and Winnipeg Free

Press) demonstrate the importance of regional identities vis-à-vis linguistic divides with regards to the war in Iraq. The paper concludes by highlighting some theoretical and policy implications of the findings, as well as avenues for future research.

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*Présentation 1 : 10 ans de lobbying au Canada : les secteurs de politiques publiques et l'implication différenciée des groupes d'intérêt*  
Cette présentation examine les données du registre canadien des lobbyistes afin de déterminer si la mobilisation des groupes d'intérêt canadiens varie en fonction des secteurs de politiques publiques. Depuis la parution de *The Semi-Sovereign People* (Schattschneider, 1960), les recherches ont confirmé que le système américain des groupes est toujours caractérisé par la domination des intérêts économiques (Scholzman et Tierney, 1986). Toutefois, les politologues ont aussi montré que les groupes d'intérêt public sont devenus des acteurs politiques incontournables (Berry, 1999). En plus, selon l'école néo-pluraliste, la compétition entre les intérêts de toutes sortes est dans une phase croissante (Gray et Lowery, 2000). En revanche, on sait que l'implication des différents types de groupes divergent fortement selon les enjeux et les secteurs d'activité (Browne, 1990, Baumgartner et Leech, 2001). À ce jour, aucune enquête élargie sur la question n'a encore été menée au Canada. Un examen sommaire des données du registre des lobbyistes permet tout de même de formuler une première hypothèse de recherche qui demeure à confirmer : alors que certains secteurs sont marqués par l'implication de nombreux groupes d'intérêt, d'autres secteurs semblent dominés par un nombre restreint de corporations et d'organisations économiques, certaines d'entre elles étant même en relation continue avec les ministères et organismes fédéraux. Dans cette perspective, la présentation propose d'analyser l'implication des groupes dans les dix secteurs d'activité qui ont généré le plus grand nombre de campagnes de lobbying entre 2000 et 2010. Autres panélistes : 1) Stéphane Pageau 2) Stéphanie Yates

**Bourque, Mélanie** ([melanie.bourque@uqo.ca](mailto:melanie.bourque@uqo.ca))

**Quesnel-Vallée, Amélie** ([amelie.quesnel-vallee@mcgill.ca](mailto:amelie.quesnel-vallee@mcgill.ca))

*Cost-shifting and barriers to health insurance*

The past three decades have seen a plethora of health systems reforms. Service integration, merger of institutions, decentralization and public-private partnerships are only a few examples of these reforms. However, few comparative studies have assessed the impact of these reforms on access to care. The presentation aims to understand the impact of cost-shifting reforms and of regulation of private health insurance (and care). At the end of the presentation, it will be possible to identify the presence or absence of a link between the development of individual and structural barriers to public services and privatization of health care. This comparative study will focus on the evolution of health care in France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Finland, Quebec and Ontario between 1990 and 2010. More specifically it will focus on general medicine, specialized medicine and access to diagnostics testing (MRI, mammography&hellip;).

**Bowden, James** ([jbowden@uottawa.ca](mailto:jbowden@uottawa.ca))

**Lagassé, Philippe** ([philippe.lagasse@uottawa.ca](mailto:philippe.lagasse@uottawa.ca))

*Reining in the Prerogative Power of Dissolution: Fixed-Election Laws in the United Kingdom and Canada*

This paper will compare the Fixed-Term Parliaments Act, 2011 of the United Kingdom to the federal and provincial fixed-election laws in Canada. That British statute has eliminated the executive Crown prerogative power on dissolution and transferred it to the legislature. Parliament will now dissolve itself. Contrary to popular belief, the Canadian laws have done no such thing; Prime Minister Harper certainly did not "break his own law" by advising the early dissolution of the 39th Parliament. All the federal and provincial statutes on fixed-elections in Canada deliberately preserve the prerogative power of the Crown to dissolve, which Governors exercise on, and except under extraordinary circumstances, in accordance with, the advice of First Ministers. All the federal and provincial statutes contain a non-derogation clause in order to by-pass the constitutional amending formula contained in section 41 (a) of the Constitution Act, 1982. Since the statutes do not truly limit or constrain the prerogative power of dissolution, the inefficacious Canadian laws serve only to impose "contrived conventions" of ethical obligations on how the First Minister uses prerogative. In fact, only a proper constitutional amendment could legally limit or eliminate these executive prerogatives, and no statute or constitutional amendment could limit the power of the First Minister to advise dissolution without necessarily also limiting the Governor's power to implement that decision. This project will build upon my thesis on the prerogative, statutory, and constitutional powers of the Crown and respond primarily to Heard's scholarship on fixed elections and constitutional conventions.

**Bowie, Ryan** ([rbowie@yorku.ca](mailto:rbowie@yorku.ca))

*Theorizing a Resurgent Rights Praxis in Environmental Management by Indigenous Communities in Canada*

This paper will explore the concept of Indigenous resurgence to develop a theoretical framework for examining Indigenous environmental governance and management initiatives in Canada. A growing number of Indigenist scholars and activists advocate for the resurgence of Indigenous nations based on cultural traditions and their inherent right of self-determination. Resurgence is premised on a strong awareness and critique of ongoing colonial relations, as well as the articulation of alternatives that are rooted in the traditions of Indigenous communities. A significant argument emerging from the resurgence literature relates to the problem of state-centric approaches to reconciling Indigenous rights. Reconciling Indigenous rights in Canada through recognition and inclusion in state institutions still maintains the colonial relationship in which Indigenous rights and practices are reconciled, or made congruent, with the institutions of the broader Canadian polity. The resurgence model shifts the praxis of rights from reconciliation within the largely unchanged institutional structure of the state, to self-driven initiatives that find their logic and authority from within Indigenous nations themselves. Thus, rather than transforming Indigenous communities, the resurgence model aims to transform colonial relations by reasserting continuity with cultural and political traditions. It is the argument of this paper that the theoretical framework of Indigenous resurgence is necessary for

both a critique of federal and provincial approaches to the question of Indigenous rights in lands and resource management, and an understanding of environmental management initiatives by Indigenous communities in Canada.

**Bradford, Neil** (bradford@huron.uwo.ca)

*The New Localism: A Canadian Stock-Taking*

Over the past two decades, there has been considerable scholarly attention and policy debate about the “New Localism”, involving the devolution of power and decentralization of responsibility away from central governments to various local actors and organizations - street level bureaucrats, municipal authorities, and community-based networks. Across the OECD countries, the “local turn” has been accompanied by considerable controversy, both normative and empirical. What are the motivations or drivers of such decentralization? Are the institutional capabilities ‘in place’ locally to deliver on the promise of greater autonomy? What is the appropriate role of central governments in enabling constructive local action? How can effective multilevel governance work to align the interests of policy actors from different jurisdictions and scales? The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, to take intellectual stock of the “New Localism” mapping the range of policy fields where it has been applied, examining competing scholarly perspectives on its causes and consequences, and identifying key principles and practices to inform a “Progressive New Localism” built around the idea of “platforms of policy co-production”. Second, the paper brings Canada more fully into international debates about the New Localism. Much of the existing research and analysis emanates from Europe and the United States. Yet, the New Localism has found expression in Canada, albeit along a more incrementalist and episodic trajectory than elsewhere. The paper will provide Canadian case examples in several policy fields and review a growing body of applied Canadian policy research supporting the New Localism.

**Bramwell, Allison** (allison.bramwell@utoronto.ca)

*Civic Coalitions and Community Capacity: Bringing Canadian Cities In to the Urban Regime Debate*

Canadian urban governance dynamics have largely been left out of comparative urban political economy debates yet increasing analytical attention suggests that they are worthy of further investigation. The paucity of ‘home-grown’ theories of urban politics, however, has stimulated lively debate over the applicability of urban regime theory, the dominant paradigm in urban political economy, to the Canadian case. While some emphasize the constraints of federal and provincial policy dominance overlaid with weak local capacity, others underscore novel forms of governance emerging between local governments, business and other organized community-based interests as evidence of political agency in Canadian city-regions. This study explores the urban regime debate in Canada as a precursor to cross-national comparisons of urban political economy. We examine the organization of societal interests and the politics of coalition-building in Ottawa, Kitchener-Waterloo, Toronto, and Hamilton, finding substantial variation in agendas, configuration and performance. Business organizations with close linkages to local government in Waterloo and Ottawa demonstrate the capacity for strategic collective action on economic development issues but exclude other societal interests, agendas and resources. Of the more broadly inclusive civic coalitions evident in Toronto and Hamilton, only the Greater Toronto Civic Action Alliance has been durable over time and can claim notable success in the areas of poverty reduction, immigrant settlement, and community economic development. Variation across the four cases underscores the limits of regime theory in explaining urban political economy in Canada as well as the need to expand the analysis to include broader theories of urban governance.

**Breton, Charles** (cbreton@interchange.ubc.ca)

*National Identity and its Impact On Attitudes Towards Immigration and Multiculturalism*

Is national identity an inherently restrictive force or is it possible that some national identities act as an overarching identity that includes newcomers? Past research in Europe and in the U.S. points to the former. However, one of the long-standing explanations for Canada’s success with immigration has been the central place played by immigration and multiculturalism in its national identity. This paper tests the possibility that some national identities might represent an inclusive force. It does so through a survey experiment conducted in Canada (n=1500) where respondents’ national identity was primed before answering questions on immigration and multiculturalism. It shows that contrary to previous results obtained in the Netherlands, priming Canadian identity does not increase anti-immigration attitudes. It also highlights the importance of the priming strategy as well as the need to pay attention to the normative content of national identity when comparing across contexts.

**Breux, Sandra** (sandra.breux@ucs.inrs.ca)

*Local Political Parties in Canada : a matter of Context ?*

In Canada, municipal politics is characterized by a unique specificity: It distinguishes itself not only from other levels of government but also from municipal politics in the United States and Europe. This may be largely attributed to the Canadian local political parties. On the one hand, these parties have a relatively small presence in the municipal scene. On the other hand, in addition to maintaining no partisan ties with the upper levels of government, they are often poorly organized, apolitical and of a short life-cycle. Yet, despite these drawbacks, the number of local political parties has been on the rise over the past years, while voter turnout has tended to stagnate, if not decline in some municipalities. In that context, the objective of our paper is to highlight the current pertinence of Canadian local political parties, namely by examining their origin (influence of the Progressive Reformers, in particular on the notion of political competition), the legislation governing them (more specifically in terms of financing) and above all the contemporary municipal context. Our objective is to identify the specificity of Canadian local political parties in comparison with cases encountered in Europe (including the UK) and the United States.

**Brock, Kathy** (kathy.brock@queensu.ca)

*Fettering Ministerial Discretion through Judicial Fiat*

Significant social change is rarely secured through the courts acting alone as Gerald Rosenberg observed years ago. For courts to be effective agents of change, they require political cooperation in implementing reforms, legal precedents, broader public support, among other conditions. Even if these conditions are met, the “court’s contribution, then, is akin to officially recognizing the evolving state of affairs” (Rosenberg 1991). However, two recent decisions in Canada’s courts, the Supreme Court *Insite* decision (2011) and the BC Court of Appeal *Carter* decision (2012), suggest that the courts may be playing a leading role in changing both the political process and its outcomes in fundamental ways. The *Insite* decision fundamentally altered the scope of ministerial discretion and the *Carter* decision built on the legislative framework outlined in *Insite* to introduce a significant policy shift. This paper examines the ramifications of those two decisions for the operation of the Canadian political system. The first section outlines the *Insite* decision and explains its implications for ministerial discretion in future. In that decision, the Supreme Court set down guidelines for the exercise of ministerial discretion that limit the extent to which ministers can exercise policy choice. The second section explores the use of that decision in the *Carter* case to demonstrate the use of the Supreme Court’s logic. The third section of the paper draws out the meaning of the two decisions for political decisionmaking. Has the Supreme Court boxed itself into advocating the introduction of assisted suicide in Canada through its own logic? Is the *Carter* scheme for introducing this significant shift in end-of-life care appropriate? Is ministerial discretion limited to the peril of good policymaking in Canada? Or is the Supreme Court, and now the BC court, merely “recognizing the evolving state of affairs”? The answers yield insight into the evolving relationship of Canada’s executive and judicial branches as well as the future state of policy as the Supreme Court prepares to respond to *Carter*.

**Brossier, Brent** (marie.brossier@pol.ulaval.ca)

*Familial transfer of political power in Africa: the formation of Republican Dynasties*

My proposal addresses the emergence of Republican Dynasties in Africa (Togo, Gabon, RDC, Senegal) and seeks to unveil how new forms of political systems have emerged in the recent years legitimating the transfer of political power from Father to Son in a Republican framework. This research presents three major goals: 1) First of all, investigating the transfer of political power from father to son in Africa, this comparative study intends to open up a new set of questions regarding the use of family as a new pattern for legitimate governance in Africa. 2) In addition, the research aims to enlighten the crucial paradox between the re-traditionalization of leadership by African political leaders to legitimize their personal position in a regional and international context. 3) Finally, this analysis seeks to go beyond the study of ethnographic cases and continental literature and to expand the literature on democratization processes and on the hybridization of political regimes mixing democratic frame to authoritarian practices. The key subject of this research is to evaluate the role and sources of legitimacy and authority of political leaders who are implementing a familial transmission of political power. How does the formation of presidential dynasties shape new forms of political regimes? By questioning processes of legitimization and institutionalization of those regimes, this paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the formation of the state and democratization processes in Africa.

**Brown, Drew** (atbrown@ualberta.ca)

*"Masters of our own House": Newfoundland Neo-Nationalism after Confederation with Canada*

This paper will explore the development of neo-nationalist ideology in Newfoundland and Labrador post-Confederation in 1949. Following the theoretical frameworks of Benedict Anderson and Slavoj Žižek, it will argue that contemporary Newfoundland Nationalism was a product of, and response to, Premier Smallwood's program of modernization and Resettlement in the 1960s and 1970s, and that its further development as a political ideology has broadly followed the trajectory of class politics in NL. Nationalism is conceived here as both a 'neurotic' response to social trauma (e.g. Resettlement, the collapse of the cod fishery, etc.) and as ideological support for political and economic elites (e.g. Premier Williams' Atlantic Accord dispute with the federal government, Premier Dunderdale's proposed hydroelectric developments in Labrador, etc.)

**Brown, Drew** (atbrown@ualberta.ca)

*The Weight of Injustice: The Oppression of Fat People in the Contemporary West*

Employing the social and political ontology of Iris Marion Young, this paper evaluates the claim as to whether or not fat people are subject to oppression on the basis of their weight. It establishes clear criteria for what constitutes oppression (exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence), as well as a compelling epistemological argument for the need to evaluate claims of social justice at the level of social groups. Based on an evaluation of the evidence, it can be concluded that fat people are subject to the systematic forms of oppression Young describes.

**Bryan, Bradley** (bwbryan@gmail.com)

*Borderless bodies: Learning from the Rise and Denouement of the Corporation*

When we speak of the rise of capitalism we seldom think of it as the beginning of a new era where corporate bodies could take on an identity that allows them spread transnationally. While agreeing with the other panelists about the hidden import of phenomena such as post-Keynesianism and the Occupy Movement, this paper examines the rise of a particular kind of global citizen implicated in the holding of properties and territories in and beyond borders: the corporation. Drawing on the work of Agamben and Kantoriwicz, the author asks after the genesis and descent of the idea and practice of “a corporation sole” rooted in medieval theology to its transformation into the practices of modern corporate governance. Tracing the transformation of “King’s Two Bodies” as an “apparatus” the paper examines the extent to which the corporation has transformed politics, and with it the borders and ecology to which it belongs.

**Burke, Lisa** (lisamarburke@gmail.com)

*Critical Humanitarianism*

Reflexivity has been a politically salient term since Lapid used it to describe the contribution and nature of the 'Third Debate' in International Relations theory. What it means has been contested and deployed to achieve different analytical insights. This paper focusses on the role of reflexivity in analyses of humanitarian assistance and the tension between the norm of altruism and the profit-seeking organizations that are becoming a larger player in the delivery of aid, particularly in post-disaster situations. Max Horkheimer is used to explore the tension between the normative structure that legitimizes altruism, i.e. providing assistance to those in need, and the changing material conditions enabling the provision of aid. His use of reflexivity, as articulated on his essay on the distinction between traditional and critical theory, highlights the growing disparity between norm and practice. It also highlights both the Janus-faced nature of capitalism and its role in the creation and transformation of networks of praxis. Rather than immediately condemning the creation of these potentially new globally linked markets through insertions of capitalism, this analysis seeks to highlight the negative and positive impacts of the assistance.

**Burke, Lisa** (lisamarburke@gmail.com)

*The Certainty of Uncertainty*

Risk Management is offered to corporations, governments, regulatory bodies and non-profit agencies as a means of minimizing uncertainty. It emerged as a result of certain corporate accounting and reporting practices. Practitioners have recently defined risk as the impact of uncertainty upon objectives. Application of this diligence has become synonymous within government and corporate circles with due diligence and sober second thought. The utilisation of this discourse creates a language and political reality that the application of risk discipline will ensure that all that can be done to produce an 'adverse event' such as the BP oil spill, or the post-earthquake nuclear cascade failure in Japan. It facilitates a governance structure built on managing the future, based on a set of orthodoxies defining the scale of likelihood and consequence. This paper explores the political significance on this reliance upon this epistemology to govern political uncertainty, particularly in the Third World. There has been a shift in concepts from underdevelopment to risky when conceptualizing the non-western World. This is attended by key indicators such as warnings about specific countries, the impact of environmental disasters upon vulnerable areas outside of the West and other potential disasters that are portrayed outside of the boundaries of the modern advanced sovereign state. The construction of the boundary between the less risky and high risk areas has become more porous, which highlights the ineffectiveness of the discipline in maintaining the boundaries between the first and third worlds.

**Byrne, Siobhan** (scbyrne@ualberta.ca)

*Women and Political Transition in Afghanistan*

Stretching into a second decade, Afghanistan's post-invasion period is marked by an unprecedented discursive emphasis on 'women's empowerment' by stakeholders in the war and reconstruction. As occupying forces withdraw over the coming years, feminist IR scholars are faced with the urgent question of what difference 'gender awareness' (see UNDP Gender Mainstreaming Manual, 2007) made to the lives of women. The Afghanistan invasion occurred on the heels of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in 2000, which mandates women's inclusion in conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding. A concern for women's empowerment was implicated from the start, with a gendered justification for invasion (see Sjoberg 2011, Shepherd 2006) and an emphasis on women and girls in international aid and development, like the UNDP Afghanistan Project. Transnational peace groups, like CodePink (2010), also enlisted the support of local women's groups. While the Taliban's fall was expected to improve women's lives, today women face political intimidation (Joya 2009) and increasing violence (Afghanistan Human Rights Commission 2012). Surprisingly, Afghanistan has yet to develop a plan to implement UNSCR 1325, which has kept women out of recent efforts to bring the Taliban back into the political fold. Drawing on new interviews with transnational advocacy networks, international gender advisors and other stakeholders, I evaluate the impact of the discursive emphasis on women's empowerment on the lives of women. This paper draws on the contributions of feminist IR scholars and contributes new empirical research and analysis to the peace and post conflict and transitional justice fields.

**Cameron, Maxwell** (Max.Cameron@ubc.ca)

Other Roundtable Participants: Anthony Sayers and Pablo Policzer (Calgary) and David Moscrop at UBCWe are interested in the ways in which complexity in systems generates emergent properties that shape and constrain the purposes, intentions, and choices of agents. We take up the challenge posed by complexity for our understanding of causality, explanation, and ethics. Through the discussion of such complex political systems as federalism, the separation of powers, the organization of coercion, and mass media, we show that the actions of agents within these systems cannot be understood in terms of conventional notions of rule-governed behavior, response to incentives, or the individual pursuit of rational self-interest. Instead, drawing on recent work on cognitive neuroscience, virtue ethics (phronesis, or practical wisdom), complex adaptive systems, we discuss the contributions that can be made by narrative approaches to causation, holistic understandings of systems, and ethical decision-making that involves judgment, empathy, instinct, and intuition. Cameron discusses the separation of powers as a system of governance designed to tap into the practical wisdom necessary to legislate and adjudicate the rules of the game in politics. Rather than a system of checks and balances, he interprets constitutions as systems for coordinating collective action around the use (production and interpretation) of texts. Similarly, Anthony Sayer will discuss how the evolution of federal systems in Canada and Australia has generated emergent relationships among key institutions that no longer fit with the formal rules of these institutions. Pablo Policzer will explore the evolution of the police, a core state institution, as a complex, adaptive system. David Moscrop will discuss the brain as a complex system that serves as an interpreter that rationalizes and explains the world and what we do or think we do, but is often quite wrong and a source of bias in political opinion; he uses this to make sense of the role of media and mass communication.

**Cappucci, John** (jcappucc@connect.carleton.ca)

*The Outlawed Outfits: The Concept of Religious Freedom and Islamic Dress in Canada*

In both the historical and contemporary context, Canada has been perceived as a nation that is not only home to a myriad of different religious groups, but a land where individuals can freely and legally express their religion without intervention or imposed limitations from the government. This popular depiction and recognition of Canada as a land of religious liberty and tolerance no longer seems to be applicable with the recent restrictions on the Muslim-Canadian women with regard to traditional religious attire, namely the niqab or the face cover and the burka or the all-enveloping dress. This paper explores the numerous recent decisions by both federal and provincial governments to limit Muslim-Canadian women from wearing certain types of traditional religious dress during certain events and times, such as during citizenship ceremonies, testifying in court, or seeking and receiving public services. This recent trend of imposing limitations on certain types of so-called "un-Canadian" clothing demonstrates a growing level of intolerance towards Muslim-Canadians. The paper contends that these restrictions on dress are not only unacceptable limitations placed on an identifiable religious group, but are also against past cases where certain controversial religious traditions and practices were intensely debated in various political spheres, but were eventually permitted to continued rather than being subjected to forms of religious restrictions.

**Carbonneau, Jean-Rémi** (jrcarbonneau@yahoo.ca)

**Desrochers, Mélissa** (melissa.desrochers@videotron.ca)

*Printemps québécois : polarisation politique et mobilisation populaire*

Au printemps 2012, le Québec a été secoué par un mouvement de contestation historique. Initié par les étudiants s'opposant à l'importante hausse des frais de scolarité annoncée par le gouvernement libéral de Jean Charest, le mouvement a pris des proportions inattendues. Cette communication cherchera à comprendre comment cette grève étudiante a pu déboucher sur la mobilisation populaire de milliers de citoyens et (re)politiser une génération. En nous appuyant sur le concept « d'enjeu de brèche » - wedge issue (Wilson et Turnbull; Dumouchel; Bowman; Taylor; Martin), nous chercherons à démontrer que le gouvernement libéral, a utilisé la hausse des frais de scolarité à des fins (pré)électorales et stratégiques. Les stratégies d'intransigeance, de mépris et de division déployées et reprises par les médias convergents de masse, ont contribué à polariser la société québécoise sur l'enjeu des frais de scolarité. Cette « politique de brèche » a aussi eu l'effet d'échauffer le mouvement : elle a radicalisé la protestation et contribué à élargir la mobilisation vers un nouveau projet de société, dépassant la hausse des frais de scolarité (défense du modèle social-démocrate québécois issu de la Révolution tranquille; critique de la démocratie représentative libérale et des institutions politiques; refus du néolibéralisme et des politiques d'austérité). Au moyen d'une recherche documentaire (déclarations officielles, entrevues, articles de presse, essais publiés, actes de mobilisation et activités militantes), nous analyserons la teneur des discours antinomiques pour démontrer que la stratégie du gouvernement libéral a alimenté la contestation et la polarisation au printemps dernier.

**Cardinal, Linda** (linda.cardinal@uottawa.ca)

**Gaspard, Helaina** (helaina.gaspard@uottawa.ca)

*The Harper Language Regime and Official Language Minorities in Canada*

Over the course of three terms, Harper governments have initiated decisions and managed a court ruling with important ramifications for official language minority communities (OLMCs). The expiration in 2013 of the Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality's programs and funding; the changes to the collection of census data causing concerns among experts and notably the Commissioner of Official Languages on implications for the vitality of and service to OLMCs; and the ruling in *Desrochers (CALDECH) v. Department of Industry Canada* [2009] which required differentiated services for OLMCs all merit closer attention because they can help us to understand the effects of Harper governments on OLMCs. We argue that Harper's approach to official languages aligns with the minimalist and comprise-based tendencies of the Official Languages Act (1969) rather than the 1988 Act rooted in the logic of language rights. Basing our argument on a review of the government's (in)action in the areas of funding and service provision for OLMCs, this paper asks: What have been the effects of Harper governments' decisions for OLMCs? What do these decisions indicate about Harper's language regime and its effects on the regional voices of Canada's OLMCs? Using the concept of language regime-characterized by functional, symbolic and legal-political elements (Cardinal 2012)-this paper seeks to make an empirical contribution by developing a state of affairs of OLMCs under Harper as well as a theoretical contribution by discussing whether the Harper government's approach to official languages is indicative of important changes within the Canadian language regime.

**Carmichael, Adam** (adamcarmichael@hotmail.com)

*Race and Assimilation: A Comparative Study of Doukhobor and Indigenous Residential School Policy*

This paper examines the complex relationships and intertwined histories of racialized peoples and Indigenous peoples in Canada through a case study of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors' residential school experience of 1953-59. Although the Doukhobors are usually seen as a religious minority, here I argue that, like Indigenous peoples, Doukhobors are a racialized people whose conflicts with the state are partially captured by framing their experiences as 'racial' exclusion. But also like Indigenous peoples, the case of the Doukhobors exposes the limitations of thinking of 'race' abstracted from the colonial history of Canada. This study examines two government commissioned reports - the Report of the Doukhobor Research Committee and A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies - survivor testimony and archival materials, to illuminate similarities between the cases, but also significant differences. I argue that the Doukhobor residential school experience is tied to a postwar focus on securitizing difference and an emergent ideology of assimilation based on welfare state citizenship. This postwar assimilation project diverges from the prior civilizational goal of 'Indian' residential schools, yet perpetuates assimilation through its own distinctive form of neo-colonialism. This paper seeks to illuminate the nature of that distinctive postwar assimilationist project.

**Carrier, Krystel** (krystel.carrier@rmc.ca)

**Eichler, Maya** (mayaeichler@gmail.com)

*Engendering Two Solitudes: Media Representations of Women in Combat in Quebec and the Rest of Canada*

This paper draws on feminist theory to investigate the gendered meanings given to women's combat participation in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The war in Afghanistan marked the first time that women served in frontline combat arms positions, and saw the first female Canadian Forces (CF) member killed in battle. Female soldiers made a significant contribution to the combat mission, women in combat arms positions made up eight percent of female CF members deployed to Afghanistan (Carrier, 2011; Carrier, 2012). The paper builds on our earlier research into "combat femininities" in English-language print media, which showed the predominance of a representation of women as equal and 'genderless' warriors (Eichler 2012). Drawing on print-media analysis, this paper compares how women's new warrior role has been represented in Quebec and the rest of Canada. In particular, we are interested in whether the "conventional wisdom of an anti-military sentiment present in the province of Quebec" (Rioux, 2004) manifested itself in the representation of women in combat. Are there significant differences in how the media in Quebec and the rest of Canada portrayed women warriors? And how might they be linked to different attitudes towards the military and the waging of war across the two solitudes? We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for issues such as the recruitment of minority populations into the CF. This paper makes a unique contribution to recent scholarship on the two solitudes in Canadian defence policy (Roussel and Boucher, 2008) by exploring one of its gendered dimensions.

**Caruana, Nicholas** (ncaruana@uwo.ca)

*Are Citizens' Assemblies Worth the Effort? Evaluating Whether Deliberative Democracy is Value-Added*

What added value do Citizens' Assemblies bring to the process of electoral reform? Governments may consider creating such assemblies because they are frequently praised for the transparency and remarkable citizen participation they bring to an electoral reform process. Little is known, however, about whether those qualities-typically absent in elite-driven reforms-actually have independent effects on the quality of democracy after the reform process is complete and regardless of its success. Given that many reform attempts have been unsuccessful in recent years, this could be an important consideration in deciding whether to keep using this format. If the democratic legitimacy of citizen-driven reforms helps to reduce distrust in democratic institutions independently of implementation, then such processes have a distinct benefit that elite-driven reforms do not. In this paper, I develop a theoretical framework for evaluating whether an unsuccessful electoral reform process can still have an effect on the quality of democracy, and go on to compare elite-centric and citizen-centric reform processes to determine whether the latter in fact has a democratic advantage over the former. Italy's electoral reforms in 1993, Britain's attempts at reform within the last decade, and British Columbia's 2003 Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform will all be examined to show what, if any, value is added by using deliberative democracy to contemplate reform of electoral institutions.

**Cassatella, Andrea** (andrea.cassatella@utoronto.ca)

*Beyond indivisible unconditionality: sovereignty in the thought of Jacques Derrida*

This paper articulates Jacques Derrida's view of sovereignty and indicates its relevance for contemporary debates. Critically engaging a long tradition of political theology, Derrida shows that sovereignty has been understood as an unconditional and indivisible power of self-determination that has a theological origin and animal features. In particular, sovereignty is a force of reason that places the sovereign, like God and the animal, outside the law, a position from which philosophical, legal and political determinations are imposed. I argue that by emphasizing the non-oppositional relation between reason and force that characterizes sovereignty and by severing the connection between indivisibility and unconditionality, Derrida clears an analytical space for thinking about sovereignty beyond traditional political theology. His view does on the one hand, exposes the fragility of philosophical and practical determinations that seek to establish indivisible limits between man and animal, what is political and is not political. On the other hand, it shifts the focus of inquiry from sovereignty as a pure concept to impure notions such as translation and division, which are always involved in the battle for sovereignty.

**Castagner, Marc-Olivier** (mcast058@uottawa.ca)

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*Save the Arctic ☐ : Reproducing Exclusions Through Resistance Discourses in Defense of Mother Nature*

Inspired by the thoughts of Hegel, Marx and Heidegger on the relation that human beings have with their natural surroundings, this paper proposes a re-reading of the discourses and practices of environmentalist movements, self-proclaimed "resistance" to current neoliberal globalization and industrialism. Specifically, this paper looks at the case of the ecological calls to take seriously the Arctic ice cap melting. Taking the issue further than conventional military-strategic or logistical-economic analysis of the issue, the paper claims that the various discourses and practices of resistance by the main ecological movements, indebted to the assumptions of "nature" as teleological ecosystems, are intrinsically promoting their own "biopolitical" alternative. Despite the fact that their vision of "management of life" is inspired by darwinian theory and concepts such as "tipping point", "terra-engineering" or "bioconservatism" instead of a security logic, it nonetheless helps reproduce through their appeal to "risk" and "sustainable development" regional exclusions and global capitalist logics that they contest. Through a genealogical and deconstructive method shedding lights on the unquestioned truth of "ecosystems", and through an extensive discursive analysis of the current calls (from the 2008 Arctic Ocean Conference and on) made by the main environmentalist organizations (such as Greenpeace and World Wildlife Fund) to take the ice cap melting issue as an endangered "equilibrium", this paper offers a critical stance on mainstream environmentalism, as well as contributing to interdisciplinary thoughts between critical IPE, security studies and political theory.

**Cattapan, Alana** (cattapan@yorku.ca)

*Risky Business: Surrogacy, Egg Donation, and the Politics of Exploitation*

The 1989 Order in Council establishing a Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies marked one of the first times that surrogate mothers and egg donors were recognized by the federal government as potential subjects of public policy. In the years that followed, the policy debates worked to reinscribe widely-held assumptions about surrogate mothers and egg donors; namely, that surrogacy and egg donation are inherently exploitative (Overall 1993), requiring women to take (money and) unnecessary physiological and psychological risks in exchange for their reproductive labour (Busby 2010; Yee et. al. 2007). Surrogates and donors themselves were almost never consulted in this policy process, and when the Assisted Human Reproduction Act was passed in 2004, payment for both surrogacy and egg donation were criminalized. Drawing on legislation, interviews with key actors, policy documents, and grey literature, this paper traces the emergence of the “exploited subject” in public policy on assisted human reproduction in Canada. In doing so, it identifies how the discursive frames employed in the policy debates assumed and ignored the interests of surrogate mothers and egg donors, resulting in a policy regime that presumes exploitation while putting donors and surrogates at increased risk of harm.

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*Blaise Pascal as a Political Thinker*

This paper will explore the implications for political theory of the thought of Blaise Pascal. It argues that his critique of Descartes is actually a critique of modern political philosophy, by virtue of modern political philosophy's being based on Cartesian epistemology. In Descartes' conception, reason acts autonomously and without reference to faith, intuition, or other belief-forming faculties. Autonomous reason, as it is subsequently referred to, thereby provides universal principles of truth and justice. Hobbes, moreover, based his principles of justice on autonomous reason. The ability of reasoning that provided them was, in his system, made possible by an act of reasoning itself. This made reason autonomous by ridding it of all nonrational factors, but also made him vulnerable to Pascal's criticism of Descartes, which was that due to the frailties of human beings and the very nature of logical thought, reason ultimately depends on and is validated by pre-rational intuitions and desires. Pascal's epistemology, then, can be understood as a critique of the enlightenment project of discovering universal and rational principles of justice. In rejecting autonomous reason, however, Pascal does not thereby embrace relativism. His aim was to demarcate the limits of reason by distinguishing between truths known through the heart and those known through reason. The knowledge of the heart is logically prior to, and becomes the foundation of, reason.

**Chapelas, Katrina** ([K\\_Chapelas@hotmail.com](mailto:K_Chapelas@hotmail.com))

*Constructing Identities: The Case of the Concerned Residents of the West End*

Within political and social theory it is increasingly argued that our identities are both a social construct-produced, at least partially, through the reflexive interaction of individuals and groups-and, a structural condition shaping the opportunity sets available to different people within society. Yet, it is the contention of this paper that the interaction of these two qualities remains under theorized. It argues that the intersection between (1) urban demographic shifts and (2) collective action involving the strategic deployment of identity as a means to achieving particular symbolic or material goals provides a fruitful focus for the exploration of our identity systems. That is, it provides a particularly useful site for the analysis of the identity hierarchies that shape the opportunities of particular groups and the impact of reflexive human action upon these hierarchies. To help develop this claim, the paper explores an instance of collective action representative of this intersection: the campaign undertaken by the Concerned Residents of the West End, a Vancouver community association, to push street level sex-work out of its neighborhood. In demanding that the sex-workers be moved elsewhere, CROWE emphasized that the values and identities of the 'true' residents of the West End were fundamentally incompatible with the presence of street level sex workers, yet the terms in which they characterized the residents of the West End were very different from the demographic realities of the area.

**Chien, Yi-Chun** ([yichun.chien@utoronto.ca](mailto:yichun.chien@utoronto.ca))

*What do we owe to migrant domestic workers? Rethinking the ethics of immigration in East Asia context*

During the neoliberal phase of globalization, migration patterns have increasingly become feminized, and the consequences of this shift in East Asia have raised new questions that have not been adequately addressed. Approximately 1.4 million women have migrated from Southeast Asia to the industrialized countries of East Asia as domestic workers; however, their employment as domestic workers reinforces the hegemony of patriarchy-rearticulated with gender and ethnicity playing-and helps reinforce patterns of economic dependency that highlights greater fundamental questions of global economic justice. Thus, feminized migrant labour raises questions on the intersection between globalization, human rights and liberal-democracy. In this paper I will examine these issues from a comparative, and a theoretical approach. Utilizing a comparative method, I intend to conduct research among the policies of two major labour-importing newly industrialized countries in East Asia: South Korea and Taiwan, which share similar cultural backgrounds, labour market structures and demographic pressures. Nevertheless, variations exist between their policies. I will explore whether the differing emphasis put on maintaining an ethnically and culturally communitarian notion of liberal democracy has affected the policy-making in these countries. From a theoretical perspective, I will explore whether if Asian schools of political theory, which emphasize communalism and emotions, can coexist with liberal notions of justice. I will examine whether it is feasible to articulate an Asian model of just treatment for migrant domestic labourers as an alternative to Western model.

**Chung, Melissa** ([galabuzi@ryerson.ca](mailto:galabuzi@ryerson.ca))

*Reconsidering the relationship between indigenous peoples and racialized immigrants in contemporary Canada: A critical review*

The paper will explore some of the current tensions between Indigenous and newcomer relations in Canada's urban centres and provide recommendations for future research, government policy, and grassroots organizing. It engages the strict separation of two debates

surrounding identity, citizenship, and belonging—one revolving around the immigrant and the other around Indigenous peoples. To break down the barriers separating these two debates, this paper will explore what the nature of the relationship is between immigrants and Indigenous peoples through a review of the literature using a decolonized anti-racist framework. Immigrant discourses, rooted in multicultural integration have tended to render Indigenous peoples invisible in the way Canada is imagined and diversity is mediated. But a new politics of solidarity requires us to unsettle the insider/outsider, minority/majority, Indigenous/settler, and black/white binaries and build dialogue and cross-cultural collaboration, anti-racist activism and scholarship grounded in the understanding of Canada as still colonized. This review will assess the relevant discourses with a view to better understand the current status of Indigenous and newcomer relations in Canada as a basis for that solidarity.

**Clancy, Peter** (pclancy@stfx.ca)

*Shale Gas: Challenges of Social Licensing in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia*

Over the past five years, shale gas development has become the most controversial and politically volatile segment of the hydrocarbon industries. After germinal confrontations in traditional petroleum producing jurisdictions on both sides of the border, the shale gas battle has extended to greenfield jurisdictions like New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the two Maritime provinces with significant gas-bearing shale deposits. This paper will explore the range of policy issues raised by the prospect of shale gas development in new shale jurisdictions. The working hypotheses for this paper are as follows: i) the shale gas segment is a distinct sub-sector of the hydrocarbon energy industry and shale gas business relations must be assessed sui generis; ii) the first wave of shale gas exploration and production, occurring in the 1990s and early 2000s, was characterized by rapid expansion across the largest shale gas formations at a time when state jurisdiction was fragmented and dedicated shale gas policy capability was thin; iii) the compound social disruptions (rig and well locations, surface water withdrawals, industrial water management, well integrity, groundwater contamination, gas escapement at wellhead, pipeline and vehicular infrastructure stress, rural land values, localized illnesses) associated with the rise of this new 'industry' has created a political legitimization crisis of the first order; and iv) the establishment of a 'social license' through a dedicated shale gas regulatory regime with new levels of public transparency offers a possible way forward.

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*What's in a name? Questioning the homogeneity of 'open government' programs across seven countries*

No longer restricted to Access to Information laws, the digital age has expanded the bounds of "open government", ushering in a range of new avenues by which the public sector can become more accessible to the public. The fifty-seven country strong Open Government Partnership (OGP) suggests that consensus on the value of digital era open government is emerging. However, a survey of initiatives across OGP members reveals that open government is hardly a homogenous phenomenon. Some countries stress the commercial value of open data programs. Others seek to counter corruption and waste. Still others emphasize digital consultation, coproduction and social media. Yet, despite the diverse aims and tools characterizing digital era open government, authors typically approach the subject as a cohesive unit of analysis, making sweeping—and generally non-empirical—claims about its implications, without accounting for the homegrown flavours that characterize open government in practice. Differently, drawing on the results of content analysis of open government policy documents in seven OGP member states (Azerbaijan, Brazil, Canada, Kenya, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States), this paper provides one of the first systematic, empirically-grounded multi-country comparison of digital era open government. In doing so, the paper sets the stage for a more nuanced analysis of the range of implications that open government poses for digital era public management and government-citizen relations. Finally, the paper assesses the value of the OGP by suggesting ways in which the "open government movement" it claims to represent may be less cohesive than its advocates suggest.

**Clément, Dominique** (dominique.clement@ualberta.ca)

*Human Rights Policy and Social Movements: How Activists Create, Implement and Enforce State Law*

In this paper I argue that Canada experienced a rights revolution beginning in the 1970s and that the enforcement of human rights law has, since that time, depended on social movements. In fact, activists have often supplanted state actors in developing and enforcing state law. Social movement organizations have been responsible for campaigning to create and reform human rights legislation; enforcing the law; promoting awareness of the law and education; keeping the government accountable; acting as a liaison with the community; using litigation to expand the law; and training staff or providing recruits for state agencies. The focus of this paper is on the women's movement and sex discrimination, which represented the largest number of human rights complaints in Canada until the 1990s and remains today a common complaint. In addition, the paper pays special attention to British Columbia, which was at the forefront of human rights innovation and was the epicenter of a national debate on the legitimacy of human rights law in 1984. Twenty years later the province retains a model for human rights jurisdiction that is unusual in Canada. Canada has created one of the most sophisticated human rights legal regimes in the world. The first part of the paper documents the origins of the human rights legal regime and the role of social movements. The second part of the paper explores the legacy of human rights law in Canada and attempts to fundamentally alter Canada's human rights legal regime in recent years.

**Cochrane, Chris** (christopher.cochrane@utoronto.ca)

*The Rise of Left/Right in Canadian Politics*

The language of "left" and "right" has been used for more than two centuries to characterize the main line of political disagreement in democratic countries. Nowadays, these labels describe opposing positions about wealth redistribution, gay and lesbian rights, government intervention in the economy, war and peace, religion, family values, abortion, environmentalism, and immigration. Left/right disagreement

is so widespread that many wonder if it is not inherent to humans as humans—a manifestation of genetically underpinned ideological cleavages that shape in similar ways the lines of political division across issues, across countries, and across time. For most of its history, Canadian politics was as an exception to this broader pattern of left/right disagreement. Canadian political parties did not adopt consistently leftist or rightist positions, and Canadian citizens did not orient themselves politically in left/right terms. Things changed, however, in recent years. This paper charts the rise of left/right polarization in Canadian politics and examines the implications of the Canadian experience for the comparative literature on left/right disagreement in democratic countries.

**Cohen, Sagi** (oscar mild@yahoo.com)

*Political Sovereignty: The Automatic Death Machine*

Combining Schmitt's definition of 'sovereignty' with his 'political', the "sovereign" privilege to decide exceptions, is to be taken to task in the exceptional character of the friend/enemy distinction. A true Greek *kategorien*, this distinction bears the Janus face of a performative accusation with a constative stipulation, regardless of whether the sovereign is taken as a virtual Hobbesian 'person'; a Hegelian *Erfahrung* ('experience'); or a Kantian *Sensus Communis*. Tracing this articulation of sovereignty, this Janus face appears as that which is forever doomed to perform an apotheotic unity via 'decision'. I will use Kafka's story *In The Penal Colony* to demonstrate precisely this "doom" of political sovereignty, to assert itself by repetition. I will attempt to show (together with Deleuze's conception of repetition), the radical nihilism that this duality flirts with. In Kafka's story, when the Justice machine is turned on itself (or, more precisely, on its sovereign), it issues only mute repetitions of death sentences, a sovereign punctuation par excellence. This particular conception of sovereignty is led by a kind of death drive, a repetition-automatism, to "punctuate" at an exponential rate: paradoxically, with each such unifying punctuation (law/decision), sovereignty's destitution grows progressively more visible. The sovereign's decision of the exception ends up "excepting" everything other than its self - like a machine dealing out automatic death.

**Cohn, Dan** (dcohn@yorku.ca)

*Local Blackout in Effect? Newspaper Coverage of Municipal Elections in Three Major Canadian Urban Areas and the Impact on Civic Literacy*

There has long been concern in Canada and other countries regarding declining levels of civic literacy, defined as the ability to understand political processes such as elections, community consultations, and associational meetings, as well as awareness of these processes. This is said to be a key factor in explaining declining levels of civic participation, such as voting, especially in municipal elections where voter turnout in Canada is very low. Research has linked levels of civic literacy to media consumption. Communities with higher levels of newspaper readership tend to have higher levels of civic literacy (see for example Henry Milner, *Civic Literacy in Comparative Context* Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2001). Therefore newspapers are an important research issue for those concerned with civic literacy, specifically their level of readership and the coverage of politics they provide. The argument presented in this paper is that before we can begin to speak about encouraging newspaper readership so as to boost civic literacy we have to verify that they constitute an information source that will assist those who wish to become informed about public life. Anecdotal evidence is that major newspapers pay little attention to local politics and municipal elections. This paper will seek to determine if this is true or not and if there is divergence between coverage of municipal elections in core cities within urban areas and their surrounding suburbs (which frequently have a greater aggregate population). To do this a content analysis is performed on major daily newspapers in the Greater Vancouver, Greater Calgary and Greater Toronto Areas for the thirty days prior to the most recent round of municipal elections in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario respectively.

**Collard, Rosemary** (rosemary.claire@gmail.com)

*The dirty business of making companion species: a political ecology of negative transformation*

This paper grapples with a central question: How do we construct a political ecological story of transformation in a way that attends to, on the one hand, already always dynamic and impure ontologies and incomplete transformation, and on the other hand, the violences and losses (of life, freedom, equity, and so on) that some transformations can engender? The specific transformation this paper addresses concerns hundreds of millions of live animals are imported into the US each year, destined to become exotic pets. Eighty percent of these animal imports are wild-caught. Specific practices of capture, transportation and sale transform these animals from wild beings in jungles, oceans, and deserts, into pet monkeys on leashes, fish in tanks, and lizards in living rooms. These commodification practices are aptly described as dually severing links between animals and their familial and ecosystemic networks, and forging new, often inadequate, links with human-provided supports: food, shelter, and "enrichment" (teddy bears, colourful plastic toys, TV). Many, sometimes most, animals die in transit and in captivity. In this paper this tale of transformation is held in tension with recent decades' work on "socio-natures" in political ecology, social theory, and beyond. Work by Haraway, Cronon, and many others has convincingly shown that nature and culture are not two separate realms but rather deeply enmeshed. But where precisely does the "wild animal" exist in this socio-nature, and how can this existence be contrasted to its "second life" as a captive pet without implying a pre-existing, pure and "untouched" wild life?

**Collier, Cheryl** (ccollier@uwindsor.ca)

*Federalism and Social Movements: A Comparative Study of Meso-Level Child Care Advocacy in Canada and the United States*

To date, there is a paucity of cross-national comparative child care policy research at the meso (state and provincial) levels of government. What is there, fails to adequately address how federalism shapes child care advocacy efforts to achieve policy goals despite the fact that federalism is a central institutional variable that has the potential to explain reasons behind the lack of child care success in North America. Some studies suggest interest advocates can increase political opportunities by venue shopping between levels of government (Constanelos 2010; Collier and Mahon 2010). Yet it is not clear whether or not venue shopping occurs in the same way across different federations or whether and how it impacts advocates' longer term policy successes? It is the purpose of this study to conduct a deep

comparison of two meso levels of child care advocacy in two different federations - Ontario, Canada and Michigan, U.S.A. - from the 1990s to the present using a political opportunity structure framework to illuminate how child care advocates interact with federal systems to achieve their goals. Does a federal 'logic' of diversity and difference work against a feminist social movement logic of universality underpinning child care advocacy goals? The paper will draw on advocacy survey data and elite level interviews to help answer these questions and to contribute to a growing body of gender and federalism literature (see Publius: Jan 2014).

**Collins, Jeffrey** (jeff.francis.collins@gmail.com)

*A Normative Dilemma? Casualty-Sensitivity and Armed Drones*

This paper is an examination of the use of airpower in the 21st century and the normative challenges it poses to post-heroic societies. Principally, this paper will examine how the latest advances in airpower technology, as represented by armed drones, present a number of normative challenges to what Luttwak (1995) described as post-heroic societies; i.e. societies that view sacrifice on the battlefield in non-existential wars as unwarranted. However, post-heroic theory also posits that societies may be more inclined to engage in conflict should the potential for low casualties and low economic cost be ensured. As such, the United States has turned to relying on drones as their primary tool in counter-terrorist operations in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia. These drones have provided decision-makers with an unprecedented ability to wage war from great distances without the risk of incurring casualties from deploying ground forces. However, they have also raised a series of normative challenges relating to assassinations, sovereignty and the likelihood of a greater reliance on the use of force in international affairs. Therefore, in examining the connection between drones and post-heroic theory this paper provides both a fresh analysis on the drone debate and a 21st century update on post-heroic theory.

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*No More Giveaways! - Resource Nationalism in Newfoundland: 1979-2010*

Largely the purview of studies on the developing world resource nationalism is characterised by the measures governments take to exert some sort of control over natural resources for the benefit of the larger society (Stevens 2008; Bremmer and Johnston 2009; Demjan and Stone 2010). However, within the narrative of Newfoundland nationalism there has long been the notion that blame for the province's economic woes are due to the lack of proper natural resource development by former governments (Hillier 2007; Marland 2010). A variation of the phrase 'no more giveaways' has become a constant rallying cry since the 1970s by successive administrations in their efforts to extract long-term benefits from oil development in the 1980s and, again, in the 2000s and nickel mining in the late-1990s. Therefore, this paper argues that contemporary Newfoundland resource nationalism can be best understood as having occurred in three 'waves' under three different administrations: (1) Premier Brian Peckford, 1979-1989; (2) Premier Brian Tobin, 1996-2000; (3) and Premier Danny Williams, 2003-2010. Crucially, by adopting such an approach this paper will be able to effectively compare and contrast each Premier's nationalistic policies and rhetoric; thereby, illuminating how effective such policies were on securing the sought after benefits. As such, this paper represents a first in analyzing Newfoundland within a resource nationalist framework. Moreover, in making this argument this paper will advance the literature on resource nationalism away from its state-centric focus by placing it within a Canadian sub-state perspective.

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*The Crisis of Unionism and Labour Internationalism: The Case of the AFL-CIO Foreign Policy*

In this paper, I will argue that the weakening of the AFL-CIO at the domestic level has impaired its capacity to articulate a comprehensive a foreign policy. The crisis of unionism is a three-fold process. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the strengthening of neoliberal governance has led to (1) a loss of bargaining power towards employers and governments (2) a decline and fragmentation of the union membership (3) a loss of political project for organized labour. In the U.S., this crisis led to one of the lowest unionization rates in the industrialized world, regular attacks from the right towards workers organizations and eventually to the split of several major unions from the AFL-CIO in 2005, a decision rooted in disagreements over the ways to overcome the crisis. Labour internationalism has been considered as one of the ways for unions to renew their practices and reverse the tendency. Although it was one of the major players of internationalism during the Cold War, the AFL-CIO seems not as strong as it used to be on all aspects of its foreign policy: international solidarity, participation in International Labour Movement Organizations and influence on international trade negotiations. Based on a critical analysis of unions documentation and on a series of interviews with unions representatives and state officials, this paper will show the influence the weakening of the AFL-CIO at the domestic level had on its foreign policy, and therefore how those two scales of action have to be articulated and thought of dialectically.

**Conway, Aidan** (aidan.d.conway@gmail.com)

*From "Financialization" to the "Great Financial Crisis": Canadian Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective*

Canada's relatively benign experience in the ongoing "Great Financial Crisis" has finally helped to provoke discussion of a neglected topic: the comparative political economy of capitalist finance in this country. Apparent features of the Canadian financial system that were only yesterday bemoaned as crippling national defects have been embraced by political and economic elites in a chorus of largely misplaced self-congratulation. The traditional political science literatures - International and Comparative Political Economy - have had remarkably little to say until recently about the basic social relations that constitute modern finance and its ubiquitous relations with social (re)production broadly conceived. IPE has been concerned primarily with aggregate (global) financial flows and the implications of the 'high politics' of globalizing finance for national policy autonomy. CPE, by contrast, has tended to focus on the domestic "complementarities" through which finance is articulated to particular national patterns of manufacturing and export specialization. Neither provides the tools needed for a broader understanding of the place of finance in contemporary capitalism. By tracing the development of banking, institutional investment,

and residential mortgage finance -- topics largely neglected by Canadian political economists -- this paper sheds new light on the historical and comparative specificity of the Canadian financial regime and attempts to account for both the pre-history and actual course of the crisis, suggesting reasons why Canada managed to avoid some of the turmoil and why the worst may be yet to come. Broader methodological questions posed by considering the Canadian case are also considered.

**Cooper, Christopher** (christopher.cooper@umontreal.ca)

*Framing Infertility: Policy frames and assisted reproduction policy in Ontario and Québec*

Ideational frameworks have recently been used to study Canadian politics at the federal level, but few contributions have used ideas to discern provincial variations in policy outputs. Through a discourse analysis of government documents, commissioned reports and parliamentary debates, this paper analyzes the policy frames surrounding assisted reproductive policy in Ontario and Quebec. While Quebec has adopted generous public funding policies, Ontario's decision to de-insure assisted reproductive technologies means infertility now remains a private matter. This sharp contrast in policy is attributed to differences in the framing of infertility. In Quebec, infertility has been framed as a facet of biotechnology, while such a framing is absent in Ontario and instead infertility continues to be predominately discussed in terms of medical health and multiple births.

**Corntassel, Jeff** (ctassel@uvic.ca)

*Indigeneity and the International: Renewing Relationships that Sustain Us*

Indigenous nations are place-based peoples who honor our relationships with the natural world in ways that fundamentally distinguish us from other collective and state entities. These Indigenous relationships are commemorated through diplomatic and cultural practices as expressions of Indigenous self-determination. Unfortunately the field of International Relations fails to account for global Indigeneity in terms of the complex web of interrelationships between land, culture and community which extend far beyond the scope of the state-centric system. Indigenous conceptions and practices of sustainability, for example, run deeper than standard definitions of expanding human development/freedoms in ways that do not compromise future generations, and take a more community-centered focus on governance, the continuous renewal of relationships, and transmission of these natural laws and practices to future generations. A central question driving this paper is where do theory and praxis meet when it comes to the transnational actions and diplomacies of Indigenous peoples? This paper attempts to shed light on Indigenous perspectives on global practices through comparative examinations of resurgent trade networks, inter-Indigenous treaty-making, and sustainable self-determination in Indigenous nations throughout Turtle Island, such as Tsalagi (Cherokee), Lekwungen (Songhees), and Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian).

**Craft, Jonathan** (jonathan.craft@sfu.ca)

*Reconciling Policy Networks and Policy Advisory Systems Theory*

The concept of 'policy advisory systems' first introduced by Halligan in 1995 provides a useful means to characterize and examine the multiple sources of policy advice utilized by governments in policy work. Conceptually it has influenced thinking about both the nature of policy work in different advisory venues as well as how these systems change over time. This article sets out existing models of policy advisory systems based on Halligan's original emphasis on the significance of proximity and control-autonomy dynamics in advisory systems and argues that the increasing erosion of public service organizational and analytic policy capacity will increasingly compel governments to look beyond traditionally proximate sources of policy advice. As such, the importance of understanding actors that facilitate and enable the coordination and integration of exogenous source of policy advice within advisory systems will be crucial. It is suggested that by combining the policy advisory and policy networks literature improved specificity can be gained related to the structural and operational dynamics associated with advisory systems. The paper concludes by elaborating a typology of 'policy network advisory systems'.

**Craigie, Allan** (allan.craigie@ubc.ca)

*Regionalism, nationalism and defence procurement in Canada*

Regionalism and nationalism are two powerful political forces in Canada. Due to the complex nature of Canadian federalism, these forces influence many policy spheres. As a result the federal government must continually balance competing regional and national demands when making decisions. One policy sphere which has received little academic attention in relation to regionalism and nationalism is national defence. This paper attempts to rectify that gap by exploring how regionalism and nationalism influence a very important aspect of national defence: defence procurement. Though procurement may not represent the flashy side of national defence, it directly influences both the operational abilities of the military and the costs to the Canadian taxpayer. To understand how regionalism and nationalism influence defence procurement, this paper analyzes the debates surrounding three major procurements: the maintenance contract for CF-18s awarded to a Montréal based firm in the 1980s, the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy Decision in 2011 and current debates on the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter. This paper attempts to identify the role regionalism and nationalism play in the decision making process, and determine if and how it affected the outcome of the decisions. In so doing, this paper offers insight not only into an important aspect of Canadian security decision making, but also a major aspect of federal public spending.

**Crandall, Erin** (erin.crandall@queensu.ca)

*Gender Diversity on Canada's Courts: Understanding the Role of Judicial Appointments Reform*

Justice Bertha Wilson (1923-2007), the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court, once asked, "Will women judges really make a difference?" By both empirical and normative measures, the answer to her question has overwhelmingly been in the affirmative. Researchers have found that women judges, both in Canada and abroad, decide certain cases differently than their male counter-parts, while others have argued that a more representative bench helps to promote public confidence in the courts. These latter calls for a more

representative bench have often been accompanied by proposals to reform the process of judicial selection. While such proposals clearly assume that reforming the appointments process will help to increase the number of women judges, research on the effects of judicial selection systems on representation remains very small. This paper will help to fill this gap. First, using a process-tracing approach, detailed, chronological accounts of policy developments for provincial (section 92) and federal (section 96) courts in Canada will be collected. Second, quantitative data on the number of women judges sitting on the selected courts from 1970-2010 will be compiled. By examining the development of judicial appointments processes and the representation of women on the bench in Canada's provinces and territories over time, this paper will assess what effects the method of selection has on judicial representation in Canada.

**Crawford, Mark** (markc@athabascau.ca)

*Complexity, Healthcare Systems and the Aporias of Health Care Reform*

Several analysts of health care systems have remarked that the complexity of these systems imposes limits upon both understanding and decision-making that make straightforward optimization strategies and synoptic solutions to health care problems difficult if not impossible to achieve. Fierlbeck (2011) observes in *Health Care in Canada: A Citizens' Guide to Policy and Politics* that there is an "increasingly stark dialectic between technical complexity and democratic expectation" in the health field (319). In *The Best Laid Plans: Health Care's Problems and Prospects* by McFarlane & Prado (2002), the author argues that the beginning of wisdom in the face of complexity is to recognize that there are two, kinds of problems: the kind that is amenable to solution through better management and that which is not, because "it is inherent in health care itself" (4). Their conclusion is that both public sector management and privatization approaches are flawed. Another line of writing is typified by M. Gregg Bloche's "Emergent Logic of Health Law" (2008), which surveys the lack of coherence of America's fragmented health care system and argues that we can find "emerging possibilities" at the macro level of complex systems that will elude us if we seek certainty at the micro level. This approach appears to draw inspiration from the application of complexity theory and its associated modelling techniques. This paper examines both lines of thought for their implications for the study of health care policy dilemmas, in order to determine whether they lead to complementary or contradictory conclusions.

**Cutler, Claire** (ccutler@uvic.ca)

*Indigenous Identity, International Law and the New Constitutionalism*

This paper examines the globalization of international law as an emergent form of governance that conditions state sovereignty and claims to identity in international law. It focuses on the specific relationship between international law and global capitalism, illustrating how new constitutional disciplines informed by neoliberal economic and neo-conservative politico-strategic policies limit the conditions of possibility for a recognition of indigenous identity. In reviewing the analytical foundations of international law, it explores alternate frameworks for recognition that might expand the possibilities for indigenous peoples under international law.

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*Polls, Arguments and the Vote: Do Poll Effects Depend on Rhetorical Contexts?*

Polls of vote intention are central to contemporary media coverage of elections. Diverse theories in political science, furthermore, suggest that the reporting of polls may have important effects on voter decision-making, particularly through such mechanisms as the "bandwagon effect." Yet, one widely cited account of "poll effects" - Diana Mutz's "cognitive response theory" - suggests that the influence of polls on voters may be limited in important ways, in particular, by the availability and persuasiveness of arguments that could account for or explain poll results. On this view, a party or candidate whose vote share increases in a poll will enjoy more favourable evaluations from voters if, and only if, voters can find plausible reasons for the observed movement in the polls. Absent such reasons, the poll should have no significant effect on vote intention and related attitudes. This paper executes a unique, experimental test of this theory. The design involves manipulation of the rhetorical or argumentative context in which citizens are exposed to poll results. The hypothesis is that poll effects diminish when an aspect of the information environment is manipulated such that it is harder to find subjectively plausible arguments to explain poll movements. The paper reports the results of three experiments embedded in web-based surveys of samples of voters during elections in 5 Canadian provinces (Ontario, Manitoba, Newfoundland & Labrador, Quebec, British Columbia) in 2011 and 2012.

**Daku, Mark** (mark.daku@mail.mcgill.ca)

*Helmet Use Amongst Motorcycle Taxi Drivers in Kampala and Kigali*

Motorcycle taxis (boda-bodas or motos) are ubiquitous in many East African cities. They are often the only way to efficiently move around urban centres, however they are also one of the most dangerous forms of transportation available. Regardless, recent evidence shows that many motorcycle taxi drivers do not wear helmets, even though the risks of injury are high and evident. Using new survey data, this paper contrasts the helmet use of motorcycle taxi operators in Kampala and Kigali. Demographic and economic factors help to explain some of the variation, however helmet use in Kigali is much higher than in Kampala. This paper argues that this variation can be explained by the relationship between the state and the citizens. The relationship to the state as well as more consistent enforcement of traffic laws translate into higher levels of helmet use in Rwanda, elements which are missing in Uganda. This research suggests that public health interventions must not only be properly designed, but must also be coupled with high level political support and strong enforcement to be effective.

**Daku, Mark** (mark.daku@mail.mcgill.ca)

*Assessing Gender Inequalities in African Labour Markets*

This paper investigates the relationship between the type of participation by women in labour markets and economic growth in 18 African labour markets using data from the Afrobarometer and a new measure of occupational inequality based on Beneria's (1979) argument about women's mobility. Specifically, it demonstrates that occupational crowding in types of work that limit women's physical mobility occurs in the countries under investigation, and that such crowding is associated with economic growth. The results suggest that economic growth in these countries is being fuelled by the maintenance of gendered divisions in the workforce, especially the crowding of women into kinds of work that permit them to also perform domestic duties. Long-term economic growth depends on the reduction of inequalities within the labour force, so these findings should be concerning. If economic growth within Africa is premised on structural inequalities within the labour market, then the prospects for long-term economic growth are bleak.

**Daley, Kate** (cmdaley@yorku.ca)

*Beyond Other Animals: Haraway's When Species Meet and Privilege within Feminism(s)*

Over several decades, feminist theorists and practitioners working from many perspectives have acknowledged and tried to respond to the criticism that North American feminisms have often been focused on the needs and perspectives of women with considerable privilege, and that this contributes to oppression. Despite these efforts, the question of how to address privilege within feminist theory and practice has not been definitively answered. While Donna Haraway works largely from a perspective of materialist and postmodern feminism(s), her book entitled *When Species Meet* (2008) focuses primarily on interactions between humans and other animals. In this paper, I argue that Haraway makes three particular achievements in *When Species Meet* that can be useful tools for approaching privilege within feminisms: [1] her approach to respect in the presence of power differentials; [2] her entwined invocation of the structural and the mundane; and [3] her attention to inheritance and heritage. Along with a brief introduction to privilege and its relevance for feminist political theory, I show that each of these three achievements can contribute to our attempts to address privilege. I also assess the dangers involved in using theory about relationships between human and non-human animals to theorise about human relationships that are characterised by oppression. This paper will be of particular interest to feminist political theorists, as well as those concerned with questions of identity and oppression.

**Daley, Kate** (cmdaley@yorku.ca)

*I think/I feel: Contextualising sadness, anger, fear, and love in political science education*

While many feminist scholars find space to recognise the role of emotions in their work, emotions do not generally take centre stage in discussions on political science education. We commonly ask students what they think about what they are studying, and why, but we do not often ask them how they feel about what they are studying. Yet my political science education has been a fundamentally emotional experience. Emotions have had an enormous influence on what I study and how I study it. I have not, however, found space to integrate that awareness into how I situate myself within my discipline, and to do so in a way that is recognisable to others. Emotion has generally been seen, at best, as incidental to my education or, at worst, as an impediment to it. In this paper, I use narrative to explore significant emotional events in my socialisation into the discipline of political science as an undergraduate and graduate student. Many of these experiences are particular to the study of politics, but all are integral to the sort of political scientist I am in the process of becoming. This paper is an attempt to hold open space for political science educators to consider how emotions have defined their own educations, and to consider how emotions shape who our students become in response to our teaching, and how they engage with political science as a result.

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*External Forces and Consolidating Democracy--EU Democratization Efforts in North Africa*

Twenty-two years have passed since the third wave of democracy from former Soviet countries came across the Mediterranean and reached the North African shores. A new wave of democracy has started (e.g., Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya) that will put the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) to the test. The current revolutions in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia have opened a new window of opportunity that makes the domestic environment more receptive to introducing democratic reforms. Successful democratic transition and institutionalization in these countries will have positive spillover to the rest of the region. The questions this study tries to answer are: Why should the EU be more involved in supporting democratic transition in North African countries? What can the EU and other international players do to support Egypt and Tunisia's efforts to build and reform their institutions and move towards a consolidated democracy? This paper argues that prior to the Arab Spring, security and stability were viewed by international players to be negatively correlated with democratic reforms and transition, leading them to focus more on the former. Today, however, consolidating democracy, economic development, stability, and security on the EU southern borders are positively correlated. This argument has three dimensions: first, supporting democracy is a necessary condition for guaranteeing stable and secure southern EU borders; second, economic growth is a necessary condition for consolidating democracy and political reforms; and third, a case-by-case strategy should be adopted to have a stronger diffusive power to the rest of the region.

**Dashwood, Hevina** (hdashwood@brocku.ca)

*Influences on the Adoption of Corporate Social Responsibility Standards in the Global Mining Sector: Towards an Explanation*

This paper proposes to build on my previous research, which analyzed how and why the norm of sustainable development became institutionalized in the global collaborative corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives of major mining companies. Since the late 1990s, the majority of major global mining companies have employed the norm of sustainable development to frame their individual CSR policies and to inform industry collaboration at the global level through the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM). This paper proposal seeks to address lingering questions from that research, by developing an explanation for how the normative frame of sustainable development has translated into specific CSR standards adopted by the mining industry. Preliminary findings suggest that, although the

global mining industry has reached broad consensus on the meaning of sustainable development in the context of mining, there remains considerable variation between mining companies in terms of which specific global standards they adopt. The paper employs a three-level institutional analysis (rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism) to explain the influences on the adoption of CSR standards in the global mining sector. Such a framework will allow both influences external to mining companies (global, national, local), as well as internal company dynamics (such as managerial discretion) to be factored into the explanation, building on existing research on private global governance and the conditions which influence CSR adoption.

**Dauda, Carol** (cdauda@uoguelph.ca)

*Keeping the Story Straight: regulating young people's sexuality through age of consent in Canada and Australia*

This paper considers the contemporary legislation and debates over age of consent in Australia and Canada in order to explore the ambiguous, contradictory and gendered characterizations of children's and young people's sexuality and the political consequences for sexual diversity. Although both operate in a parliamentary system, Canadian and Australian lesbian and gay movements took different paths to legal recognition as activists sought the opportunities afforded through different institutional arrangements. Thus, activists in Canada successfully focussed on the Charter of Rights and the courts to ultimately achieve the legalization of gay marriage while Australian activists had to keep their main focus on changing hearts and minds and affecting legislation in each state. As a result, Australian activists, though they have not yet attained the goal of gay marriage, have successfully equalized the age of consent while Canada has avoided doing so. Nevertheless, a closer comparative examination of age of consent debates and legislation reveals a characterization of young people heavily influenced by symbolic notions of childhood in relation to adulthood in which the ideal of a straight future adulthood remains paramount in both countries. This paper argues that a consideration of the ideational dimension of age of consent debates demonstrates the limits of the legalization of adult sexual diversity in both cases and how the evolving capacities, autonomy and agency of young people can be undermined, their interests marginalised and their vulnerability increased in the midst of the ostensible acceptance of adult sexual diversity.

**de Costa, Ravi** (rdc@yorku.ca)

*Wild Rivers: Environmental protection and Indigenous rights in Queensland, Australia*

The paper examines recent environmental legislation in Queensland, Australia, the Wild Rivers Act (2005). Introduced to designate and protect "wild rivers" from major development, the legislation has created significant disquiet amongst many Indigenous communities in the region: declarations of rivers under the Act prevent major projects like mines, while raising environmental standards for lesser projects or any diversion of water flows. The concern of Indigenous critics is the extent to which, as highly impoverished communities, their prospects for economic advancement are impaired by the new laws: the underlying issue is the inequity of the burden that is placed on marginalized and remote Indigenous communities to deliver environmental conservation benefits to the community at large and the effect on the rights of Indigenous peoples. The paper examines how the Act frames the "values" of rivers that it protects, prioritising physical or natural values of rivers to the exclusion of social, cultural or economic values. This aligns with a conservation paradigm that seeks to protect "wilderness" unscathed by human activity and presence. In this way, the legislation prevented the formation of strong partnerships with local Indigenous landholders and stakeholders. The case study reinforces the view that environmental goals are best served in creating strong relationships that respect the human rights of local communities. The paper will also argue that understandings of environmental justice and equity must be informed by a nuanced understanding of the differential effects of colonialism on Indigenous lands.

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*The materiality of non-lethal weapons as weapons of intervention*

Originally based on chemical agents developed during the first World War, "non-lethal weapons" have been self-identified as such and have been understood as a legitimate tool of policing since the late 1960s in relation to riot control and other civil disturbances. Increasingly, however, a growing panoply of such weapons are not only being developed and deployed within the context of policing "civil" events, but are also used as weapons of asymmetric warfare in a variety of theaters and in relation to a variety of strategic rationalities of intervention such as counterinsurgency, pacification, stabilization and peacebuilding. This paper would like to investigate this phenomenon beginning with a theorization of the object - i.e. the non-lethal weapons themselves - and then situate this materiality in relation to different forms of power, disaggregated through a Foucauldian analytic. What is interesting about non-lethal weapons from this perspective, is that they are objects that are, in themselves, the result of an assemblage of sovereign power, biopower and disciplinary power, while simultaneously being a material manifestation of this assemblage that is applied directly to the body in the production of certain subjectivities. Moreover, the development and deployment of these technologies betray a certain blurring between policing and military rationalities that is increasingly evident in the liberal governing of illiberal spaces. The paper will then address the way in which these weapons are perceived as being central to security sector reform (SSR) programs through the UN peacebuilding commission (PBC).

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*The Mobilization Effects of Partisan Cues: Evidence from a Randomised Field Experiment in the United Kingdom* 

In this paper we present the results of a randomised field experiment designed to test whether GOTV messages that transmit partisan cues are more effective in raising turnout than candidate-centred messages. Party affiliation is often thought to work as a short-cut that reduces information costs and encourages electoral participation. However, there have been few studies that have evaluated the use of partisan appeals in voter mobilization efforts. In order to test whether GOTV messages based on partisan cues are more effective than candidate-centred messages without such cues, we set up a randomised field experiment in the context of the West Midlands Police and Crime

Commissioner Election in Birmingham. Parties can nominate candidates in this election, but little information is available to potential voters. In cooperation with the local Labour Party we randomly assign around 20,000 potential voters into two treatment groups of 2,500 individuals each, and one control group. Individuals in the first treatment group receive a telephone appeal from party volunteers encouraging them to vote for their candidate, stressing his qualifications, but omitting any reference to party affiliation. Individuals in the second treatment group receive a similar appeal stressing the candidate's party affiliation. Using data collected by party volunteers from the marked electoral register, we directly compare the effectiveness of both types of appeals.

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*Shifting Strategies and Discourses in California's Same-sex Marriage Fight*

On November 4th 2008 California voters passed Proposition 8, and accordingly same-sex marriage was banned under the state constitution. Proposition 8 has sparked national debate about the nature of the relationship between the state and citizens' sexuality and corresponding rights; calling into question the practice of allocating rights and privileges on the basis of sexuality and family form. Proponents of the proposition, who can be classified as predominantly socially conservative, want to maintain the status and privileges of marriage for heterosexuals; arguing that allowing same-sex marriage threatens the legitimacy, sanctity and strength of traditional heterosexual marriage. In this paper, I examine the extent to which Californian pro-same-sex marriage organizations have challenged and/or appropriated social conservative discourse in their effort to gain access to the rights and privileges that are currently administered through marriage. Based on discourse analysis of public documents and elite interviews, I contend that at the beginning of their campaigns, opponents of Proposition 8 argued that homosexual citizens deserve the same formal rights as their heterosexual counterparts. Yet throughout their campaign, these organizations shifted their discourse away from rights and equality, and instead began focusing notions of family and morality. While some members of the organizations argue that this shift in discourses is justified if rights are attained, this shift in discourse is dramatic and important as pro-same-sex marriage organizations are legitimizing and bolstering the social conservative project to conflate rights and equality, with sexual morality and family form.

**Demerse, Jacklyn** (jdemerse@uwo.ca)

*The Neglect of the Rural: Understanding 'Urban' and 'Rural' by Assessing the Impact and Policy Implications of the Rural Transition*

Beginning with the rise of urban political machines during the late nineteenth century, the general trend in local government studies has been to focus on changes occurring in cities and the urban environment. However, the evolution in understanding the urban has occurred at the expense of understanding changes in the rural. With growing trends such as global migration, counter-urbanization and environmental movements, as well as investment in land protection, natural resources, and tourism, rural communities can no longer be solely thought of as intrinsically tied to agriculture production or mechanized labour. There exists a pressing need to broaden our understanding of the rural to include new economic, social, and political demands, which challenge the old conceptions current scholarship maintains. By using rural studies literature, this paper will assess how outdated definitions of urban and rural are used to shape the study of local government, subsequently concentrating on the urban while evading discussion of the "rural transition"—an accumulation of changes over time—which has contributed to the blurring of boundaries between urban and rural. More specifically, this paper will discuss the policy implications of these macro-level trends on rural communities using examples of immigration and economic development initiatives occurring in communities such as Steinbach, Manitoba and Kayville and Ogema, Saskatchewan. Movement toward immigration and settlement in rural communities is one trend creating an opportunity for local government studies to become more inclusive by highlighting not only differences in governance, but also the increasing interdependence among urban and rural areas.

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*Enterprising nature: transforming biodiversity into a rational economic actor*

Nature is increasingly entangled with economic, market, and financial logics. Drawing on four years of multi-sited, international field research, this paper is a critical exploration of these entanglements and the ascent of what is becoming a new maxim in global biodiversity conservation. This maxim, I argue, can be summarized in the following manner: In order to make live, one must make economic. In other words, for diverse nonhuman species to persist, biodiversity conservation must become an economically rational policy trajectory, and ideally profitable. Examining attempts to render biodiversity economically legible through bioprospecting, ecosystem services modeling, financial risk accounting, and a system of tradable credits, this paper traces circuits of power and knowledge that give life to this maxim. It also traces the new representations, political rationalities, scientific methods, computer models, and regulatory conditions necessary to produce an economically rational biodiversity. Drawing out the contradictions and paradoxes of this new maxim, I describe the current trajectory in global biodiversity politics as one struggling to create the conditions wherein nature, or parts of nature, can prove itself as "enterprising." This is a nature that no longer needs the bonds of human care or ethical concern, and a nature that is certainly not a public investment burden. Rather, the hope is to produce a nature that is entrepreneurial, a nature that can compete not only in the marketplace, but also in the cost-benefit accounting of modern state governance.

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*Damage Control or Just Damaging: How Canada is Combatting its Negative Image in Mining Communities in Latin America.*

Since the 1990s, Latin America has been experiencing a mining boom and Canadian companies have been leaders in this expansion. The available data show that Canadian mining enterprises invested more in Latin America between 1995-99 than anywhere else in the world. However, Canadian mining investment in the region has been fraught with controversy. Supporters argue that the investments bring infrastructural development, economic growth, and employment opportunities. Detractors counter that it pays poor wages, provide few jobs, build infrastructures that serve little public good, damage the environment, destroy livelihoods, divide communities, and violate

human rights. This controversy has been deleterious to Canada's reputation abroad. The objective of this paper is to examine this controversy and its implications for Canada's reputation and Canadian foreign policy in the region. The analysis begins by situating Canada's expansion in the Latin America's mining sector within a framework of neoliberal development. It then proceeds to examine the strategies Canada has adopted to deal with the controversy and analyses the effectiveness of these. In particular, it will focus on two strategies, the government's encouragement of 1) Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), a strategy emphasizing corporate self governance; and 2) Joint initiatives between mining companies and non-governmental organizations. The paper contends that these efforts are insufficient and weak and, as a matter of fact, are reinforcing the negative image of Canada in the region. For mining communities, Canada is the new imperial power in the region.

**Dersnah, Megan** (megan.dersnah@utoronto.ca)

*Constituting the Thinkable for Women's Access to Justice: Theorizing the Role of the United Nations in Building Gender-Sensitive Transitional Justice Institutions*

The United Nations (UN) has increasingly signalled its financial and normative commitment to support post-conflict transitions to peace and has also increasingly committed to the incorporation of women's rights and 'gender sensitivity' into institutional practices. These two trajectories intersect: over the past ten years, there have been increased normative and instrumental claims within the UN that a failure to include women's rights within transitions to peace can undermine the reconstruction of post-conflict societies. And yet, in spite of this commitment to the incorporation of gender into post-conflict peacebuilding, the human rights violations for which women are able to seek redress in the post-conflict period, through the transitional justice institutions and programs supported by the UN, are highly varied. Certain women's rights violations enjoy very high levels of support and attention in the post-conflict period, whereas other human rights concerns that disproportionately affect women and girls in conflict are hardly addressed. This paper seeks to explore how actors within the United Nations shape the prioritization of particular kinds of women's human rights violations over others. How and why do certain women's human rights more successfully gain salience within this institutional context? In so doing, this paper seeks to examine how the UN peacebuilding community produces certain justice priorities for women and shapes what is 'thinkable' when considering justice for women's rights.

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*Roundtable: Conversations on Anti-Racism, Anti-Colonialism, and Decolonization*

With the objective of generating a dialogical encounter between Indigenous scholars and scholars of colour, this proposed session will be framed as a collective interview on Theories and Practices of Anti-Racism, Anti-colonialism, and Decolonization. The 'host' or interviewer will be Dr. Rita Kaur Dhamoon (UVic), and the 'guests' will be Dr. Taiaiake Alfred (UVic), Dr. Himani Bannerji (York), Dr. Jakeet Singh (Illinois), and Dr. Isabel Altamirano (Alberta). Together these scholars bring a rich body of knowledge on traditional governance, the restoration of land-based cultural practices, and decolonization strategies (Alfred); anti-racist feminism, Marxist cultural theories, gender, colonialism and imperialism (Bannerji); postcolonialism, multiculturalism and its critics, and theories of global/social justice (Singh); and Indigenous politics in Canada and Mexico, Indigenous land mapping, Indigenous nation, Indigenous women and feminism (Altamirano). The interview will be structured along several open-ended questions, with a focus on two themes. The first theme is on differing perspectives about the theoretical and practical meanings of anti-racism, anti-colonialism, and decolonization, and decolonizing anti-racism. The discussion will invite reflection on historical and contemporary, and local and global structures of colonialism and racism, including the similarities and disjunctures that arise from white supremacist structures of migration and dispossession. The second theme is about the possibilities and limits solidarities and alliances across intersections of difference both within social categories (e.g. Indigenous or people of colour) and between them; this includes intersections of racialization, colonialism, gendering, capital, legal status, and sexuality.

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*Roundtable - Settler Colonialisms: Solidarities, Territorialities and Embodiment*

This roundtable is a platform to engage with emergent literature and political solidarities between indigenous and non-indigenous people of colour in Settler colonial states. Groups including migrant rights groups, transnational social movements including feminist, queer and anti-capital movements have increasingly developed a language and politics of solidarity with indigenous communities. In this roundtable we propose to investigate the mechanisms and politics of solidarity, challenges of territoriality and the strategic framings of a politics of embodiment, affect and practices of resistance. One goal is to explore the limitations and possibilities of an intersectional social and political theory that might be at the foundation of these movements. Another goal of this roundtable is to significantly challenge a politics of anti-racism disconnected from a territorial and spatial grounding. This roundtable takes as its point of departure the understanding that the material reality of dispossession cannot be disconnected from a critical anti-racist dialogue in settler colonial settings.

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*Canadian security Policy Making in times of Austerity: Whole-of- Government Approach: promises and controversies*

The proponents would defend this vision in terms of efficiency and economic rationality in the context of emerging complex operations in both human and technical aspects. If the current stove piped security policy process is streamlined, the government would be able to mobilize and coordinate the available resources and partners towards focused objectives within clear mandate. Moreover, in times of budgetary constraints, WGA would create a complementary division of labor where the redundancy and rivalry for privileges give place to positive-sum game. The exponents on the other hand are pessimistic about its very possibility. They believe that even where WGA has been in place with less ambitious goals with mainly interarm (i.e. security&military) actors, it has confronted the resistance of departments', so to speak, tribal identities. This paper attempts at answering the following key question. In light of lessons of the Canadian operations from Afghanistan to Vancouver Olympics to late Haiti humanitarian mission, which one of the optimist and pessimist interpretations stands the empirical test? This paper submits that a middle ground (between minimalist and maximalist) interpretation of WGA is possible. The challenge is to single out the key operationalized variables from the selected security operations where WGA had either limited or significant success in order to build a testable model of functionality considering factors such as strategic command, number and variety of actors, the place of the mission.

**Dlabac, Oliver** (oliver.dlabac@gmail.com)

*Assessing Democratic Urban Governance: Towards a Comparative Framework*

Urban regime theory maintains a privileged position of business power within governing coalitions. New institutionalism points to power asymmetries in the institutions and practices of governments and bureaucracies. Yet, it is precisely in this domain of urban governance where democratic innovations are presumed to hold their most radical potentials. In an effort to integrate advancements in urban research and democracy research, we propose democratic criteria for a global assessment of local governance arrangements (empowered advocacy, accountable administration). These arrangements are conceived as embedded in a broader democratic context, i.e. institutions of direct legislation (participation), representative government (rule of law, accountable leadership, representation) and metropolitan governance (advocacy of affected localities, capacity for collective action). We compile a data set on governance institutions and their democratic qualities with regard to urban planning in Stuttgart, Zurich, Vancouver and Toronto, and we show how different institutional arrangements and their designs bear on a city's democratic governance. Future studies may explore how democratic governance affects urban development and public attitudes.

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*Coping With Pressures of Decentralization: Challenges and Surviving Strategies of Local Governments in Post-Decentralized Brazil, India and South Africa*

Post-decentralized political and administrative contexts are often insufficiently analyzed. By focusing on the different responses of local governments to decentralization in Brazil, India and South Africa, this paper reveals how local governments in three decentralized federal democracies cope with post decentralized cooperative pressures. With this aim the paper attempts, first, to explain the different ways in which local governments behave in a context of growing policy interdependency in the intergovernmental arena. And, second, the paper analyses the underlying institutional and structural causes behind different responses to similar problems of intergovernmental cooperation. In the paper intergovernmental cooperation is defined as the challenges of compliance with central and state governments' norms, the competition to influence policy at other levels of government, the shirking of responsibilities, and the failure in service delivery. Based on this definition the paper foresees that depending on the structural and institutional incentives, local governments will react differently to the identified cooperation pressures. Preliminary results indicate that in countries where decentralization has been the outcome of bargain among national and subnational political elites, local governments have acquired policy and institutional instruments to cope with post-decentralized cooperation pressures.

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*Decision-making in a governance network: an empirical and counterfactual analysis*

Governments have acknowledged that with 'wicked' public problems like homelessness, governance arrangements that bring diverse state and societal actors around the table in institutionalized governance networks can help address the complexity that one level of government or civil society organization cannot do alone. This paper confronts a key counter-factual question in the scholarly debate over the extent to which (and why) networks 'matter': would decisions be made differently if traditional decision-makers (bureaucrats and elected officials), rather than the network actors, made the policy and resource allocation decisions? This question generally cannot be answered empirically, given the counter-factual premise. However, the researcher was embedded in a homelessness governance network over several months during an important period of concrete and quantifiable decision-making, allowing empirical analysis of the distinct bureaucratic and network actor conceptualizations of the policy problem, preferred policy solutions and programmatic choices in a deliberative setting. The data collected and presented in this paper function as a quasi-experiment and the evidence confirms that civil society actors and bureaucrats show considerable variation in their evaluation of projects and policy choices, and that deliberative activity among network actors matters to the policy outputs. The paper concludes by offering an abstracted model for how 'persuasion' is the key causal mechanism driving deliberative activity in governance networks, explaining for why some arguments pass through key filter points in some contexts over others, with rules, credibility and transmission being the key determinants of persuasiveness of arguments on the path towards a convergence position.

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*Democratic Rats? Michel Serres, Karni Mata, and the Animal Research Complex*

What can rats tell us about politics? Common narratives imagine rats as disease-carrying vermin, subjects of laboratory experimentation, and in an Orwellian turn that reflects this generalized denigration, rats are now denied classification as “animals” according to the US Animal Welfare Act. But what if rats are less to be exterminated than emulated? Playing off of these common tropes, the work of Michel Serres instead celebrates rats, and parasitism more generally, by showing its crucial role in the evolution of human social relations: for Serres it is not that humans need parasites to live, but that humans are so successful precisely because we are essentially parasites - i.e. rats. Serres’s inversion of the traditional view of rats leaves out two crucial points, however: the issue of “real” living rats (especially those in research laboratories), and the view of these animals from outside of the Western milieu that Serres assumes. For this I suggest travelling imaginatively to the Temple of Karni Mata in India, where 20,000 sacred rats are tended as reincarnations of the sons of the goddess Karniji. Opening such a three-way dialogue, between the conventional Western denigration of rats, Serres, and Karni Mata, allows us to see the contingency of the animal research complex’s conception of rats. More importantly, it also offers the possibility of including rats as political agents rather than treating them as mere laboratory subjects.

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*Liberals and Tyranny: Montesquieu, Kant and Mill*

Liberals and tyranny: Montesquieu, Kant and Mill Shiraz Dossa It seems absurd to link liberals and tyranny. Calling them aficionados of tyranny seems offensive. After all, the liberal idea conjures up freedom. It is the grace note of the anti-autocrat. Yet is it really that absurd? Liberal theorists like Montesquieu justified tyranny over the “lesser races” with facility. Occasional sympathetic comments aside, the lovers of liberty had few qualms about it. Indeed the liberal sensibility was/is suffused with racist feelings. Their racial superiority was obvious to them. Unsurprisingly liberals thrive on wars and imperialism. They cast them, naturally, as civilizing/humanitarian missions. In this paper I trace the liberal proclivity for tyranny in Montesquieu, Kant and Mill and its consequences. They have been misread as unprejudiced thinkers; the readings on offer on them are critically flawed. My first claim is that tyranny is intrinsic to liberal theory and practice. My second claim is that a kind of fascism underlies liberalism. Sheldon Wolin calls it “inverted totalitarianism”. It was blatant in the conquest of the Americas; in the genocide of native Indians and the enslavement of Africans. It is conspicuous in the liberal ‘war on terror’, in its endless wars on Muslims/Arabs. In the writings of liberals like Michael Walzer, Martin Peretz and Paul Berman, this liberal habit is explicit and pervasive.

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*Decisional participation and citizens' influence*

Democratic practice can take many forms, among which the most recognized is electoral participation, but citizens may also participate in collective governance more directly in the form of public participation. Initiated and supervised by decision-makers, public participation varies greatly in the citizens' level of influence (Bherer 2011). Caddy and Vergez (2002) differentiate between informative processes, consult processes, and participation in decision-making. While a consult process involves a more active degree of engagement than a passive informative process, it is only when actors are allowed to participate in the decision-making that they exercise real power. We refer to this form of participation as “decisional participation.” This research explores citizens’ influence when involved in decisional participation. Participative measures and processes have rarely been evaluated, even though scholars are numerous to question their effective influence (Caddy and Vergez 2002; Thibault, Lequin and Tremblay 2000). Our goal is therefore to better determine the expanse of actors’ power in instances of decisional participation. This communication presents the first results of our research, stemming from an exploratory phase during which we observed how participation worked within six decisional spaces, including two school boards.

**Dragojlovic, Nick** (ndragojl@ucalgary.ca)

**Einsiedel, Edna** (einsiede@ucalgary.ca)

*Will Biofuels Become a Controversial Technology in North America? Climate Change and Cultural Polarization on Energy Policy*

Unlike in Europe, biofuels subsidies and mandates in North America have been justified largely as economic development or energy policies rather than as a climate change mitigation strategy. As a consequence, this issue has largely been spared the cultural and political polarization that characterizes climate policy in both Canada and, more starkly, in the United States. But how stable is this equilibrium, particularly given the effort to market second-generation biofuels as more environmentally friendly? To answer this question, we conduct a comprehensive survey of the current state of public opinion on biofuels in North America. Using data from a range of publicly accessible surveys, we begin by exploring the extent to which Canadians and Americans perceive biofuels through the prism of climate change, specifically, rather than through more generic sustainable development, economic competition, or energy independence frameworks. Drawing from cultural cognition theory, we derive and test a set of expectations about how framing biofuels policies as a way of reducing greenhouse gas emissions influences individual attitudes towards biofuels. Finally, we interpret our findings in light of the increasing polarization in public perceptions of climate change in North America, and consider how aggregate public support for biofuels policies is likely to change if the issue becomes more strongly associated with climate change.

**Drake, Anna** (amdrake@uwaterloo.ca)

*Deliberative Mini-publics and Democratic Contestation*

Recent attempts to employ the normative benefits of deliberative democratic theory in real-world settings have inspired the growth of deliberative forums, or “mini-publics”-groups small enough to be genuinely deliberative so that participants can engage in rich, but representative debate on important issues. The question of institutional design is paramount; selection methods are meant to ensure that

deliberants will be as inclusive as possible, whether by using random sampling to capture a deliberative microcosm (Fishkin 2009) or through the representation of discourses (Dryzek 2010). While acknowledging the important contributions of mini-publics, this paper draws attention to some key democratic problems. Of particular worry is that this approach may exclude or marginalize certain groups and concerns (Parkinson 2006). I question the wisdom of making firm selection decisions before deliberation begins and of the tendency to close off mini-publics to the larger public. At issue is extent to which mini-publics can facilitate deliberative democratic engagement. I look at the role of contestatory activity as it bears upon the health of deliberation and limits the potential contributions of deliberation. I examine instances of protest directed at deliberative forums, the forums' responses to this protest, and the institutional barriers in the design of mini-publics that downplay or problematize this interaction. Drawing from these observations I suggest ways to strengthen the democratic contributions of mini-publics as I look to develop stronger lines of accountability and engagement between small deliberative groups, the larger public, and the institutions that implement policy recommendations.

**Dubois, Janique** (janique.dubois@utoronto.ca)

*Constitution-Building, the Key to Métis Self-Government?*

The 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples recognizes the right of self-government for all Aboriginal peoples, including the Métis. Over the last decades, the Métis have succeeded in having their inherent right to self-government enshrined in the Constitution Act, 1982 and upheld in law by the 2003 Supreme Court of Canada Powley decision. While Canada's legal, institutional and political climate have evolved to more favourably accommodate the self-determination objectives of Aboriginal communities, the Métis continue to face significant challenges in exercising the right to govern themselves. In recent years, the Métis have shifted their attention from macro-political struggles to focus on their internal governance processes. The longtime President of the Métis National Council, Clément Chartier, argues that the Métis cannot engage in a government-to-government relationship and advocate for the recognition of their rights without first giving themselves the tools to work as a government and to speak as a nation. To this end, the Métis have embarked in an ambitious community-driven process to develop a national Métis Constitution. Through a historical institutional analysis of the relationship between the Métis' internal governance processes and self-determination, this paper explores whether constitution-building is the key to Métis self-government.

**Dubois, Janique** (janique.dubois@utoronto.ca)

Interdisciplinary roundtable which will hopefully be funded by the CFHSS under their funding programme for interdisciplinary sessions. Preferred date: June 4th to allow other associations to participate. What does it mean to be Métis in Canada? Bringing together leading scholars in the fields of history, anthropology, education, constitutional law, political science and sociology, this roundtable explores the complexity of the Métis reality in Canada. Focusing on the changes that have occurred in the decade since the Supreme Court of Canada's Powley decision, this session proposes an interdisciplinary conversation about contemporary Métis issues related to identity, rights, history, governance, politics and economics. This roundtable pushes disciplinary boundaries to encourage innovative, honest and engaged exchange about the changing reality of the Métis in Canada. Identity: Laura-Lee Kearns, Education, St. Francis Xavier University - lkearns@stfx.ca and Gregg Dahl, Privy Council Office - Gregg.Dahl@pco-bcp.gc.ca History: Siomonn Pulla, School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University pullasiomonn@gmail.com and Ian Peach, Law, University of New Brunswick - ipeach@unb.ca, Politics: Janique Dubois, University of Toronto - janique.dubois@utoronto.ca, Kelly Saunders, Political Science, Brandon University - SaundersK@BrandonU.CA and Christopher Adams, St. Paul's College, University of Manitoba - adamsc@cc.umanitoba.ca

**Dufour, Pascale** (pascale.dufour@umontreal.ca)

**Savoie, Louis-Philippe** (louis-philippe.savoie@umontreal.ca)

*Street Politics Against Representative Democracy? The Case of the Quebec Student's Movement*

The dominant framing of the 2012 Quebec student movement was that the street shouts too loud and that elections should be the legitimate (and preferred) place for doing politics. Starting from this presupposition, we analyse in more details the concrete links between these two social practices (protesting and voting) in representative democracy in the last 30 years (relying on secondary sources). We thus propose to read the student struggles through this analytical lens, using interviews with student protestors and the available quantitative data from the September 2012 provincial elections.

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*Public mobilisation, policy frames and policy change: the case of shale gas in Québec*

In Quebec, explorations by private companies have provoked strong reactions from organized groups and citizens. The mobilisation by civil society has led to changes in the governance of shale gas in Quebec. At first, the exploitation and exploration of shale gas was understood as solely a question of economic development through private investment. With the growing mobilisation, however, the debate has turned into a much broader discussion of Quebec's economic and political development. This shift in public debate is the result of a combination of factors: the growing articulation of social protest at different scales (from local towns to national coalitions and international networks); popular education via mobilizations and media exposure; and consultation conducted through an independent, public participatory venue. In this paper, we address the nature of this change by looking at a) how the environmental interests framed the issue, b) why they succeeded in re-orienting the debate, and finally c) why this re-orientation led to changes in governmental policies.

**Duyulmus, Cem** (cu.duyulmus@umontreal.ca)

*EU Pre-Accession Aid and Employment Policy in Candidate Countries : A new Approach with Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA)*

This paper aims at exploring the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) impact on employment policy by focusing on the employment policy reforms tackling female and youth employment in the candidate countries of Croatia, Macedonia, Turkey. The impact of the European Union's (EU) external dimension of social policy on candidate states has been evaluated as weak by the literature on the transformation of social policies and welfare states in Central and Eastern European (Lendvai, 2004; de la Porte and Deacon, 2004 and 2002; Ferge 2002). Rather than criticizing the lack of competence of the EU in the main domains of social policy (Kvist, 2004), the EU instruments, mainly PHARE programmes from 1997 to 2006, have been considered as not being appropriately designed for candidate countries. A single Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) has been established in 2007 replacing the instruments introduced for the 2000-2006 period for the candidate states with five components where the human resources development and institution building address labour market and social policy issues. The IPA by adopting the principles of regionalization, partnership and programming offer cognitive, legal, financial and political resources while mimicking directly the European Employment Strategy's priorities on female and youth employment. The IPA's impact in employment policy reforms in Croatia, Macedonia, Turkey depend on the governments' blame avoidance or credit claiming strategy in the reform process and conditioned by the policies legacies. Following the characterization IPA resources, the labour market and employment reforms in three candidate countries will be examined through process tracing.

**Eberts, Mary** (eberts@ebertslaw.ca)

*Legislating Race*

The Indian Act of Canada created a racial category, "Indian", that was meant to erase all of the identities and affiliations of the Indigenous peoples made subject to it. That category, however, was merely a borderland between what had been and the settler image of the future, when there would be "no Indian problem" because there would be "no Indians" (Duncan Campbell Scott, poet and Canadian government bureaucrat), because they would all have been assimilated. The Indian Act had many features designed to make that assimilation inevitable, and swift. Now we are in another borderland, however, because although the Act has been tragically successful in many ways, it has not succeeded in erasing Indigenous peoples. How to get out of the present borderland in a way that does not simply amount to another act of colonization or assimilation is one of the most difficult and important questions of our time.

**Eisenberg, Avigail** (avigaile@uvic.ca)

*Voting rights for non-citizens?: Treasure or Fool's Gold?*

Voting rights for non-citizens residents are often represented as treasure but are more often fool's gold. Voting rights may do little to improve fair relations between citizens and non-citizens, and in some circumstances, can deepen the vulnerability of non-citizens. This is especially true in multinational contexts where efforts have been made to extend the franchise to non-citizens in the midst of democratic struggles by national minorities for self-determination. However, the problem is also found in principled arguments for extending the franchise based on the 'all affected interest principle' which treats as unproblematic the issue of which community - the national majority or the minority - non-citizen residents identify with and are more likely to support in competitive electoral contexts. I argue that the all affected interests principle plausibly shows that those whose interests are affected by state power have a claim on the state for its attentiveness or even responsiveness to their interests, but they do not have a claim on the right to vote.

**Elder, Beth** (bethelder@gmail.com)

*Organizational Sponsorship of a Provincial Internship Programme: Motivations and Charitable-giving Decisions*

Why do organizations choose to sponsor a provincial legislature internship programme? There are a great number of charities requesting sponsorships, Most of these have a much higher visibility and public sympathy than a legislative internship programme for well-educated young adults in their twenties. This paper will examine the reasons that organizations chose to sponsor the Ontario Legislature Internship Programme (OLIP). This Programme has had a dramatic increase in the number of sponsors over the past nine years but the reasons for this are unclear. The examination will help uncover reasons why organizations seek this type of connections with a legislature and it should also help other provincial internship programmes to increase their revenue. There are a diverse set of motivations that could explain these sponsorship decisions. Some organizations may prefer a diversified range of charities and OLIP may be seen as a safe political donation because of its strong nonpartisan orientation. Others may want to educate future public leaders about their organizational concerns. Still others may have short-run political motivations such as increasing their political profile or "brand" among Ontario's public leaders. Even more short run is gaining access to elected officials and staff by attending Programme receptions at the legislature. This paper will try to uncover these motivations by interviewing representatives of OLIP sponsors. We will try to separate out goals they hope to achieve from general criteria they use to make sponsorship decisions.

**Ellermann, Antje** (antje.ellermann@ubc.ca)

*Learning from Policy Failure: Immigration Control and Contemporary Guestworker Recruitment in Germany*

Since the recruitment of several million guestworkers left behind a legacy of large-scale immigrant settlement across much of Western Europe, it has become accepted wisdom that "there is nothing more permanent than temporary foreign workers" (Martin, 2001). Democracies, many have argued, are fundamentally ill-suited for the operation of temporary migrant worker programs because as liberal states they are normatively and legally constrained in their ability to force workers and their families to leave. This paper challenges this widespread claim by comparing Germany's postwar guestworker system with the country's resumption of guestworker recruitment in the 1990s. Significantly, and in stark contrast to the previous recruitment period, Germany's contemporary guestworker programs have not resulted in unwanted immigrant settlement. I argue that while both recruitment systems were conceived in comparable institutional contexts, their inception has differed in one critical aspect: the ability of policy makers to draw lessons from past policy failure. While the

postwar guestworker system reflected a process of ad hoc decision making that showed little awareness of the possibility of immigrant settlement, contemporary guestworker policy is self-consciously designed to pre-empt permanent immigration by means of worker rotation and prohibitions on family unification. The paper concludes that scholars have overestimated the extent to which policy makers in liberal democracies are normatively and legally constrained in their ability to enforce the return of temporary foreign workers.

**Elson, Peter** (pelson@mtroyal.ca)

*Provincial Administration of Third Sector Relations: Smoke and mirrors or substance?*

Context: The Voluntary Sector Initiative (2000-2005) provided the impetus for nearly all provinces across Canada to both acknowledge and initiate a third wave of consultations, policy dialogues, capacity developments, and policy alignment strategies with the Third Sector (Elson, 2012). This paper will report on the results of a comparative analysis of the institutional structures all ten provincial governments have or have not developed to administer these policy initiatives. Argument or inquiry to be developed: This paper will argue that the institutional structures configured by provincial governments can be examined using the models of institutional change developed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010), namely displacement, layering, drift and conversion; as well as the formal, non-formal or informal institutionalization of these structures (Elson, 2011). In addition, this paper will explore the relationship between the institutional structures and policy type, scope, and impact. Method of analysis: will utilize a comparative case study methodology (George & Bennett, 2005), drawing on previously conducted interviews, published reports, and public announcements. Theoretical significance in relation to field: There is a growing field of comparative analysis of third sector-government relations (Gidron & Bar, 2010; Young, 2012). However much of this analysis has taken place at a national level. This paper intends to add to this body of knowledge by using a historical institutional framework to analyze provincial government administration of Third Sector policy relations. This analysis will also contribute to the understanding of the implications of provincial administration for the Third Sector.

**Epperson, Brent** (epperson@ualberta.ca)

*Media Representations of Health Care Reform in the United States: The Massachusetts Case (2002-2006)*

A generation ago, the failure of the Clinton Administration's federal 1993 Health Security Act (HSA) dashed the hopes of health reform advocates and made substantial media waves, suggesting that health care reform was politically unattainable in the United States (Budetti 2004; Skocpol 1996). Subsequent research demonstrated that media coverage eroded public support for the HSA, deriding President Clinton's approach to health reform, predicting legislative failure before the final Congressional deliberations, increasing public cynicism, and inadequately explaining the benefits of the Clinton plan (Cappella and Jamieson 1996; Hacker 1997; Huebner et al. 1997; Rhee 1997). Nearly two decades after the failure of the HSA, between 2006 and 2012, four state and federal health care reforms-the 2006 Massachusetts Health Reform Law (MHRL), the 2008 Utah Health System Reform (UHSR), the 2010 federal Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA), and Vermont's Act Relating to a Universal and Unified Health System of 2011 (VHR)-revealed greater political openness to health policy change. Like the 1993 federal HSA, these reforms made significant media waves during the Congressional and state legislative debates; however, less is known about the relationship between newspaper media representations and these legislative outcomes. As part of my doctoral dissertation, this paper explores the Massachusetts newspaper media coverage of the 2006 MHRL at three key points in time: the election campaign preceding the legislation, the legislative debates when the legislation was introduced, and the legislative outcome, critically examining the movement of language framing metaphors between the newspaper media and the Massachusetts state legislature.

**Ernesaks, Andrea** (aernesak@alumni.uwo.ca)

*From Part-Time Worker to Full-Time Professional: Examining the Professionalization of the Political Trade in the Ontario Legislature*

Politicians are the citizen leaders who represent us in deliberative bodies. Yet ordinary citizens are ambivalent about the very leaders they select to represent them. One issue, seemingly settled for provincial legislatures, still arises from time-to-time; should our legislators be part-time employees of the public or full-time professionals? In the years immediately following Confederation, the work of the politician was considered a part-time position, often relegated to those off-seasons in which formal, main employment was less essential. Over time, the role changed as the demands on legislators grew. Did this development mean that legislators became less representative? This paper will examine this changing role from part-time worker to full-time professional. We will supplement the historical record by interviewing past and present members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly. Do they believe this evolution was a good one. What are the good and bad features of this evolutionary change?

**Farney, Jim** (jim.farney@uregina.ca)

**Koop, Royce** (royce.koop@me.com)

*Canadian Party Constituency Associations: A Democratic Audit*

In order for local party organizations to have democratic benefits, they must be open to participation; they must be inclusive of different groups; and they must be responsive to the needs and wishes of Canadians. The question is: do Canadian party constituency associations meet these criteria? We judge the democratic performance of Canadian party constituency associations on the basis of three benchmarks derived from the 'Democratic Audit' study of Canadian politics that similarly judged Canadian democratic actors (Cross 2010). These benchmarks include participation, inclusiveness, and responsiveness. We find that, like most other institutions of Canadian democracy, constituency associations meet some of these benchmarks and fail at others. This forces us to consider possible institutional reforms but, also, what it is that those active in constituency associations are seeking in their political engagement and, by extension, the value of the three audit criteria. Do members of constituency associations feel their organizations are falling short of full democracy? or are they pursuing other goals?

**Farney, Jim** (jim.farney@uregina.ca)

*'Resource Development in Saskatchewan under Wall and Harper: Complementary Conservatisms or Competing Rentiers?'*

This paper examines the approach to economic development, especially natural resource development, taken by the Saskatchewan Party government of Brad Wall. Though the Saskatchewan Party has its roots in the same right-populism as the federal Conservatives and has considerable overlap of ideology and electoral support, much of the Saskatchewan Party's economic development policy are hold-overs from previous NDP governments. The paper explores the tension this complex set of legacies creates between the two governments, paying particular attention to efforts at co-operative decision making around potash and immigration.

**Fenna, Alan** (a.fenna@curtin.edu.au)

*Australian Federalism and the Notion of 'Province-Building'*

This paper uses the Australian case to shed light on the putative phenomenon of 'province-building' in Canadian federalism. In doing so, it seeks to test how well that concept travels across the main federal systems; whether the concept is analytically meaningful; and what the relationship is between the developments it identifies and the general tendencies toward centralisation in federal systems. To do so, asks first whether we can identify analogous moments in Australian federalism and detect a common evolutionary pattern; and secondly, whether differences between the two cases can be traced to differences in any of the explanatory variables widely canvassed in studies of comparative federalism.

**Ferguson, Peter** (p.ferguson@uwo.ca)

**El-Hajj Hassan, Ali** (aelhajjh@uwo.ca)

*They mean what they say, but do they say what they mean? The Differential Usage of 'Democracy' in Foreign Policy*

In the democratization literature much effort is expended on defining democracy. There are many schools of thought surrounding the issue, most obvious are those which purport a maximal or a minimal definition. This paper assesses the manner in which the different definitional approaches are reflected in the discourses employed by external actors seeking to affect the democratization process within a country. The paper illustrates this argument through a case study exploring the consistency of definitions employed by the United States in response to two key events in Venezuela under the Presidencies of Perez and Chavez. By juxtaposing the US involvement in the 1989 Caracazo and the 2002 attempted coup of Chavez, we find that two contradictory definitions of democracy were employed to substantiate US political responses to these events. We find this inconsistent use of democracy is symptomatic of political pragmatism; that the contexts of the Caracazo and the 2002 coup dictated whether a maximal or a minimal definition of democracy guided US responses. We find that the inconsistent application of the definition of democracy degrades the future use of the term because it has practical policy implications; domestic actors in similar circumstance have no framework for judging international response to events in their country because the core of the definition dictates the direction of external actor involvement. The paper concludes by exploring how such inconsistent applications based on pragmatic considerations negatively affects the dynamic communication process that takes place between the academic and policy communities.

**Ferguson, Peter** (p.ferguson@uwo.ca)

*Can the Arab Spring Empower Women? A View from Inside Women's Organizations in Jordan*

The events of the Arab Spring drew the world's attention to the possibilities that movement toward democracy held for the region and in particular women. The hope was that civil society would take advantage of the political openings in transitioning countries to further empower women. This paper draws on a set of more than three dozen interviews conducted during the summer of 2012 in Jordan to evaluate the effectiveness of women's organizations in a post-Arab Spring Middle Eastern setting. The paper argues that the effectiveness of women's organizations is impeded by institutional barriers as well as cultural constraints. Based on interviews conducted with leaders in women's organizations, elected officials and government bureaucrats, we examine effectiveness in terms of policy influence and programmatic efficacy. On policy advocacy, we find that a number of legal institutional constraints, such as the prohibition against groups transgressing into the political sphere, undermine the influence of women's organizations. The interviews also point to a variety of cultural barriers to policy efficacy such as the widely held belief in the apolitical nature of civil society. In addition, we find that institutional structures as well as elitism and shifting time horizons amongst leaders in women's organizations undermine programmatic effectiveness. The paper speaks to literatures addressing women and politics, civil society and interest groups and democratization. The findings, while limited to the current Jordanian context, speak to broader regional as well as global trends in the challenges faced by women's organizations in societies experiencing political upheaval.

**Ferland, Benjamin** (benjamin.ferland@mail.mcgill.ca)

*Why do SMP electoral systems foster ideological congruence?*

The existing literature on ideological congruence has typically looked at congruence after elections when governments are formed. Instead, we compare the proximity between governments and their citizens at the beginning and at the end of government mandates. More particularly, we examine the impact of electoral systems on change in citizen-government ideological congruence between elections as well as the impact on congruence at the end of government mandates. Based on a veto player approach, we assume that electoral systems influence a government's capacity to adjust to changes in citizen preferences and this capacity is a function of the number of veto players in the government. We argue that a single-party majority government - fostered by a single-member plurality (SMP) electoral system - is in a better position to be responsive to its citizens. If so, this will be reflected in greater ideological congruence in between elections and at the

end of government mandates. When governments have the ability to adjust their policies according to citizen demands this is beneficial for the representational process.

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*Governments' ideological responsiveness in a spatial model of party competition - the negative impact of PR electoral systems*

The evidence about the impact of electoral systems on government responsiveness is sparse. Moreover, models of governments' ideological responsiveness do not take into account the insights put forward by the literature on spatial model of party competition. Whereas governments' ideological responsiveness was conceived as governments adjusting their spending correspondingly with shifts in the position of the median voter; we assume that governments' ideological responsiveness embedded into a spatial model of party competition reflects governments adjusting their public spending in order to converge on the ideological position of the median voter. The general implication is that left (right) governments once elected decrease (increase) their spending in order to converge on the median voter. Second, we assume that as the number and diversity of veto players increase in government it becomes harder for governments to match citizens' ideological preferences in adjusting their public spending. As a result, we argue that governments under SMP electoral systems are more responsive to citizens' ideological preferences than governments under PR electoral systems since they are less constrained to modify their policies.

**Filion, Guillaume** (gfilion@uvic.ca)

*On the Computerization of Cultural Politics: Digital Production of Knowledge and Posthumanist Diplomacy.*

My paper discusses how the computerization of cultural politics delegates power and distributes entitlements to act as the spokespersons of cultural heritage. Taking digital archives as a case study, my hypothesis is that computerization is much more than a set of resources, but implies the synchronization of the categories and truth values of archives with computational standards. Computational processes of archivization project their ontology upon the world. If networked computing destabilized archival norms and practices at the beginning of the first wave of digitization, archivism is about to find a new institutional form through the creation of a heterogeneous collective of people, objects, and ideas made of the association of memory organizations with digital humanities. In contrast to the celebrated emancipatory and democratizing qualities of digital technologies, the development of digital archives shows the coalescence of new centres of authority in the production and communication of cultural heritage; relations of power that enact what I call "augmented performativity." It demonstrates that digitization is easier for certain kinds of bodies, in particular those bodies that are not archives of violence, exclusion, and trauma. Compared to the uncritical appropriation of corporate and governmental techniques of data mining and visualization by digital scholarship, the last book of Bruno Latour is accompanied with an online platform offering alternative knowledge practices that overcome authoritative judgement and postmodern irony through the outline of a posthumanist diplomacy.

**Findlay, Tammy** (tammy.findlay@msvu.ca)

*Fiscal Federalism and Social Struggle: Social Policy Activism in Canada*

I've never seen a placard that says, "Three Cheers for Cost-Sharing" or "I [picture of a heart here] the Spending Power." But, at a public meeting last winter about Women and the 2014 Health Accord, Leanne MacMillan, from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Nova Scotia (CCPA-NS) set out to describe Sections 91 and 92 of the Canadian constitution, and to stress why they matter for social justice. In classes on women and politics, I regularly find myself explaining that while federalism might seem 'boring,' understanding it is central to advancing women's social rights. This is because in Canada, the struggle for social citizenship requires engagement with fiscal federalism. Social forces must constantly translate this abstract institutional arrangement into something tangible in order to organize and mobilize citizens. How are they doing this? What strategies are they employing? What are the challenges to this ongoing political project? How can it be strengthened? In this paper, I employ a feminist political economy approach. I begin by briefly outlining the link between fiscal federalism and social justice. In particular, I consider the gendered nature of Canada's social policy regime (Cameron 2006; Brodsky and Day 2007; Brodie and Bakker 2007). I then build on the feminist literature that notes the ways in which federalism and multilevel governance complicate political organizing and social action (Sawer and Vickers 2010). I provide an overview of an array of recent tactics that have been employed to raise awareness about federal transfers and to rally public support for progressive social policy in relation to the 2014 Health Accord, the Canada Social Transfer (CST), and Federal-Provincial-Territorial (FPT) agreements on early learning and child care. This has included: town hall meetings, reports, teach-ins, fact sheets, report cards and other popular education, social media, open letters, rallies, voter socials, flash mobs, advertising campaigns (i.e. Red Umbrellas), coalitions, and fostering provincial alliances. I argue that with very few resources, activists have pieced together an impressive and multifaceted strategy. However, challenges remain in developing and sustaining an intersectional analysis, and contesting the policy silos between health and social transfers.

**Findlay, Tammy** (tammy.findlay@msvu.ca)

*Provincial Gender Regimes: Child Care and Social Citizenship in Canada*

In 2011, an article by Ontario's Early Learning Advisor, Charles Pascal appeared in the Toronto Star with the headline, "Provinces fill void on early education." After the cancellation of the Bilateral Agreements on Early Learning and Child Care (ELCC) by the federal government, several provinces appear to be 'going it alone.' Quebec has long had its own national child care system. Manitoba leads the provinces outside of Quebec in child care policy. Ontario, BC and PEI are expanding their systems of ELCC for four and five year olds. Nova Scotia has just completed a province-wide consultation on the Early Years. If there has been a "resurgence of substate building" in child care policy in Canada, how do we explain this apparent policy activism? Is it related to party politics? Are provinces embracing evidence-based policy, in response to Canada's consistent ranking behind most other advanced industrialized jurisdictions in the area of early learning and care (OECD 2006; UNICEF 2008)? I identify two, interrelated forces underlying this trend. First, we are seeing a contradictory process in which a

roll-out of the social investment approach is matched with a consolidation of diverse provincial welfare regimes, 'policy logics' (Mahon 2009), or gender regimes. Second, these provincial gender regimes are being reinforced by shifting strategies of social movements (including 'forum shopping') as they engage in a difficult struggle to access new subnational spaces of action without foreclosing on the national scale. For instance, the Code Blue for Child Care campaign has tried to strike this delicate balance. I conclude that such divergent gender regimes raise important questions about the role of the federal government in social policy and the rights of social citizenship in Canada.

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*This Ain't a Video Game: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among the Operators of Combat Unpiloted Aerial Vehicles*

In what has been dubbed the "UAV revolution" the U.S. Armed Forces have greatly increased their use of Unpiloted Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) for ground attack operations since 2001. Driven in part by a belief that relying on UAVs should all but eliminate friendly casualties, these assets have been used to assassinate suspected terrorists during the past decade and have also seen extensive use in conventional military operations. However, although the operators of combat UAVs are certainly at much lower risk of suffering physical harm during their combat operations, when compared to the pilots of manned aircraft, combat UAV operators are at heightened risk of developing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Indeed, unlike the pilots of manned aircraft, who rarely see the people they harm when they use deadly force, combat UAV operators frequently observe the casualties they inflict via the real-time high definition video feeds streaming from the very UAVs they operate. Much like ground soldiers, who also frequently observe the harm they inflict through their use of deadly force and suffer high rates of PTSD because of this, combat UAV operators are at heightened risk of developing this disorder because they may not be able to maintain a vital sense of mental detachment from the casualties they inflict during their operations. This paper will analyze the factors contributing to the relatively high rates of PTSD among combat UAV operators and propose means for mitigating these factors.

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*Canadian Public Opinion about the Military: Assessing the Determinants of Attitudes toward Defence Spending and the Participation of the Canadian Forces in Overseas Combat Operations*

Despite a decade of heightened defence spending and active fighting in the War in Afghanistan, the longest combat operation in the history of the Canadian Forces, scholars know precious little about how the socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes of Canadians may influence their views about taking part in overseas combat operations and funding the institution charged with carrying out these dangerous activities. What, then, are the determinants of Canadians' preferences about defence spending and the use of military force? By testing a range of hypotheses, which purport to explain the influence of a range of socio-demographic and attitudinal factors on Canadians' attitudes toward defence spending and the participation of the Canadian Forces in overseas combat operations, against data from the 2011 Canadian Election Study, the aim of this paper is to ascertain the most important determinants of Canadians' preferences about defence spending and the use of military force by the Government of Canada.

**Fletcher, Joseph** (josephf@chass.utoronto.ca)

*Ambivalence and Emotion in Public Responses to the Framing of Economic Equality Issues*

In a paper presented at last year's Canadian Political Science Association meeting, I examined the role of ambivalence in the framing of a classic civil issue of civil liberty. The results of that investigation found that contrary to the conventional understanding, framing effects were just as likely to occur among those with consistent predispositions as among those who are ambivalent regarding matters of free speech and assembly. Moreover, among the consistent the framing effects were mediated by emotional responses, most particularly anger. For this year's conference, I propose to extend my investigation to issues of economic equality. In the wake of the economic downturn and the rise of the Occupy movement, such concerns remain at the forefront of the public discourse. Unlike questions of liberty, however, public attitudes toward issues of equality tend to be more complex and multi-dimensional (Sniderman et al, 1996). As such, they pose an important avenue for extending the investigation of the role of ambivalence and emotion in framing effects. In particular, while I anticipate that those who are consistent in their predispositions will again respond to the same extent or more than the ambivalent to the framing of issues of economic equality, the mediating emotions will likely be more varied, including anger but potentially extending to include pride, disgust and shame. The investigations will be conducted through online survey experiments with members of the general public. The analysis will employ multivariate regression and related techniques.

**Flynn, Greg** (gregflynn@rogers.com)

*Going Green or Protecting Turf? Limitations on Judicial and Tribunal Discretion to Review Environmental Legislation.*

Critics of judicial intervention in the policy-making process allege that "judicial activism" unduly interferes with Parliamentary supremacy and the democratic will of the public. However, such arguments ignore the possibility that legislatures may impose restrictions on the scope of discretion of judicial and tribunal decision making bodies through the imposition of privative clauses, limitations on jurisdiction and high standards of review. This paper examines the extent to which legislatures in two jurisdictions (Ontario and New South Wales) have sought to limit judicial intervention in the environmental assessment process through the inclusion of such restricting provisions in their legislative schemes and the impact such efforts have had on judicial and tribunal consideration of cases falling under those provisions. It anticipates that concerns over judicial activism are overstated, with the courts demonstrating a significant degree of deference to lower

tribunals and the decisions of government officials. As such, it concludes that contrary to judicial activism concerns, the courts may present a limited avenue of opportunity for the pursuit of environmental concerns.

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*Penser la différenciation municipale et les politiques d'intégration des immigrants dans les grandes métropoles canadiennes - bilan des études en science politique et perspectives d'avenir*

La relative nouveauté des recherches sur les politiques locales d'intégration des immigrants apparaît a priori contre-intuitive au Canada et au Québec, dans le sens où le fédéralisme canadien fait partie des régimes les plus décentralisés en termes de gestion de l'immigration. Toutefois, comme les municipalités n'ont pas mandat explicite en la matière, l'étude des politiques locales d'intégration a été très longtemps considérée comme non pertinente face au primat des ordres de gouvernement dits supérieurs. Chantier de recherche quasiment inexploré il y a une quinzaine d'années, il a depuis incontestablement gagné en popularité. Le tournant bienvenu vers une territorialisation des politiques d'immigration et d'intégration au Canada a permis l'émergence de nouvelles pistes d'analyse qui sont aujourd'hui reconnues comme légitimes au sein de la discipline. Ce début d'institutionnalisation au sein de la discipline nous semble constituer un moment propice pour : proposer un bilan de ses acquis du point de vue de l'analyse des politiques publiques (i) présenter les principales lignes de démarcation à la fois théoriques et méthodologiques qui structurent cette littérature (ii) et souligner les nouvelles avenues de recherches (iii). A travers ces trois axes d'analyse, nous allons particulièrement discuter de la prise en compte de la différenciation municipale au sein des trois grandes régions métropolitaines de Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver.

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*The Deaf Leading the Blind? Public Opinion and European Union Policy-Making*

This paper examines the connection between public opinion and policy change, asking to what extent the level of public support for specific policies (to be) enacted by the European Union helps to explain changes in the volume of European legislation in those policy areas across time. Past research has established a link between public opinion and policy, with the European public responding to the volume of EC/EU legislation. This paper confirms that linkage over a longer time period and investigates the other half of the reciprocal link: Do the decisions of the European Union reflect the wishes of the European public? We employ data from Eurobarometer surveys conducted since 1978. Additionally, we use data from the Official Journal of the EU for the same time period to classify legislation into policy fields. We find evidence that EU policy-makers do respond to EU public opinion to some extent, but that there is a substantial disjuncture between the public and policymakers overall and in most policy areas. That is, while there is evidence of representation, a democratic deficit remains.

**Franovic, Angela** (afran019@uottawa.ca)

*The Strategic Use of Administrative Reforms in Canada: Challenging the Meta-Narrative of Efficiency and Effectiveness*

Administrative reforms have been boasted as important changes to government in pursuit of restructuring perceived rigid and inefficient bureaucracies. The literature has a common narrative/discourse that depicts administrative reforms as efficient and effective measures that can also allow for a more autonomous and accountable civil service. Although there has been literature that addresses concerns of measuring administrative reforms and its general economic goals, very little literature is dedicated to challenging the definition/rhetoric of administrative reforms. With these reforms come unintended consequences that can supersede that of the attained/expected benefits, including, the politicization of bureaucracies that are meant to remain neutral. Unfortunately, the research of political control focuses on overall political systems, or the attention given to public issues by governments. This paper will examine three governmental departments in Canada (Defence, Public Safety, and Environment) to understand the impact of administrative reforms, how they are utilized, and to what extent political officials exert control over civil servants using such reforms. This study will specifically look at two reform mechanisms, management accountability frameworks and the use of committee hearings, in order to examine their effect on the possible variation of political control. To facilitate this theoretical reflection, this study will focus on a series of semi-structured interviews with managers within the Canadian civil service along with a critical discourse analysis of government priorities, management frameworks, official speeches and documents, and budgets. To further provide a multi-method approach and contextualize the discourse, political practices will be observed through official public governmental hearings.

**Frost, Catherine** (frostc@mcmaster.ca)

*Founding and forgetting: The strange case of Ireland's Proclamation of Independence*

This paper is about a puzzle surrounding the Irish Proclamation of Independence. It was issued amidst an unpopular uprising that culminated in surrender. Yet a century later, the Proclamation is taken to mark the birth of the modern Irish state. Declarations of Independence represent a peculiar form of political speech. They are integral to the legitimacy of a political community, yet they defy categorization. Does a Declaration describe a political community (making it constative speech) or did it create one (making it performative). Hannah Arendt and Jacques Derrida suggest these two elements overlap in the founding act, granting instantaneous authority to the claims of autonomy. But not all foundings follow the same pattern. The Irish case illustrates that there can be a significant gap between origin and outcome, pointing to the role of interpretation. But this is an answer that begs the question: why attribute authority to founding speech, when it is the subsequent process that is the deciding factor? Arendt explains that the long-term management of a constitutional heritage can invest a founding with more authority than it had at the time. But Arendt has in mind a founding that had otherwise taken root. Her theory does not address how a failed declaration can become a successful one. The paper

traces how public discourse surrounding the Irish Proclamation shifted from rejection to (qualified) embrace, and asks what lessons can be learned that will help us understand and anticipate the power and adaptability of founding speech in other settings.

**Frost, Catherine** (frostc@mcmaster.ca)

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*Making and authenticating the citizen: naturalization and passport applications as windows on the practices of political membership*

This paper asks how the state makes and authenticates members of a political community. It studies two related but nevertheless fundamentally different processes, namely the exceptional situation of citizenship acquisition through naturalization, and the seemingly mundane experience of validating one's identity for the purpose of a passport application. Contrasting these practices allows us to see 1) how the membership exercise differs between insiders and outsiders, 2) how these processes serve to define how a member must appear to the authorities that administer them, and 3) how the national community reconstitutes itself by inviting, accepting and rejecting naturalization and passport applications. For instance, in Canada, wearing a face veil constitutes a disadvantage for taking up Canadian citizenship, being involved with the Canadian forces may accelerate naturalization. Gender ambiguity, by contrast, presents problems for issuing passports. In effect you have to have one gender, and only one gender, to be a valid member of a passport-issuing state. Yet medically around ten percent of any population is thought to have some kind of gender ambiguity, quite aside from the case of individuals who voluntarily change theirs. Application requirements for naturalization and passports therefore define what "Canadian" is and how a Canadian must act or look like. They thereby reflexively define the possibilities for future membership. By studying both processes as citizenship-in-the-making, the paper aims to grasp their meaning beyond its political and legal significance, rather it examines them as modes of defining and (re-producing our identity and the social ties between us.

**Fuji Johnson, Genevieve** (gfjohnso@sfu.ca)

*Reclaiming the Value of Protest Action from the Long Shadow of Deliberative Democracy*

There have been several attempts by political theorists to grapple with the place and role of non-violent protest and direct action within the framework of deliberative democracy. These arguments hold that protest and direct action are justifiable insofar as they serve in bringing about the conditions for deliberative democratic practices, procedures, and institutions and, ultimately, deliberative democracy. I wish to caution against this prioritizing tendency by highlighting a value of protest that is derived from its service to ends beyond, and sometimes even counter to, deliberative democracy. Exploring cases at the margins of both society and theory, including the experiences of sex trade workers, transgendered people, future generations, and non-human animals exposes the need for multiple approaches to identifying, exposing, articulating, and addressing forms of injustice. Deliberative democracy and protest are fundamentally different means but can be complementary, even when they are at odds with each other, in developing and achieving a conception of justice that meaningfully addresses the diversity, complexity, and tragedy that characterize the reality of many of our collective problems.

**Gaede, James** (james@islerc.com)

*The Political-Economic Potential of Carbon Capture and Storage in Canada: A Framework for Prospective Assessment*

Prospectively assessing the potential of different energy technologies to serve as emissions-reductions options is useful in guiding policy decision-making, yet most efforts do not adequately consider social and political dimensions of technological potential. What work has been done in this area looks mainly at public awareness and perceptions of risk associated with the technology. This paper argues that there is more to estimating the social and political potential of a technology than public opinion, and that literature on the connection between political economy and socio-technical transitions is informative on this point. Based on a review of this literature, the paper develops and applies a framework by which to prospectively assess the potential for Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) across the 10 Canadian provinces. This research was conducted as part of a larger project being undertaken in collaboration with researchers at Simon Fraser University and funded by Carbon Management Canada to develop analytical tools for assessing the emissions reduction potential of CCS in Canada.

**Gaede, James** (james@islerc.com)

*Politics as Distinction: Observing the Future for Sustainable Energy*

The concept of sustainability is meaningless without consideration of the future. 'The future' (singular) can be conceived of as a non-existent but potentially real realm in which we entertain competing visions of what could, should, or likely will come to pass. These visions are often referred to as 'futures' (plural), and include both the products of observing the future (i.e., reports, scenarios, predictions and prophecies) but also the techniques used to create them (forecasting, backcasting, scenario planning, etc.) In the field of energy systems and sustainability, the primary intention of such futures is to bring more information into decision-making processes in the present, in order to shape and influence the very thing they purport to be observing: the future. Despite their widespread use and importance, conventional understanding of 'the politics' of such futures remains impoverished. Framing this activity as fundamentally technological in nature this paper explores how such a conceptualization sheds new light on the politics of futures, arguing that at the root of political controversy over futures for sustainable energy is an ultimately unanswerable question: the question of what is or is not realistic to think about the future.

**Galabuzi, Grace-Edward** (galabuzi@ryerson.ca)

*Situating contending and complementally subaltern claims against Anglo-Franco conformity in anti-colonial and anti-racist discourses and practices*

The paper will discuss some of the theorizations of the contemporary tensions in the relationship between indigenous peoples and racialized people rooted in contending claims for recognition and struggles for racial justice. One is rooted in demands for inherent right to

self-government and the other in a contested multicultural framework that operates to structure dis-citizenship for indigenous populations even as it serves to legitimize a colonial order that dispossesses indigenous nations of the right to self-determination and land claims. It will explore the theoretical foundations of the tension between indigenous and racialized experiences in Canada and the prospects for solidarity.

**Garvie, Kathryn** (kgarvie@uvic.ca)

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*Taming the Industry? Consultation on unconventional gas in NE British Columbia*

British Columbia's Natural Gas Strategy (2011) anticipates an increase in unconventional gas production of almost 300% in less than a decade, making the industry a major economic driver for the province. Residents of Northeast BC have experienced the impacts of conventional gas development for decades, but shale gas poses significantly different risks due both to the pace and scale of industry expansion, and to the use of hydraulic fracturing for extraction. In the absence of robust baseline ecological data, a landscape-scale planning process for industry development, and any form of cumulative effects assessment, significant concerns are being raised about the potential landscape-scale impacts of the industry. These effects will be felt most acutely by Treaty 8 First Nations, who risk losing the ability to meaningfully practice their treaty rights on the land. This research investigates the capacity of existing oil and gas consultation processes to adequately respond to concerns raised by Treaty 8 First Nations. Semi-structured interviews with individuals directly and indirectly involved with unconventional gas consultation were used to assess the existing consultation process and identify priorities for improving it. The paper develops an argument that only a rescaling of authority would allow First Nations to participate adequately in decision-making processes to protect their treaty rights and ensure the sustainability of the industry. However, such a restructuring currently appears unlikely, which suggests that significant hurdles to the industry's social license to operate could be on the horizon.

**Gattinger, Monica** (mgatting@uottawa.ca)

*A National Energy Strategy for Canada: Golden Age or Golden Cage of Energy Federalism?*

In recent years, energy has climbed steadily higher on public, political and policy agendas in Canada at the federal, provincial and municipal levels alike. Against this backdrop, some premiers have called for a 'national energy strategy.' This runs counter to Canadian governments' tendency in recent decades to eschew 'national' approaches to energy. So why calls for a national strategy now? How likely are these calls to succeed? Surprisingly, there has been very limited attention to energy in Canadian federalism scholarship. This paper seeks to begin remedying this gap by developing the concept of 'energy federalism' and exploring current calls for a national energy strategy in the context of broader historical patterns of intergovernmental energy relations. Drawing on scholarship on intergovernmental coordination and the author's research on Canada-US policy relations, the paper will develop an analytical framework to explore the nature and administrative underpinnings of intergovernmental policy relations. The paper will then use the framework and literature on Canadian energy policy (oil, gas and electricity), to identify broad periods of energy federalism since the early 1900s. The analysis will seek to identify key drivers and inhibitors of 'national' energy approaches, and draw on these insights to assess the likelihood of current calls for a 'national energy strategy' meeting with success. This paper forms part of the author's broader research interests in interjurisdictional energy relations, which have to this point focused predominantly on the Canada-US case.

**Gaucher, Megan** (megan.gaucher@queensu.ca)

*Marriage Fraud Beware!: Canada's Anti-Marriage Fraud Campaign and the Production of 'Legitimate' Conjugal Citizens*

Two recent controversial court decisions - the Ontario Court of Appeal's decriminalization of prostitution and the Supreme Court's upholding of polygamy laws - have drawn attention to the complexity of rights discourse, specifically the issue of a woman's right to choose. In both decisions, the "at risk" group was women; debates on whether the laws in question should be upheld or repealed therefore focused on the harm such actions would incur on this vulnerable population. While discussions concerning which rights hold primacy are always complicated, debates on prostitution and polygamy involve a moral component; altering state treatment of these issues means challenging normalized assumptions about sex and gender. As a result, support for criminalization was premised on protecting women from harm, and in both cases, the issue of a woman's right to choose was relatively unaddressed. This paper examines the parallels between current discussions on the decriminalization of prostitution and polygamy in Canada, and the implications these debates present for rights discourse. This paper proceeds in three parts. First, I situate my paper by exploring rights talk in Canada, particularly focusing on women's rights including the right to security of the person and the right to freedom from gender discrimination. Second, the paper examines how these court decisions fit into Canadian rights talk, analyzing the feminist rhetoric used to advocate both sides. Finally, I explore the implications this rhetoric has for the population both sides claim to be protecting and for Canadian rights discourse more generally.

**Gaudry, Adam** (ajpg@uvic.ca)

*"The Manitoba Treaty": The Manitoba Act and its Negotiation as a Treaty*

In 1870, the Métis Provisional Government sent a delegation to Ottawa to discuss unilateral claims of Canadian authority over the Métis homeland. What emerged from these discussions was a bilateral agreement, of which the Manitoba Act of 1870, was a small component. While political historians have treated the Manitoba Act as unilateral legislation that extended Canadian sovereignty westward, a closer analysis of the negotiations reveals a more robust treaty agreement, based on the understanding the Métis possessed rights as a people to their homeland, and awareness that Canada's claim to the North West was inferior to Métis status as "natives of the country." By analyzing the debates of the Provisional Government, and the Métis-Canadian negotiation process that led to the "Manitoba Treaty" this paper argues that Métis and Canadian leaders both understood the political necessity of Métis consent to Canadian presence in the North West, and Canada's obligation to negotiate with the Métis as a people. What the treaty envisioned was a confederal relationship that allowed

Canadian presence in the new province of Manitoba, alongside the solidification of Métis control over the most important political institutions in the province, such as the legislature. Rather than extending the Crown's sovereignty over Indigenous lands, the treaty and its negotiation explicitly recognized Métis nationhood, and a nation-to-nation relationship with Canada. Typically thought of as a people without a treaty, this paper argues that the Métis people intentionally entered into a bilateral treaty agreement with Canada, and that this treaty remains binding today.

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*Did they Mind the Gap? The Distance between the BQ and Quebec Voters Over Time*

Due to a crumbling of the Bloc Québécois' (BQ) electoral support, the results of the May 2, 2011 election were stunning for a party that had dominated Quebec's federal electoral landscape for years. Whereas most commentators concentrated on what had happened in the 2011 election itself, a more thorough and grounded interpretation of the results should examine not only the evolution of the BQ electorate over time, but also the party's issue positioning. Consequently, the relationship between party and voter merits a more detailed study. Has the gap between the typical BQ voter and the party increased, decreased, or stayed the same over time? Making use of Canadian Election Studies and BQ platforms covering the period from 1993 to 2011, this paper will explore the ways in which the BQ electorate, as well as BQ issue positions, might have evolved throughout the party's history. Studying the voter-party relationship diachronically in the Quebec context will shed light not only on the 2011 election, but also on the political mismatch between electors and elected in Western democracies.

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*The Question of Race in International Relations Theory*

International Relations, like most disciplines, tells stories about itself -- stories about its origins, its great thinkers, and dominant theories. These stories take the West as their point of departure with the ideals of peace and security defined in this specific Western way as their intended destination. Drawing on contemporary debates within postcolonial theories such as Chowdhry and Nair (2004), Beier (2005) and Agathangelou and Ling (2009), I argue the erasure of race as an analytical category in the stories of IR are made possible through a series of ontological and epistemological maneuverers. These in turn, structure a 'common sense' of what the boundaries of IR are and the definition of the political underpinning these boundaries. It is my contention that IR, as a field that purports to study the world, can no longer sustain this Eurocentric starting point. First, I critically analyze the story of IR as it has been told to expose the similar epistemological assumptions despite seemingly opposing ontologies. Second, I examine critical theorists' response to the traditional story of IR to show they too commit similar errors in terms of violence against the Other, despite important contributions and attempts to broaden the field. Third, I argue that IR as a field does not acknowledge its colonial legacies and demonstrate that, when colonialism and imperialism are taken as IR's point of departure, the gendered, racial, and class hierarchies that shape the field become visible.

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*Political Battlefield: Aggressive metaphors, gender, and power in news coverage of Conservative Party of Canada leadership contests*

Newspapers continue to depict politics as a war, using aggressive battle metaphors to describe political competitions such as elections and party leadership campaigns. Proponents of the gendered mediation thesis suggest that the proliferation of aggressive language reinforces politics as a masculine space, thereby creating a hostile environment for women candidates. Our analysis queries the assumption that, by using aggressive language to describe political competition, the news media are representing political power as an inherently masculine performance. Borrowing from the literature on micropower in Australian schools, we theorize four models of power that may be communicated by the use of aggressive metaphors in media coverage of party leadership campaigns: "power over" "power through/power with" "power as" and "power to." Our study performs a content and discourse analysis of all aggressive language in Globe and Mail coverage of each of the three Conservative Party of Canada leadership races featuring competitive female contenders -- Flora MacDonald in 1976, Kim Campbell in 1993 and Belinda Stronach in 2004. A detailed, longitudinal analysis of the relationships between power and gender as relayed through aggressive language is used to investigate the types of power deployed by female and male leadership candidates. We hypothesize that while both women and men are described as holding and exercising power, women candidates are more likely to be represented through a relational power model - "power through/power with" - while men candidates are more likely to be represented as exercising power as an individual.

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*The Transition to Capitalism in Canada*

Decades of prolific authorship drawing upon Harold Innis's "staple theory" have provided a framework for interpreting Canada's development between 1761-1869 as economically dependent upon the circuits of international trade (Clement 1997; Laxer 1991; Drache 1995). This framework, it must be noted, is rooted in the tradition of classical political economy inaugurated by Adam Smith, which neglects the role of social relations of production in economic life (McNally 1981; Panitch 1981). As a consequence, Innis has tended to define capitalism as the natural expansion and growth of exchange, rather than considering the origins of capitalist class relations in what Marx termed "primitive accumulation" arguably first achieved in 17th century England (Brenner 1976; Wood 2002). In Innis's view, Britain is simply one metropolis among others, vying for the bulk of trade and finance in the world economy understood as a network of commercial relations (Innis 1956, Teeple 1972; Naylor 1974; Watkins 1977). The question remains whether Britain attempted to introduce capitalist

social relations in Lower Canada after the conquest of New France, where feudal relations were still deeply rooted. If not, why? If they tried, did they succeed? I contend that an historical approach which aims at uncovering the class relations shaping Lower Canada is needed to articulate an alternative sociohistorical account of the tensions and conflicts present throughout the formation of British colonial policy. By uncovering the colonial dimension of state-formation in early modern Canada, my dissertation contributes to debates in Canadian history, Marxism and the transition to capitalism.

**Giest, Sarah** (sgiest@sfu.ca)

*Place-based policy in climate change: Flexible and path-dependent elements*

The idea of place-based policy, the collaborative management of issues specific to a geographic area, has been widely used in the context of climate change. The outstanding features of more coherence across countries, such as in the EU, or the ability to address complex environmental aspects in an inter-disciplinary and inter-departmental way made it an attractive tool for governments. Often emphasized is also the flexibility of PBAs in terms of adapting to changes and tailoring policy accordingly. However, every policy within an administration also carries the burden of being path-dependent - ranging in a spectrum from making climate change approaches consistent to being completely defined by a binding agreement. This bares the question of how much flexibility PBAs need regarding environmental issues and how much consistency would be necessary to succeed. The paper explores these questions in the context of British Columbia (Canada), where the provincial government seems to be adaptive while at the federal level, climate change is locked in by vague global agreements. The analysis shows that governments have to walk a thin line of having local adaptability built into coherent and consistent agreements.

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*The Structure of Toronto City Council Roll-Call Votes, 2006-2012*

This analysis of Toronto City Council roll-call votes between 2006 and 2012 considers a wide range of factors that shape councillors' voting behaviour. We examine two terms of vote records of the 44 city councilors and the mayor to compare the personal, ward-level, regional and external factors that shape the legislative behavior. We employ cluster bloc analysis and multi-dimensional scaling to analyze roll-call data to provide a visual and systematic analysis of roll call votes. The Toronto case provides several opportunities for analysis. First, the comparison of two terms will give a dynamic of a council under the leadership of two different mayors in the absence of local political parties. Secondly, data are available to test explanatory factors such as ward-level factors taken from the 2001 census and personal characteristics such as gender, region of Toronto represented, and external-to-council partisan leanings of individual representatives. Finally, institutional factors such as membership on the Executive Committee will show how strongly committee members structure the vote to reflect the preferences of the mayor.

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*The Effect of Federal Election Campaigns on the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge*

A growing body of literature has examined the role election campaigns play in informing voters. Typically these studies address the knowledge gap hypothesis that campaigns exacerbate underlying inequalities in previously held political information. In this paper, I examine the impact of federal election campaigns on gender gap in campaign-related political knowledge over a series of recent elections. Instead of exacerbating the gender gap, I test the hypothesis that campaigns offer a temporary opportunity for women to catch-up relative to men in their stock of knowledge in a context of elevated political interest and information. Flooded by political coverage in media, political advertising, and political discussion, women may obtain information at little cost, under relaxed expectations that politics is largely the purview of men. In this context, women may benefit from the closing or attenuation of the gap by the end of the campaign.

**Gillies, James** (gillies.jamie@gmail.com)

*Big Bird, Bayonets and Binders of Women: Analyzing the 2012 U.S. Presidential Election*

The November 2012 U.S. presidential contest between incumbent President Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney was a fascinating case of an election without an overarching theme or concern among American voters. Like the 1996 election between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, it was virtually devoid of policy content and instead was unduly focused on issues of personality, campaign gaffes and performances, and had an aura of pure popularity contest and performance tallying about it. While the economy was the most important issue to Americans, the economy was not in freefall, nor was the United States in recession. Further, the most important issues that had dominated previous campaigns, like the economic crisis in 2008 and national security concerns in 2004, were barely discussed. Both the Republican and Democratic presidential campaigns focused most of their energy and money defining the other candidate in the negative, with little substantive discussion of visions for the future or where each might take the country. The Romney and Obama campaigns marked a low point for discussion about policies in a presidential contest and it showcased some new trends, most notably the influence of wealthy outside groups, that kept both campaigns focused on non-substantive issues. This paper looks at the 2012 presidential campaign dynamics and, using polling data, examinations of advertizing, and commentaries of the presidential race, analyzes the election to explain why this campaign was unique and why it may be a harbinger of future presidential election trends.

**Gladstone, Joshua** (jgladsto@connect.carleton.ca)

*Perspectives on modern treaties and the northern mixed economy*

Abstract: Since the 1960s, Inuit in the eastern Arctic have been largely successful in achieving their demands for collective political and economic recognition. Building on the concept of the mixed economy, this paper examines the economic ideas of researchers

who have participated in and observed the historic changes that have occurred in the region. The relationship between these ideas and the development of regional social and economic policy will be explored.

**Glezos, Simon** (sglezos@uvic.ca)

*Brown's Paradox: Speed, Mobility, Migration and Ressentiment in Global Politics*

This paper is an engagement with the effects of speed in global politics through the lens of what it terms "Brown's Paradox", Wendy Brown's insight that, in a radically accelerating world we "feel a greater political impotence than humans may have felt before, even as we occupy a global order more saturated by human power than ever before. It begins by discussing the two dominant responses to Brown's Paradox; the first, the neoliberal embrace and valorization of the uncertainty of an accelerating world, the second, the neoconservative and reactionary attempt to aggressively (re)secure the foundations of politics and society (in this latter discussion, the paper engages with the specific case study of the treatment of Tamil refugees in Canada). The discussion of this latter approach will lead us to the central concept of this paper, the idea of a resentment against speed. The paper will discuss how this resentment inhibits our ability to productively respond to the challenges of an accelerating world, while at the same time frequently authorizing policies of violence, marginalization and exploitation against those constituencies which are identified with accelerating global flows (through xenophobia and anti-immigrant violence). Conversely, this understanding of resentment against speed will be used to point the way to a politics which, while not resolving the contradiction inherent in Brown's paradox, might teach us to live with it - and within it - in a productive and ethical manner.

**Glezos, Simon** (sglezos@uvic.ca)

*Embodied Virtuality: Speed, Perception and New Media*

Discussions of the effects of new media tend to end up in two polar opposite perspectives. One, the technophilic perspective sees in new media a freedom from the constraints of the material world, allowing us to leap over geographic boundaries, make connections across wide spaces and to conduct business "@ The Speed of Thought" (To invoke the title of Bill Gates' biography). On the technophobic side (represented by such thinkers as Paul Virilio), there is the fundamental belief that new media is an alienating force, separating us from real world communities and relationships. However, the two perspectives are joined by the shared assumption that new media functions as a fundamentally virtualizing, disembodied force, freeing - or severing- us from our material contexts. This fails to recognize the fact that perception and communication are always embodied and materialized, with those bodily and material substrates playing a substantial role in the effects of new technologies, as well as how we might respond to them. This paper therefore turns to the work of Henri Bergson, who developed a complex theory of embodied perception (rejecting the idealist psychologies dominant at the time) to help us to understand both the effects of new media on human perception, as well as how we might respond productively to them. Doing so breaks the stalemate between technophobic and technophilic perspectives, and provides us with a new mode of analyzing new media, laying the groundwork for interventions in both the technological infrastructure and practices of the self.

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*The Consolidation of Parties in the House of Commons (1908-1993).*

The following paper analyzes legislative voting in the Canadian Parliament between 1908 and 1993 (11th to 34th Parliaments). This study extends the work of Godbout and Høyland (2012, 2011) who analyzed legislative behaviour in the Canadian House of Commons between 1867-1908 and 1993-2011. In this paper, we estimate the impact of parties and minority governments on legislative voting by analyzing 5,171 recorded divisions. We identify votes where party cohesion broke down during this period in order to determine what type of issues are more likely to weaken party discipline. We also identify several variables to explain why certain Member of Parliament have a higher likelihood of voting against their own party in the course of their legislative career. Preliminary findings suggest that economic issues are less likely to divide parties internally in the House. Ultimately, the analysis highlights the importance of territorial and socio-cultural conflicts, as well as agenda control, in explaining the consolidation of parties as cohesive voting groups in the Canadian Parliament.

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*The influence of money in politics: Canada and France compared*

The following paper analyses the effects of campaign expenditures on election results in France and Canada over the last two decades. Using an original dataset of candidates' spending, we develop a model to estimate the impact of money on incumbent support. We also use an instrumental variable (regulation) approach to control for the simultaneous relationship between expected electoral outcome and campaign spending in the district. Preliminary results suggest that money has a positive effect on incumbent vote share. However this relationship is more complex than shown in previous studies.

**Goodman, Nicole** (ngoodma@mcmaster.ca)

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*Public participation in decision-making regarding Internet voting: A case study of the City of Edmonton*

In the past decade, more than 60 municipalities in the provinces of Ontario and Nova Scotia have successfully introduced Internet voting systems. For many, the impetus for choosing Internet voting is to improve accessibility and ignite citizen engagement in the electoral process. It is also part of a larger shift toward citizen-centered service delivery. Despite the focus on citizen participation, decisions to deploy online voting have largely come from local governments. While the political will is necessary to make such a change, public

involvement and consultation seems like a logical step in the decision-making process, especially since this policy change is designed to better engage citizens themselves. This paper focuses on a recent exception to this trend - the City of Edmonton's comprehensive public consultation and participation strategy to incorporate public input in decision-making regarding the introduction of online voting in its 2013 election. In addition to public opinion surveys, stakeholder focus groups, and a mock election, an innovative evidence-based deliberation event, a Citizens' Jury, was designed and implemented in November 2012 to weigh in on the prospect of Internet voting. This paper explores the process and features of the Edmonton approach and analyzes the effect of public consultation on the decision-making process, the outcome, and public orientations toward online ballots. It draws upon unique survey data to shed light on the success of this approach and draw conclusions as to whether other public policy decisions should consider a similar model, particularly those relating to adoption of online voting.

**Gordon, Joshua** (josh.gordon@utoronto.ca)

*Union movements, labour market policy, and varieties of dualization*

Recent work in comparative politics has stressed the tendency towards dualistic labour markets and politics in Western Europe. In this paper I advance a theory to explain 'varieties of dualization', since dualistic tendencies are not equally present in all European countries. In order to understand these variations, the paper argues that dualization is powerfully shaped by the nature of different national labour movements. In particular, the theory I advance, 'varieties of unionism', emphasizes three features of union movements that influence their sensitivity and commitment to those with precarious labour market situations, or so-called labour market Outsiders: union density, union centralization, and relative involvement in unemployment benefit administration. The greater each is in a labour movement, the more union leaderships will be cognizant of, and committed to, policies that address the well-being of labour market Outsiders. By looking at the evolution of unemployment benefits and active labour market policy in recent decades, we can see that degrees of such 'Outsider-oriented unionism' have been crucial in social and policy outcomes. To show this the paper presents an index of 'Outsider-oriented unionism' and details how it can account for starkly different cross-national levels of social spending on the unemployed and for different rates of relative poverty. This argument will be advanced with multiple regression analysis and with reference to the policy histories of The Netherlands and Italy.

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*Anti-Abortionism as the New Feminism?*

Abortion remains a highly contested political issues in North America. Recently, state legislatures in the US have proposed and passed a record-breaking number of laws regulating and restricting abortion access. In comparison, Canada has often seemed dormant. Even Stephen Harper has stated that the abortion debate will remain closed under his government. A closer examination reveals a more complex story, however. For although Harper rejected the idea of regulating abortion through legislation, he has offered the anti-abortion movement some sympathetic advice: "If you want to diminish the number of abortions, you've got to change hearts and not laws." (CBC, January 19, 2011). This paper will argue that the anti-abortion movement in Canada has taken this advice seriously - and that they have developed a subtle, but highly sophisticated and distinct strategy for changing the hearts and minds of Canadians that is very different than the dominant approach employed by previous generation of Canadian anti-abortion activists and by their contemporary American counterparts. Based on a systematic and rigorous qualitative and quantitative study of anti-abortion discourse, as well as ethnographic observation, this paper will examine the new and surprising rhetorical strategies employed by the contemporary Canadian anti-abortion movement - focusing particularly on the ways that this discourse is appropriating and employing traditionally feminist frames, values, epistemologies and narratives as a way of convincing a wider swathe of Canadians to adopt an anti-abortion position.

**Gordon, Kelly** (kgord043@uottawa.ca)

*Who Speaks for Women?: An analysis of the abortion debate in Canada*

The focus on the language of rights within the abortion debate is not surprising considering the rise in the popularity of rights-talk as a means through which issues involving the law, morality and politics are framed throughout North America. The abortion debate, as a result, has largely unfolded as a competition between two rights (the right-to-life of the fetus versus the woman's right-to-choose). However, this rigid attachment to the right-based frame has masked new developments within the Canadian anti-abortion movement. Whereas the common portrait of anti-abortion discourse is that it is fetal-centric and anti-woman, I believe that the anti-abortion movement is in fact developing new discourses that increasingly frames fetal rights in a pro-woman light (for instance the appearance of the anti-abortion blog ProWomanProLife.org). To this end, the goals of this paper are two-fold. First, through a discourse analysis of the pro-choice organization Abortion Right Coalition Canada, this paper will argue that while anti-abortion activists are increasingly shifting their language and arguments in the hopes of garnering new anti-abortion support, pro-choice discourse continues to rely heavily on rights/choice-based arguments built around old (and at times, outdated) assumptions of the anti-abortion movement. Secondly, my paper will attempt to build on existing pro-choice strategies through the use of the language of reproductive justice (see Smith 2005; Luna 2009, 2010, 2011) and its ability to highlight a vision of justice that defends both women's rights and their structural conditions.

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*The Challenge of Provincial Leadership in Social Policy*

Canada, like many contemporary welfare states, has increasingly come under strain in the face of growing economic and social fragmentation brought about by rising income inequality and poverty, and accentuated by the declining trust in public institutions.

However, as a federation, Canada faces the additional challenge of mediating the obvious income differences among the provinces and competing provincial economic development strategies, both of which may further undermine social tensions in the country. Our paper will explore how political leaders are reworking the political community as the social context changes. In particular, we are interested in how successive federal government's embrace of new governance has opened spaces for provinces to take leadership in the social policy field, and potentially recraft existing maps of identity/belonging on this front in a more provincial direction. Particular emphasis will be placed on emerging policies around poverty.

**Graff-McRae, Rebecca** (rgraff@ualberta.ca)

*'Let No Man Dare to Scorn These Women': Ghosts of Gender in the Commemorations of Irish Republican Hunger Strikes and the Ulster Covenant Centenary*

The Republican Hunger Strikes of 1980-81 and the signing of the 1912 Ulster Covenant do not often occupy a shared space - discursively nor literally. Yet the legacies of these events - disparate in time and purpose - resonate deeply with the Republican and Unionist communities in post-conflict Northern Ireland. In the post-peace process era, commemoration has been portrayed as a potentially inclusive, equal space for shared remembrance. Despite this rhetoric, the commemorations of these controversial moments have themselves become flashpoints, sparking political debate, protests, and riots. One notable absence in this debate, however, is the theme of gender: women and women's concerns are given little space for inclusion in this remembrance, and the emphasis on a history dominated by male figures and militarism is overt. This surface omission of gender (as "women") is all the more problematic, however, as it serves to obscure a deeply gendered narrative of the events themselves, the legacy of the Troubles, and the present shape of Northern Irish politics. In this paper, I explore the thirtieth anniversary of the Republican Hunger Strikes alongside the centenary of the Ulster Covenant in search of these absent 'ghosts' of gender. While there are many thorough analyses of the role of gender in conflict transition processes, these do not examine the role of commemorative events. Conversely, the emerging literature on the politics of Troubles commemoration in Northern Ireland overlooks an explicitly gendered reading. This paper seeks to address this gap, deploying a gendered "lens" to a comparative, discursive analysis of these post-conflict commemorative events.

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*India and the BRIC Serge Granger will present India and its relation within the BRICS*

First he will outline the objectives India sets out by joining the BRICS. He will then present India's economic integration within the BRICS to show if the organization has had an impact on the pace of Indian integration in international trade. Granger will then detail how India votes on UN resolutions to show if the BRICS is a cohesive organization when non-economic issues arise. Panel description: In 2001, economist Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs Group coined the term BRIC to describe the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. The BRIC acronym also signals a fundamental change in the world economy because it is expected that the sum of these emerging economies would outweigh that of the G8 in 2027. This fundamental change would initiate a dramatic change in the politics of international relations in addition to create a multipolar world. Whereas this forecast may prove to be exact, it is to wonder whether the BRIC is a coherent international organization designed to offer an alternative to the G8. The BRIC began its first meetings in 2009 in the aftermath of the economic crisis by advocating a greater participation of emerging economies in international financial institutions. The second meeting addressed a plethora of global problems creating specific forums of international finance-related agricultural problems. Since the meeting of 2011, South Africa joined the group which became BRICS and focused on economic forums and sustainable development in the fields of energy and agricultural. The last meeting held in New Delhi in 2012 focused on the creation of a Development Bank offering an alternative to the funding of traditional financial institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF. The panel will focus on the role of the BRICS and its ability to create a coherent organization able to implement common policies. It will seek to determine if the common objectives of its members can move in an articulate international organization or if national interests are too divergent to build a coherent organization such as the BRICS. Each speaker will present a country and its relation within the BRICS. First the speaker will outline the objectives his respective country establishes by joining the BRICS. He will then present his country's economic integration within the BRICS to show if the organization had an impact on the pace of integration in international trade. He will then detail how his country votes on UN resolutions to show if the BRICS is a cohesive organization when non-economic issues arise. The speaker will then conclude by answering the question about the nature of the BRICS: is it an empty shell or real organization? Each of the four speakers will have 15 minutes to present their respective country and a question period of 15-20 minutes will complete the session.

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*Global Governance Frameworks and Conflict Commodities: Insights from the Kimberley Process on Conflict Diamonds*

In response to the role of diamonds in several African civil wars, a multi-stakeholder meeting was convened in Kimberley, South Africa, in May 2000. The objective of the meeting (and subsequent meetings) was to devise ways to prevent the trade of conflict diamonds. The innovative global governance framework that evolved over the past dozen years--known collectively as the 'Kimberley Process'--has made important strides in imposing verification and trade controls on diamonds through the collaboration of not only state actors, but also non-state actors such as diamond firms, industry associations, and non-governmental organizations. Membership has grown to 80 diamond-producing and trading countries (representing 99.8% of global production). Despite the accomplishments of the Kimberley Process, however, episodes of extreme violence in diamond-mining regions of member countries (e.g., Zimbabwe) persist. Thus, the paper assesses the accomplishments and shortcomings of global governance efforts on conflict diamonds with a particular emphasis on Canadian contributions to the Kimberley Process. Canada served as Chair in 2004, and has maintained an active presence by participating in its Working Groups and various committees. Canadian civil society and industry actors have also made important contributions to the development and operation of the Kimberley Process. The analyses draw upon extensive field research conducted in West Africa (e.g.,

Sierra Leone) as well as in-person interviews and participant observations at annual Kimberley Process Plenary meetings since 2003. The paper concludes by examining the practical implications of multi-stakeholder initiatives as well as providing broader theoretical insights for global governance frameworks.

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*Employment Policy Reforms and the 'Midsiders': Evidence from Southern Europe*

The insiders-outsiders dichotomy has been pretty much used in the literature on labour market policy (among others, see Rueda 2006, 2007). Though subject to several criticism (Hausermann and Schwander 2009), it has generally proved useful to capture the differential status of various occupational groups in the labour market, as well as its persistence over time. Over the last two/three decades, however, with the spread of atypical jobs (fixed term, project workers, economically dependent workers, part-time) things have substantially changed, especially in those countries previously characterized by a marked insiders-outsiders divide. The insiders-outsiders dichotomy seems even less adequate to capture the most recent employment policy trends which have been increasingly characterized by the implementation of flexibility or 'selective flexicurity' principles (Jessoula, Graziano, Madama, 2010; Clegg, Graziano and Jessoula, forthcoming). The paper will address the relevance of the mid-siders category - which may be clearly distinguished analytically from both the insiders and the outsiders (Jessoula, Graziano, Madama, 2010) - in describing and understanding the most relevant employment policy reforms (1997-2012) and its consequences in Southern Europe, which has been particularly hit by the subsequent financial, economic and fiscal-"sovereign debt" crises and therefore particularly interesting in terms of understanding the current employment policy challenges and dilemmas in Europe.

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*Employment Insurance Reform and 'Availability for Work' Criteria in Historical Perspective*

Among the most controversial provisions of the Canadian government's 2012 budget implementation act are new measures that are poised to impose further job search obligations on claimants of Employment Insurance (EI), Canada's primary income security program for workers. Specifically, the legislation authorizes the Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada to establish new regulations that define the 'suitable employment' that different categories of claimants are required to accept, and to specify the 'reasonable and customary efforts' claimants must demonstrate in their job searches in order to maintain access to income support. Drawing on an analysis of legislative and administrative records, as well as archival research, this paper aims to place this development into historical perspective. The paper situates these new measures as part of a longstanding effort on the part of authorities, dating back nearly a century, to devise viable administrative procedures for determining the will to work of unemployed income support claimants. Through a survey of different 'availability for work' tests implemented by federal administrators in the interwar, postwar and post-1970s periods, the paper underscores the high degree of ambiguity and failure that has historically characterized efforts to divide and disentitle benefit claimants on the basis of their perceived willingness to work.

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*Back To The Future: Expectations In Mass Elections*

This article examines whether voters look to the past or the future when forming their perceptions of the parties' chances of winning. Based on a panel survey from the districts where the incumbent was defeated in the 2011 provincial election in Ontario (Canada), it is shown that voters' expectations in the districts are mainly affected by the results of the upcoming election and not by the outcome of the previous election. We also find that expectations are influenced by the phenomenon of wishful thinking.

**Gunster, Shane** (sgunster@sfu.ca)

*Stories in the Sands: (Re)presenting the oil sands in the Calgary Herald*

This paper will explore how the oil sands was covered by the Calgary Herald during 2010-2011, conducting a critical discourse analysis to identify key storylines, dominant patterns of representation, the presence (or absence) of core economic and political arguments, the framing of key events and issues (such as anti-oil sands campaigns and the technological mitigation of environmental impacts), the role of sources in shaping and influencing coverage. The intent of this paper is not to investigate questions of bias (as the pro-development perspective of the Herald is self-evident). Instead, my primary objective is to explore how narrative structures, rhetorical devices and ideological themes have been used to (re)present the oil sands as a public good. The primary data for this analysis will be all items published by the Herald on oil sands related issues between May 1, 2010 and September 1, 2011. Based on preliminary research, this will generate a total sample of over 700 items, including news stories, editorials, op-eds and letters to the editor. While this sample includes a number of key political events (including a visit by James Cameron to Fort McMurray, several independent scientific reviews of the environmental impacts of oil sands activity and highly publicized anti-oil sands campaigns such as Rethink Alberta), my goal is to identify recurring patterns of meaning and affect through which the oil sands is woven into broader social, political and cultural narratives about prosperity, national identity and environmental risk.

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*Development Problem or Terrorism Concern? The Framing of Transnational Bribery in UK Foreign Policy*

This paper argues that “policy framing” is a critical mechanism through which international norms impact state policies. The paper compares the way in which the practice of transnational bribery was framed differently by different policy advocates in the UK during the period 1996-2002, when shifting international norms suggested the need for significant policy change and new anti-bribery legislation in the UK. Three distinct “frames”, identified as the policy contexts in which advocates situated their arguments concerning UK compliance with international anti-bribery norms, are in evidence: The international development frame, the international trade frame, and - following the attacks of 9/11/2001 - the international anti-terrorism frame. The analysis reveals that policy advocates’ choice of frame crucially affected the timing and scope of UK anti-bribery legislation and the extent of UK compliance with international norms of anti-corruption. While similar framing effects have been found to be decisive in other subfields of political science and in sociology, they remain understudied in IR. Thus this paper aims to advance the literature on the role of framing in international relations and foreign policy analysis.

**Haggart, Blayne** (bhaggart@brocku.ca)

*Copyright's 'new' politics: Implications for the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations*

Though understudied in international political economy, copyright and intellectual property (IP) have become increasingly central to the appropriation of value in global production chains; stronger IP is the bedrock of U.S. attempts to maintain global economic dominance. As digital technologies have brought individuals and telecommunications companies into direct contact with copyright laws, copyright has been politicized, capable of sparking massive worldwide protests. While traditional copyright interests continue to seek ever-stronger copyright laws and international treaties in the name of stronger “property rights” they are increasingly being countered by those promoting “user rights.” One of the most dramatic of these protests, the January 2012 “Internet blackout” in protest of two copyright bills, occurred in the United States, ironically the foremost state proponent of stronger copyright. Copyright’s politicization offers a useful lens through which to consider the wider issue of global norm diffusion. Its politicization threatens not only the direction of future copyright laws and treaties, but also the structure of the global political economy. This paper considers the implications of copyright’s politicization by focusing on the most recent IP treaty, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Using historical institutionalism and analyzing the effects of copyright politicization in three key TPP countries, Canada, Mexico and the United States, it argues that the United States’ strong-copyright position will become increasingly untenable, as copyright politicization becomes increasingly ubiquitous. However, regulatory capture of key copyright and trade institutions by the copyright industries means that the trend toward stronger copyright may not reverse immediately.

**Hale, Geoffrey** (geoffrey.hale@uleth.ca)

*CNOOC-Nexen, State-Controlled Enterprises, and the Growing Challenges of Canadian Foreign Investment Policies*

This paper explores the increasingly complex political and economic environments for Canada’s foreign investment policies - highlighted by public debates surrounding the China National Offshore Oil Corp. (CNOOC)’s takeover bid for Nexen Inc., Canada’s eighth-largest oil and gas firm in 2012. These debates involve the interaction of five broad cross-cutting trends which reflect Canada’s evolving position within the global economy: the generalized pursuit of foreign investment as an ongoing factor in Canada’s economic development; the policy trade-offs inherent in Canada’s status as a major exporter and importer of direct investment and related issues of reciprocity; recent Canadian policies welcoming foreign investments in a wide-range of industries as a major factor in Canada’s economic development, including the potential for diversification of its resource export markets; substantial shifts in the distribution of economic activity and power towards major development economies; the resulting international diversification of Canadian trade and investment; and the growing role of state-controlled corporations and investment funds in international capital markets and resource development. This paper examines the cross-cutting effects of these trends on Canadian foreign investment policies as reflected in the CNOOC-Nexen case study, emerging developments in Canada’s foreign investment policies, and their implications for Canada’s domestic and international economic policies. Geoffrey Hale is Professor of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge, and author of *Uneasy Partnership: The Politics of Business and Government in Canada*.

**Hamilton, Paul** (phamilton@brocku.ca)

*Steps Toward Zoopolis ? A Comparative Analysis of Recent Constitutional and Legislative Changes to the Status of Animals*

Zoopolis proposes to improve on existing animals rights theory by arguing for the inclusion of animals within national citizenship regimes. A multi-tiered regime for animals would make pets citizens, urban or liminal wildlife, denizens and wild animals, sovereign nations. This ambitious and innovative approach takes seriously the real lives of various animals and the relationship they have with human beings. The book also introduces a theoretical subject often ignored by contemporary animal rights approaches and in doing so constitutes a fresh approach aimed at pushing past the impasses and problems of previous approaches. While the book is a work of political theory, it has obvious and important implications for politics and policy. This paper proposes to examine efforts to extend constitutional and statutory consideration to animal interests to evaluate the formal political ways that such a new citizenship regime might be achieved. While piecemeal and scattered, constitutional amendments in countries like Bolivia, Germany and Switzerland, as well as legislative efforts to extend rights to certain species in New Zealand and Spain may aid in understanding how a Zoopolis might be established in liberal-democratic states. The paper will use the comparative method to determine the institutional, political, and cultural parameters that shape the inclusion of animals in public and statutory law.

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*Constructing Sustainability: The United Nations Global Compact goes to Myanmar*

In May 2012, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon successfully launched the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) in Myanmar. The initiative was endorsed by fifteen prominent Burmese business leaders who voiced their commitment to uphold the ten core principles of the Compact. The appeal of the UNGC in Myanmar is expected considering the Compact's well established reputation as a major ideational force within the global voluntary governance regime. With over 8700 signatories worldwide, the UNGC has proven to be a popular initiative for business actors looking to promote corporate social responsibility. Still, the scheme is highly elitist and is frequently criticised for its inability to monitor and enforce its principles upon its members. It has been referred to as a 'toothless' mechanism that is little more than a sophisticated public relations platform for industry. This paper holds that despite its weakness, the UNGC has the potential to be an effective initiative for promoting ethical capitalism in Myanmar. Drawing on constructivist theory, this paper frames the Compact as a transformative mechanism that aims to incorporate the language of ethics into the local business dialect. Research findings are based on a series of interviews beginning in May 2012. Preliminary results suggest that the UNGC's launch in Burma is opening new space for ethical investors.

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*In the Eye of the Beholder: Political Institutions, Investor Type, and Public Creditworthiness*

The global financial crisis has coincided with a sharp divergence in subnational and national borrowing costs in several countries, with subnational borrowers paying increasingly higher rates relative to national governments. This paper links this divergence to the interaction of two variables typically examined in isolation: political institutions and the identity of government investors. Several studies suggest political institutions impact government credit conditions by signaling the creditworthiness of public borrowers. Far less work considers how these signals are interpreted by different categories of investors. This paper attributes the recent divergence in national-subnational borrowing costs to a sharp rise in foreign investment in safe-haven countries. National borrowers benefit disproportionately from these flows, because foreign creditors are reluctant to invest in subnational debt. Drawing on research in fiscal federalism and the home-bias literature in financial economics, I trace this reluctance to foreigners' limited knowledge of fiscal federal structures and other institutions underlying subnational creditworthiness. I support this claim with quantitative and qualitative analyses of borrowing conditions in Australia, Canada, and Germany, three safe-haven countries with significant subnational debt markets.

**Hansen, Gillian** (gehanson@gmail.com)

*Fixing the (Democratic) Deficits: The Reintroduction of Bicameralism in Ontario*

This paper will apply the tenets of bicameralism to Ontario in an attempt to rectify various democratic deficits that exist within the province. Current debate regarding the Canadian Senate is negative; however the justifications for bicameralism can be aptly applied to the Ontario context. The reintroduction of Ontario's Legislative Council will be able to provide the province with an elected chamber of sober second thought, accommodation of minority interests, greater representation of regional interests, improve legislation, act as a check and balance against the tyranny of the majority and can act as an effective instrument to combat the further centralization of power in the Premier's office. The democratic deficits that this paper seeks to rectify with bicameralism are regional, gender based, and the constitutionally protected minorities (francophone and First Nations). The methodology used to determine whether deficits exist include semi structured interviews with Members of Provincial Parliament from different regions of the province; analysing data from Statistics Canada for population and demographics and comparing the data to an analysis of composition of the Ontario Legislative Assembly; and using the Legislative Councils found in 5 of the 6 Australian states as a comparative case study. The proposal for a modern Legislative Council based on a different electoral selection method than the First Past the Post method currently used for the Legislative Assembly, contributes to the political science literature on Ontario Politics, forms of representation and democratic deficits.

**Hanvelt, Marc** (marc\_hanvelt@carleton.ca)

*Democratic Interests*

In his classic article "The Market and the Forum" Jon Elster distinguishes a mode of politics aimed at "aggregating or filtering preferences" from one "set up with a view to changing them by public debate and confrontation." This distinction lies at the core of many contemporary debates about the nature of democratic legitimacy and the place of interests in democratic politics. Contemporary theories of public reason and deliberative democracy associate democratic legitimacy primarily with the forum model. Many, either through requirements of rationality or intersubjectivity, seek to purge private interests from public discourse about the public good. The work of David Hume calls into question the very possibility of expunging interests from democratic deliberation in these ways. Important work has already been published on Hume's sentiment-based challenge to the rationality that underlies theories of public reason and deliberative democracy. Far less has been written on the challenges that Hume's account of interests pose to these contemporary theories. Through a study of Hume's political essays and his History of England, this paper will explore Hume's claim that interests play an essential role in shaping the political terrain of a polity. The paper will also argue that Hume viewed politics as far more than a simple mechanism for "aggregating or filtering" private interests. His consistent concern with the quality, tone, and epistemic bases of political discourse about the public good suggest a complex conception of politics that offers important insights for enriching contemporary debates in democratic theory.

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*Dangerous Babies and Flag-Bearing Sperm: Canadian Citizenship Policy and the Limits of Birthright*

This paper interrogates two limit cases of birthright citizenship: 'passport babies' and 'foreign' sperm donation. Canada's Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has indicated his government's intention to establish new rules to restrict claims to birthright citizenship for non-citizens. In part these rules have emerged from revelations of passport babies - children born in Canada as a result of the efforts of

their non-Canadian mothers to secure Canadian citizenship for their children, and ultimately, themselves. Although the Minister has acknowledged that he is unaware of the scope of the problem, he is nonetheless determined to bring an end to the practice. Given the lack of evidence, the intensity of the legal remedy is perplexing and begs the question of what is really at stake in the baby threat? Foreign sperm donation poses different but related issues, and so far the question of citizenship has not received a public rehearsal. But if Canadian women are acquiring sperm from abroad, which apparently they are as a result of a shortage of 'Canadian sperm,' what are the implications for the citizenship of their children? Does sperm have a flag? And what are the relationships among citizenship, territory, birth and belonging? The paper draws on media accounts, Parliamentary debates, and legal analysis to demonstrate the ways in which birth mediates belonging and the futurity of the nation, and to suggest that alternatives to birthright citizenship might provide more compelling means to establish membership in political societies.

**Harell, Allison** (harell.allison@uqam.ca)

*Race, Gender and Support for the Welfare State: A Comparative Experimental Approach*

Support for welfare in the US is both racialized and gendered. Indeed, the fact that many Americans think of welfare recipients as poor Blacks (and especially poor Black women) is a common explanation for Americans' comparatively low support for redistribution cross-nationally. In this study, we extend existing work on how racialized portrayals of welfare recipients affect attitudes toward redistribution. The data for the analysis are drawn from a unique online survey experiment, conducted with representative samples (n=1200) in the US, UK and Canada. Relying on a series of survey vignettes, we experimentally manipulate the ethnoracial background and gender of policy beneficiaries for three types of programs: social assistance, unemployment, and social security. In doing so, we seek to make three specific contributions. First, we extend the American literature to explore whether there is a racial bias in other countries. Second, we draw on the larger welfare state literature to examine whether racial and gender cues affect other welfare state policy domains (unemployment insurance and social security) that are contribution-based and universal in contrast to means-tested social assistance programs. Finally, we extend the largely American literature to two other Anglo-Saxon democracies (Canada and the UK). Parallel experimental survey designs allows for an unprecedented comparative analysis of the underlying political-psychological sources of support (or lack of support) for redistributive policies across Anglo-Saxon democracies. The paper concludes by considering the implications of the results in light of the growing immigrant-driven diversity of North American and European populations.

**Harrison, Kathryn** (kathryn.harrison@ubc.ca)

*International Carbon Trade and Domestic Climate Politics*

Recent scholarship has identified important patterns in the international trade in fossil fuels and manufactured goods that "embody" carbon. To these two categories, one might also add trade in consumer products, like motor vehicles, that are emissions-intensive at the point of consumption. The intersection of these trade flows with the international norm of national responsibility for emissions at the point of consumption yields important insights. For instance, although Western Europe's domestic emissions are falling, if one takes into account carbon embodied in exports and imports, Western Europe's consumption-related emissions are increasing. Western Europe's leadership on climate change has been facilitated by its increasing reliance on imports of carbon-intensive manufactured goods. British Columbia has been able to show leadership in adopting a carbon tax for a very different reason: it produces significant quantities of the most emissions-intensive fossil fuel, coal, but because almost all of that coal is exported, the industry is not significantly affected by domestic emissions pricing. The paper will integrate insights from international political economy, domestic climate politics, and engineering studies of carbon flows to explore the incentives for domestic climate policy that flow from imports and exports of fossil fuels, carbon-intensive manufactured goods, and products that consume fossil fuels at the point of use.

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*Ecological Modernization in a 'Have-Not,' Coal-Powered, Energy-Insecure Province: Understanding Nova Scotia's Promotion of Green Energy and Carbon Reduction*

Nova Scotia has emerged as one of the Canadian provinces most committed to green-energy development and carbon reduction. Ecological modernization theory suggests that climate action offers "win-win" opportunities for new jobs, profits, and export opportunities. However, compared to other jurisdictions, such as Germany and Ontario, which have linked green-energy strategies to strengthening their well-developed manufacturing bases, Nova Scotia appears to have less capacity to capture the industrial-expansion opportunities. As the province with the fourth highest per-capita carbon emissions, due largely to dependence on coal-fired electricity, and the second lowest per-capita income, Nova Scotia faces particular challenges in absorbing the upfront costs of shifting to green energy and improving energy efficiency. Given such obstacles, how does one explain Nova Scotia's introduction of relatively strong climate and green-energy policy? The working hypothesis is that the province's energy insecurity-i.e. vulnerability to the rising costs of imported fossil energy-provides a powerful motivator that compensates for other difficulties in making the economic case for climate action. In Canada, energy-security concerns have not typically driven stronger climate action-to the contrary, they have been used to support high-carbon fossil-fuel developments. As such, Nova Scotia more closely resembles some European states, where energy-security concerns have been a key force behind renewable-energy and efficiency policies. This paper will draw on semi-structured interviews with government officials and politicians, as well as representatives of business and environmental organizations, along with analysis of publicly available documents from actors involved in the provincial climate and energy debate.

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*The Administration of Multiculturalism - An Investigation of the Role of Immigrant Community Organizations on the Labour Market Policy Field in Canada, Germany, and Sweden*

This paper investigates the impact of public administration on immigrant community organizations (ICO) by characterizing its role in the labour market policy field, a key arena for immigrant integration, in three countries in the second half of the 20th century. The countries, Canada, Germany and Sweden, represent the three fundamental types of welfare regimes of Esping-Andersen's classic typology; liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare states, but the significance of the organization of public service delivery for the relationship between the government and ICOs has not yet been sufficiently investigated. For this paper, Group-Grid Cultural Theory will be of principal importance. The analytical framework is helpful for identifying the inherent properties of different modes of governance, including their implications for power relations. The paper starts with a summary of a series of relevant variables that are significant for understanding differences and similarities in the three cases. It then goes on to present Group-Grid Cultural Theory and how it can be used to explore how the model of governance in the policy field can affect the space of action available to ICOs in the three cases. In the empirical part of the paper, we discuss the historical developments of the policy field in each of the three countries, identifying significant turning points in the organization of the labour market and its effect on immigrant community organizations as actors in the field. We conclude by arguing that future research needs to explore further these institutional shaping factors within labour market regimes.

**Hepburn, Nicola** (nicola.hepburn@utoronto.ca)

*The Impact of Policy Networks on Ontario's Research and Innovation Infrastructure: Explaining the Development of the Ontario Network of Excellence*

In an era of intense competition and creativity, innovation policy serves as a blueprint for governments seeking to identify areas of strategic comparative advantage. Leading economies around the world continue to develop the infrastructure and policy support necessary for creating a competitive innovation ecosystem that supports cutting-edge research, drives innovation, enables strategic partnerships and advances efforts at knowledge diffusion. Between 2003 and 2011, the Ontario government developed a number of policies and institutions to strengthen the province's research and innovation ecosystem, including the Ministry of Research and Innovation, the Ontario Innovation Agenda and a suite of research funding programs. This paper focuses on the development of one of Ontario's most innovative institutional assets - the Ontario Networks of Excellence (ONE) - and poses the question: Why did the ONE develop the way it did? Policy network analysis is ideal for examining the governance of regional research and innovation ecosystems and will be used to explain how networks of research and innovation actors influenced the formation of the ONE. This paper will discuss how policy decisions were made and why some policy ideas were preferred over others. It will also identify the set of political, economic and historical circumstances that affected the policy formation process. To this end, this paper seeks to demonstrate the explanatory power of policy networks vis-à-vis policy outcomes by discussing how the structure, agency and context of Ontario's research and innovation policy network significantly impacted the development of the ONE.

**Heritz, Joanne** (heritzjm@mcmaster.ca)

*Aboriginal Political Representation in Urban Centres in Canada*

To what extent do municipal Aboriginal advisory committees represent urban Aboriginal peoples in Canada? How effective are municipal Statements of Commitment in addressing the policy needs and interests of Aboriginal communities? Over half of Canada's Aboriginal peoples reside in urban centers where they remain under represented in political systems and policy processes despite constitutional acknowledgements. As most urban Aboriginal peoples remain marginalized, political representation is crucial for locating the Aboriginal community in urban centres and determining their cultural needs and interests within a political system that prioritizes mainstream preferences in policy areas of education, health and housing. Therefore, identifying Aboriginal actors in municipal government is crucial for their inclusion in policy processes whose outcomes impact on the aspirations of their communities. Preliminary research will investigate two aspects of Aboriginal participation in municipal government. The first is to analyze the nature and scope of municipal Statements of Commitment and awareness of these instruments among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal municipal actors and policy networks. The second is to assess the impact of Aboriginal advisory committees on municipal policy processes. Urban centres under consideration are those with significant Aboriginal identity populations and/or high percentage of Aboriginal identity populations: Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina, Brandon, Winnipeg, Thunder Bay and Toronto. This research hypothesizes that an increasing number of individuals who identify as Aboriginal are representing their communities in political processes while continuing to overcome obstacles that impede their ability to have Aboriginal issues recognized at the local level in Canadian urban centres.

**Herman, Dan** (dherman@balsillieschool.ca)

*The political economy of North American innovation and industrial policy: the role of State and Provincial government*

This paper highlights how the processes of economic globalization are interpreted and acted upon by sub-national levels of state, in particular North American state and provincial jurisdictions faced with an increasingly competitive international marketplace for innovation. It seeks to problematize the contradictions present between the supposed retreat of the interventionist state in these jurisdictions, notably the rise of the competition state (as advanced by Cerny, Jessop, and Palan and Abbott) and the contemporary policies aimed at constructing competitive advantage in new economic sectors that are industry-policy in all but name. Yet in so doing, it seeks to move beyond the traditional study of interactions between nation-states by conducting multi-level political analysis focused on sub-national actors and their primacy in the aforementioned policy responses to global economic change. While significant scholarly attention has been devoted to the uploading of responsibility to the supra-national level, and a similar attention paid to the downloading of responsibility to the city/municipal level, lost in these narratives has been attention to the role of sub-national state/provincial levels of governance. This effort thus develops Freeman's assertion that the sub-national is increasingly more important than the national in the promotion of innovation by

dissecting the role of state and provincial jurisdictions in the development and direction of new economic sectors perceived as high-value and future-oriented. In so doing, this paper highlights the central role of state/provincial government in the creation of economic development regimes, and the strong propensity towards industrial policy-like strategies therein.

**Héroux-Legault, Maxime** (maxime.heroux.legault@mail.utoronto.ca)

*Regional Variation in Political Ideology in Canada*

The study of regionalism in Canada is complexified by the debate between inductivists and deductivists. The first claim that studies of political attitudes across regions are better served by relying mostly on descriptive analysis. Deductivists claim that doing so makes testing theories or hypotheses impossible. They prefer to theoretically define their indicators, and then proceed to test hypotheses using cross-regional data. The current research strives to bridge the gap. Relying on data from the 2008 Canadian Electoral Studies, it uses opinion statements to highlight five underlying attitudinal dimensions using factor analysis. This methodology is inductive in nature. It lets the data determine which dimensions matter with no biases from the researcher. Once these dimensions are determined by the factor analysis, deductive methodology is used to test discrepancies in regional political ideology discussed in the literature. T-tests are used to verify if regional differences on these dimensions are statistically significant, and factor correlations are used to determine if the dimensions are ideological or not. The analysis reveals that equality, immigration, the privatization of healthcare, family and economic liberalism are the most important underlying dimensions of Canadians' political opinions. Despite prevailing beliefs in the literature, the Prairies do not show strong hints of being left-winged, Quebecers are significantly more open to the privatization of healthcare than other Canadians and the province that is distinct from the Canadian average on the five identified dimensions the most often is Alberta, not Quebec.

**Hibbert, Neil** (neil.hibbert@usask.ca)

*Are Human Rights the Rights of Social Justice?*

Human rights documents, discourse and advocacy movements frequently draw strong links between the aims of human rights and social justice. In quite strong contrast, the dominant view in the current political theory of human rights is that they occupy a distinct normative domain than social justice. This paper develops a political concept of human rights that significantly overlaps with the domain of social justice as nested egalitarian principles for regulating systems of political association. Three primary points of normative overlap are developed within this concept. First, it is held that social justice and human rights function, at different levels of abstraction from institutions, to deliver normative legitimacy to political systems by establishing and securing the conditions of membership. In so functioning, second, human rights and social justice, while developing a baseline justificatory threshold, are properly seen as dynamic aspirational norms that adjust to the conditions of membership. Third, both the baseline and aspirational dimensions of social justice and human rights in political legitimacy share a common egalitarian grounding in the legitimating idea of equal respect. This view is defended against the idea that the distinctive aspect of human rights as international concern marks them off from the stronger demands of social justice that are not matters of international concern.

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*Coalition Government Formation: Lessons for Canada*

Both political scientist and citizen in Canada frequently treat Canada as a unique case when it comes to government formation and termination. Election night reporting has networks racing to be the first to announce which political party leader will form the government; and these party leaders cooperate by giving victory or concession speeches with the vote count still incomplete. Coalition governments have never been formed at the federal-level in Canada and the recent practice, when no party wins a majority of seats in the legislature, has been for the leader of the party with the most seats to form a minority government with no negotiated intra-parliamentary support. There has been some recent research and debate over this situation, with most focusing on either the normative rules that underlie the Westminster-model of parliamentary government shared between the U.K. and its Anglo former colonies or the 'best' practices in those countries. This paper attempts to broaden the research debate by using a comparative-model and -examination of government formation and termination. By placing Canadian practices in a larger inter-parliamentary framework we reduce the focus on rules. Rules are one factor, but by placing them in comparative perspective, other factors such as the role of parties and political actors emerge as central to an understanding of how government formation occurs.

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*Protecting Rights in Parliament: the Challenges for a Westminster-based System*

The United Kingdom's Human Rights Act draws upon two Canadian constitutional ideas that have that potential to challenge conventional wisdom about how a bill of rights functions. One idea is to authorize judicial review but also allow for legislative dissent from judicial rulings through ordinary legislative means (derived from the notwithstanding clause of the Charter). The second idea, which originated in the 1960 Canadian Bill of Rights, is to introduce a new statutory obligation to alert parliament when the government is introducing legislation that is inconsistent with protected rights. Both ideas are represented in the United Kingdom's attempt to craft a bill of rights that promotes the idea of legislative rights review. The concept of legislative rights review represents a new norm for legislative decision-making; a norm that legislative bills should be assessed and justified in terms of their implications for rights before being approved by parliament. However, before celebrating the transformative potential of legislative rights review, it is important to acknowledge the institutional context in which this optimistic idea is situated. Executive dominance and the centrality of disciplined political parties are the pervasive characteristics of how a Westminster-based parliamentary system operates. The paper will analyse the challenges these characteristics present for the idea of legislative rights review. Legislative rights review is also undermined in the United Kingdom by a weaker incentive for compliance with adverse judicial rulings than in more conventional bills of rights, and by unresolved ambiguity about how the principle of parliamentary

sovereignty relates to or affects the mission of a rights project predicated on confronting and justifying decisions that implicate rights. The paper argues that these four factors combine to make non-compliance with protected rights easier to sustain in the United Kingdom by weakening political pressure to justify and remedy legislation that implicates rights in an adverse manner.

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*The NEB, the Northern Gateway Pipeline, and the Public Interest: In search of Canada's operative 'plausibility structure'*

Currently, a Joint Review Panel, mandated by the Environment Minister and the National Energy Board, is holding public hearings to determine whether the Northern Gateway Pipeline should be built from Bruderheim to Kitimat. Historically, most major oil/tar sands developments have undergone similar analyses and approval processes. Governments, or delegated authorities, utilize public hearings to collect data. They then use a variation of the rational decision-making model to determine whether the project is in the public interest or not, and whether to approve construction. This paper asks: How does the practice of using public hearings and the rational actor model of decision-making, impact on: (1) the 'types of knowledge' that are deemed appropriate for inclusion in the public decision-making process, (2) the 'approach to analysis' that must be used to generate these forms of appropriate knowledge, and (3) the determination of which groups or individuals are accepted as participants in the public hearings and decision-making process? How do the impacts of public hearings and a rational decision-making model' on #1-#3 above, in turn influence the panel's final decision? Finally, the paper asks whether this form of public hearings, based on the rational 'decision model,' is really a self-replicating 'plausibility structure' (Berger & Luckmann 1966)? This paper builds on my recent 6 years of research and publications on the oil/tar sands developments, and over 20 years of research on pluralism, political philosophy and public policy.

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*The Political Economy of Pipelines: The Battle over Oil Sands Access to Tidewater*

A massive, high-stakes political conflict has erupted over oil sands pipelines -- Keystone XL to the Gulf Coast, Northern Gateway to the Pacific Coast, and new proposals to Eastern Canada. Alberta's fossil fuel wealth is largely landlocked, and as the growth of US demand has stagnated, the sector's profitability and future growth have been jeopardized. A substantial differential has emerged between mid-continent prices and world prices that the product could sell at if it has access to "tidewater". This differential represents billions of dollars per year in foregone revenues to the sector, and helps explain the strong pressure to increase access to tidewater. The environmental movement (and First Nations in BC), recognizing the strategic importance of these pipelines to the growth of the sector, has aggressively sought to block their approval in an effort to limit the expansion of the oil sands. The conflict has spilled over into federal Canadian politics, interprovincial politics, and Canadian-American relations. This paper will examine this political controversy from a "policy regime" perspective that analyzes strategic actors operating within an institutional and ideational framework, influenced by broader background conditions of public mood and market conditions. The framework will be applied to improve our understanding of shifting power relations in Canadian energy policy. This paper is part larger energy policy regime project designed to apply the author's previously developed analytical framework to the oil sands pipeline case.

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*Economic Sovereignty as a National Interest and the Harper Foreign Investment Review*

The intervention by the Harper government to block BHP's attempted takeover of the Potash Co. in late 2010, warnings this earlier year against any hostile bid for the troubled RIM company, and government intervention in CNOOC-Nexen and Petronas-Progress cases would seem to show that Conservatives are taking Canadian economic sovereignty seriously. However, the government's failure to conduct the promised full review of foreign investment policy and other recent actions have sent mixed signals. This paper will examine the arguments and justifications for considering Economic Autonomy as a prime National Interest focusing primarily on recent developments in the strategic but vulnerable Canadian resource sector.

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*Justice for All: Recognizing Other Animals as Members of Our Political Communities*

In *Zoopolis*, Donaldson and Kymlicka argue that domesticated animals should be seen as our fellow citizens, wild animals as living in their own sovereign communities, and liminal animals as the bearers of the rights of denizenship. The foundation of these claims is the belief that all sentient animals are the bearers of inviolable rights. In this essay I consider how other animals might relate to our political communities even if we reject the claim that they have inviolable rights. First, I argue that on the basis of two modest moral commitments, we should recognize a wide variety of moral obligations to different animals. Many philosophers have already made compelling arguments along these lines, and I briefly recap some of these arguments here. The central claim I want to argue for, however, is that once we recognize these obligations, we must include other animals in our legal and political institutions. I argue that other animals have political standing – that is, they should be the bearers of legal rights and legal standing, as well as political representation. Recognizing the political standing of other animals is required to fulfill and uphold our duties to these animals. Thus, even if we don't think animals have inviolable rights, we have very good reasons to recognize them in our legal and political institutions.

**Horn, Charles** (charleshorn@shaw.ca)

*Sovereign Authority deterritorialized: Indigenous Ontologies of the Political*

One of the intriguing overlaps between Indigenous politics in North America and international relations theory is the way in which discourses of sovereignty are used to organize political action, both at the practical and at the theoretical level. In this paper, I examine the way in which discourses of sovereignty, drawn in the main from IR theory, have proved to be a powerful political resource for Indigenous

Nations in the struggle for decolonization. As I go on to argue, though, these discourses have also created a profound problem for Indigenous politics: it cannot adequately conceptualize the political status of urban Indigenous communities, where more than half of all Indigenous people now live. Drawing from the work of RBJ Walker and Jonathon Elmer, I argue that the specific territorial resolution of sovereignty in Indigenous politics fails when confronted with the claims to sovereignty produced in urban Indigenous communities. Urban Indigenous political claims are in important ways 'deterritorialized': that is, they contemplate being included in the scope of Indigenous sovereign authority even while the communities making the claims are no longer connected to the territorial base of that authority. The broader theoretical implications for current understandings of the ontology of modern politics are discussed, as well as the practical implications for Indigenous politics in North America.

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*Child Advocates in Comparative Perspective: B.C. and Ontario*

Over the last two decades, numerous provinces have introduced semi-independent, publicly-funded oversight bodies to ensure better accountability for public services, particularly services that impact on vulnerable populations, such as policing, child welfare, or seniors care. These oversight bodies - advocates, complaints commissions, ombudspersons - play complex political and administrative roles combining the moral mobilization of citizens on specific issues with broader public expectations about the effectiveness, transparency and overall purpose of government services. This issue is particularly acute - almost chronic - in the human services field, where government activities have significant impacts on the lives of vulnerable children. As such, they invoke deeply held beliefs about the limits of government, its relation to the private realm, and the allocation of political trust amongst public actors. Yet this institutional innovation in provincial public administration has received little attention in the academic literature, other than formal legal descriptions or generic arguments in support of greater accountability. I explore these dynamics through an analysis of children's advocates in British Columbia and Ontario. Embodying a historically specific relationship between safety, control, and advocacy, examining child advocate's offices allow us a glimpse of how issues of trust, control, and the exercise of administrative authority in relation to the private realm are played out in contemporary provincial politics.

**Houle, David** (david.houle@utoronto.ca)

*Market-based Instruments for Climate Change Policy in Canadian Provinces*

Climate change is a complex and global problem which necessitates action on multiple scales and levels. While reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and adapting to climate change represent important policy challenges, the literature documents many cases of small to medium size governance units that have successfully addressed common pool resource management problems. In North America, sub-national governments, states, provinces, municipalities, and networks of private actors, have taken initiatives to address the climate issue, at times going so far as to regulate GHG emissions, using a great variety of instruments including voluntary agreements, emission norms, taxes, permits, planning, and infrastructure investments. Thought too early to assess with any certainty the effectiveness of these experiments, they represent a vast and interesting laboratory providing insight into how communities mobilize to address the climate crisis and resolve such issues as target setting and the allocation of emission rights. This panel aims at taking stock of these experiments and addressing the following questions: How and why have sub-federal initiatives on climate change occurred? What is the role of policy diffusion in their adoption? What problems have occurred during implementation? What roles are played by international regimes and national/federal governments in their emergence and for their future? And finally, given the disparities of targets and instruments observed, can they be linked or harmonized?

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*"Statebuilding 3.0" and the Determinants of Domestic State Legitimacy: Investigating Micro-level Perspectives in Afghanistan*

Recent efforts in "statebuilding 3.0" have shifted towards the building of state legitimacy through the provision of security and essential services to local populations. Some argue, however, that in stressing the basic needs of citizens, this approach privileges socio-economic rather than political drivers of conflict, leading to a flawed view of the means to consolidate stability. Others caution that external actors may not be seen as legitimate by local peoples, a tension that can fuel further conflict and undermine the domestic legitimacy of new states. This paper takes up these critiques through the lens of micro-level perspectives on state legitimacy in conflict-prone environments. Using data collected in Afghanistan from 2004-2011, it tests the relative influence of three explanations: 1) political, including the effects of ethnicity and governance-related factors; 2) socio-economic/institutional, as reflected in perceptions of service provision and security; and 3) international, namely the influence of attitudes towards external actors. Findings lend to a deeper understanding of the determinants of domestic state legitimacy by bringing local views into sharper focus, along with the interface between the local and international in the context of contemporary statebuilding.

**Hueglin, Thomas** (thueglin@wlu.ca)

*Two Tales of Subsidiarity*

In a string of recent decisions, the Supreme Court of Canada has begun referring to subsidiarity as a defining principle of Canadian federalism. However, the meaning of subsidiarity remains rather uncertain despite its central role for power allocation in the European Union. In particular, there are two opposing views of subsidiarity. One has its origin in 19th century Catholic social doctrine and aims at decentralization, deregulation and privatization. The other view stems from a much older tradition of European federalism aiming at effectiveness and proportionality in the allocation of pluralized public power. By distinguishing these two opposing views, this paper seeks to make a contribution to a more adequate understanding of subsidiarity as an organizing principle for federal systems that are increasingly characterized by overlapping rather than mutually exclusive power allocations.

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*The experience and challenges of Chinese social organization in urban governance: in the case of security association*

This paper takes security association in the city of Xintai as an example, and examines the main features and functions of Chinese social organization in urban governance. Concomitant with its rapid economic development, China has also begun to confront many social contradictions and problems. In order to maintain social stability and development, local governments have made significant efforts to adjust the policies and strengthen the cooperation between the government and social governance. While Chinese grassroots autonomous organizations, especially urban communities, village committees and neighborhood committees, are an important part of Chinese urban governance, security association is also of critical concern. Security association on the one hand is to promote public participation in the public affairs, on the other hand is to maintain social security and stability. Furthermore, this new form of social organization, linking government and citizens, has also provided a new idea to solve the crisis of governance. Indeed, using official statements on government websites and in newspapers such as China Daily and People's Daily, as well as numerous scholarly sources, this paper will demonstrate that more practical domestic considerations are not only reflected in the innovation of urban governance, but they are often simultaneously framed within broader social harmony narrative.

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*"No Smiling, Please, Ms. Prime Minister!" A Discursive Collision in a News Magazine*

Female politicians are widely presented in the media as political professionals along with their male colleagues. However, while impartiality and neutrality prevail as journalistic ideals, the old division of men as actors and women as objects of action can still be seen in how male and female politicians are portrayed. Women, even in leading positions, still confront the double discourse: they need to prove both their achievements and femininity. This study shows how the presence of a make-up artist affected the production process of a cover portrait of the Finnish Prime Minister, Ms. Mari Kiviniemi, for a weekly news magazine. For the first time in the magazine's history of political portraits, the person in the focus requested the use of her own make-up artist in the photography studio. As a result, the news media's neutrality discourse and the women's magazine's beauty discourse collided in the studio as the make-up artist and the photographer negotiated over how the Prime Minister should be represented. In journalist studies and visual studies, the journalistic ideals of objectivity have been questioned. Ideals such as fair play and independence have been emphasized and the constructed nature of journalistic neutrality has been discussed. Our empirical materials show how the demand for femininity caused turbulent power relations in the journalistic process and extended the limits of the journalists' conceptions of neutrality. Positioning a woman leader in front of the camera revealed the controversial and narrow discursive space she was given in the intersection of neutrality and femininity.

**Hurl, Chris** (churl@connect.carleton.ca)

*Spatial Keynesianism, Labour Geographies and the Making of Ontario's Public Sector*

This paper examines the amalgamation of civic, electrical and public utilities workers into provincial and national public sector unions through the 1940s and 1950s. I examine these struggles in the context of spatial Keynesianism as different state and non-state actors aspired to establish "relatively uniform, standardized administrative structures throughout their territories and mobilized redistributive spatial policies designed to alleviate intra-national territorial inequalities by extending urban industrial growth into underdeveloped, peripheral regions" (Brenner, 2004: 2). While the literature on spatial Keynesianism sheds light on the uneven configuration of state power, it tends to ignore the active role played by workers in reshaping the political and economic landscape. In fact, I argue that the impetus to establish uniform administrative structures was in part driven by a process of class struggle. As civic, electrical, and public utilities workers were increasingly integrated into unions at a regional and national level they were able to effectively out-manoeuvre many municipalities in collective bargaining and grievance arbitration driving city officials to seek administrative expertise from outside consultants and develop more centralized administrative structures. The formation of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in 1963 parallels the growing power of Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities and the provincial government's shift to policies of regional governance in 1966. It is in this context, that the bureaucratization of the labour movement should be understood; as different actors struggled to redefine the field within which labour disputes were settled.

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*Courts, Commerce, and Competitive Federalism in Canada and the United States*

This paper examines how federal courts in Canada and the United States adjudicate disputes between states (or provinces) over questions of economic protectionism and the extra-territorial effects of state and provincial laws. In the United States, the ability of federal courts to limit state law (based upon the "dormant commerce clause" doctrine) was one of the most significant domestic powers exercised by any branch of the national government during the nineteenth century. It is often thought that the British North America Act, despite making considerable concessions to the proponents of provincial autonomy, created a national government that would have greater ability to regulate trade and commerce, at least in comparison with the national government of the United States. Yet to what extent did Canadian courts contribute to this nationalist project by following the example of American courts, thereby facilitating economic nationalism? This paper will investigate this question through a comparative analysis of Supreme Court decision making in Canada and the United States, focussing on the period between the late nineteenth century and the Great Depression. In particular, the paper will assess the role of Canadian and American courts in constraining state and provincial taxation and regulation on the basis of national jurisdiction over trade and commerce. By considering the role of courts from both a comparative and historical perspective, the essay will address questions related to the influence constitutional doctrine in judicial decision making and the political role of courts in federal systems.

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*Machiavellian Democracy and The Unintended Consequences of Participatory Government*

This paper is a response to John McCormick's *Machiavellian Democracy*, focussing in particular on his suggestions for "Machiavellian" institutional reforms in contemporary democracies. While other authors have questioned McCormick's interpretation of Machiavelli on textual grounds, this essay will instead criticize McCormick's proposals for elite-constraining institutional reforms by considering how similar attempts to restrain political elites have fared in both the United States and Canada. Drawing upon contemporary and historical analyses of candidate selection in political parties, the use of public initiatives and referenda, as well as research on the impact of campaign finance regulation, I will argue that McCormick's proposals, whether or not they are genuinely Machiavellian, fit within the general pattern of progressive institutional reforms that emerged in twentieth century North America. As is the case with those earlier reforms, "Machiavellian" institutions are likely to have the unintended consequence of reinforcing elite power, though they may empower elites of a different kind. In conclusion, I will argue that, rather than drawing inspiration from late medieval Florence, advocates of participatory democracy should reconsider the ways in which nineteenth century political parties in Canada and the United States promoted political participation. In particular, I will argue that the institution of political patronage is long overdue for reconsideration as a potential mechanism for expanding political participation. This essay will build upon McCormick's combination of traditional textual analysis and normative theory by addressing a broader range of research on attempts to implement participatory democracy.

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*The Personal is Political: Evaluating the Effects of Personality Traits on Ideology and Vote Choice in the Canadian Context*

Recent work in political behaviour has examined the effects of personality traits on a host of factors relevant to, and including, vote choice. Using the well-established Five Factor Model of Personality (FFM) in a variety of different political contexts, the literature suggests consensus on strongly significant effects for Conscientiousness and Openness to Experience, the former positively associated with right-wing ideological views, the latter with left-wing views. There is less agreement on other effects of personality traits: Extraversion and Agreeableness have been found to be only weakly positively and negatively correlated with right-wing views, respectively, and Emotional Stability has been found to have no significant effect. This paper examines these relationships in the Canadian context with regard to ideological self-placement and vote choice, using data from the 2011 Canadian Election Study, which for the first time included items designed to capture respondents' FFM personality traits. Conscientiousness is found to be positively significant for right-wing self-placement but not vote choice, Openness is strongly and correctly significant for left-wing placement and both Conservative (negative) and NDP (positive) vote choice, and other traits were only weakly or not at all significantly associated with ideology and vote choice. The findings thus broadly support previous arguments for the salience of personality on politics at the individual level, but also indicate avenues for context-specific explanations of variation, particularly the moderating effects of structural (e.g., electoral and party system environments) and sociopsychological (e.g., party identification) factors intervening between basic personality traits and vote choice.

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*Are Americans "Intuitive Federalists"?*

The division of policy responsibilities across different levels of government is a complex aspect of American federalism. Given the chronically low levels of political knowledge and misunderstandings of the policy process that exist at the mass level, it is reasonable to assume that there is little in the way of meaningful public opinion on this topic. Nevertheless, scholars have reported that citizens do attribute different policy responsibilities to the national, state, and local governments. What is the source of this variability? That is, why does the public believe the federal government should handle certain problems while the subnational governments should address other types of concerns? We examine this question using data from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. We find that meaningful patterns of attitudes toward intergovernmental policy responsibilities exist even after we take other factors into account (e.g., ideology, partisanship, general beliefs about the various levels of government, and approval of incumbents at the different levels). We argue that this suggests a surprisingly sophisticated component of American public opinion. The mass public does seem to appreciate the complexities of the modern federal system in the United States. Therefore, we believe it is reasonable to characterize Americans as "intuitive federalists".

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This proposal is for a joint and open session of the CPSA and Canadian Historical Association in roundtable format. On the roundtable, several historians and political scientists will be asked each to discuss in relatively short "micro-lecture" format their assessment of the changes in how history and historical events have been marshaled in service of Canadian identity in the Harper years. Participants might focus on some of the Harper government's recent historical initiatives such as the 1812 commemorations, the new stress on military history, the attempts to reawaken a sense of Canada's British connection via the renewed use of the word "Royal" in Canadian military units, and so forth. But they might also wish to address the focus of the Conservatives on recognizing historical injustices committed in Canada, as seen, for instance, with the Community Historical Recognition Program and the official apologies for the Chinese head tax and residential schools policies. And participants might in fact ask: do these various foci stand in tension with one another, or are they complementary? By addressing these and other related questions, roundtable participants will engage each other and the audience in a discussion about the changing contemporary character of Canadian politics, identity, and citizenship. The invited participants are Adam Chapnick (Canadian Forces College--confirmed), Lyle Dyck (Parks Canada), Ian McKay (Queen's), Veronica Strong-Boag (UBC--confirmed), Yasmeen Abu-Laban (Alberta--confirmed), Kiera Ladner (U of M--confirmed), Alain Noël (UDM--confirmed), Richard Simeon (U of T), Janice Stein (U of T), Reg Whitaker (Victoria), and Daniel Weinstock (UDM--confirmed).

**James, Matt** ([mattjame@uvic.ca](mailto:mattjame@uvic.ca))

*Amnesia and Resistance in Canada's Culture of Redress*

This paper examines Canada's "memory culture" (James 2009) or "culture of redress" (Wakeham 2010) by looking at various projects funded under the federal government's Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP), which addresses historical injustices committed against people of Chinese, Italian, Jewish, and Sikh heritage in Canada. The funded projects studied here include websites, documentary films, as well as museum exhibits and community displays in Halifax, Toronto, and Vancouver. By asking about their contribution to a Canadian redress culture, I am asking about how these projects encourage Canadians to think and talk about Canadian racism and injustice, particularly in terms of how past causal responsibility and contemporary reparative duties are conceived. As I have argued (2013), the CHRP program's policy framework aims to sanitize Canadian memory and to foster community compliance with the norms of an emergent neoliberal multiculturalism. But how do the projects funded under the program actually work themselves? My tentative conclusion is that the projects do tend to promote a sanitized, neoliberal redress culture; that some, however, struggle at the margins against it; and that the levels of resistance and departure vary interestingly along community lines.

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*Tracing the Legitimation of Animal Use in Canadian Universities*

In 1963, Canada's Medical Research Council requested that the National Research Council establish a committee "to study the situation with regard to the humane use and care of experimental animals." This committee recommended a "voluntary control program exercised by scientists in each institution, subject to peer review and committed to implementing the guiding principles of an independent advisory body". In this paper I genealogically trace the emergence of Canada's Medical Research Council's request -- which yielded the Canadian Council on Animal Care -- in relation to the legitimizing of scientific practice that entails breeding and using nonhuman animal life, and in relation to the protection of researchers from criminal prosecution. I consider the historical relations of power that this genealogy reveals in relation to the current complex of: i) the nexus between Canada's National Institutes of Health Research and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (the leading funders of the CCAC and animal-use research), and the universities' Animal Care Committee's assumption that scientific merit of funded projects has already been determined; ii) the CCAC's apparently dual, tension-riddled mandate to set and maintain standards for "the ethical use" of nonhuman animals and the "care of animals used in science (research, teaching and testing)"; and iii) the fact that the federal government has challenged the current funding structure such that the CCAC may collapse.

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*The Southern Conservative Thought of John C. Calhoun and the Cultural Foundations of the Canadian Identity*

In the twenty-first century, Canadians have tended to define their culture as a complete North American alternative to the Southern U.S. historical tradition. From quantitative research on major value differences between Canadians and Southern Americans to the well-established utilization of the American South's history as a validation of Canadian anti-Americanism, comparative notions of 'Fire' and 'Ice' between the two nations are justifiably best revealed when juxtaposing America's 'Sun Belt' with 'Nordic' Canada. That being stated, besides the largely ignored fact of substantive Canadian support for the Southern Confederacy during the American Civil War, the consociational dimensions of Canadian Confederation, as something opposed to American unionism in cultural terms, finds its theoretical roots legitimized in the Southern conservative writings of John C. Calhoun. Calhoun was also a major philosophical forefather of the Southern Confederacy. It is the tension between an institutionally entrenched foundation of consociational pluralism and growing urban cosmopolitanism within Canadian history that has defined the debates and divides over the meaning of the Canadian identity, just as it is alternatively the tension between enforced constitutionalist unionism and consociational cultural tradition within the American South that has largely defined their historical experience. Despite their contemporary dissimilarities, both Canada and the American South find the tensions of their cultural identities rooted in the consociational values originally laid out by nineteenth century Southern conservative political thought.

**Jenson, Jane** ([jane.jenson@umontreal.ca](mailto:jane.jenson@umontreal.ca))

*Social Investment and Inclusive Growth. Intersecting Perspectives on Social Policy Interventions*

The social investment perspective appeared in the mid-1990s in Canada and was promoted in social policy while the Europeans were still debating about its validity. Now the situation is very much reversed, with the perspective being vaunted by many in Europe and a virtual silence in Canada, at least at the federal level. The paper lays out this comparison and proposes factors that account for the different histories.

**Jeram, Sanjay** ([sjeram@brocku.ca](mailto:sjeram@brocku.ca))

*Sub-state Nationalism and Immigrant Integration in Spain: Divergent Paths in the Basque Country and Catalonia*

Sub-state nationalism remains a potent political force in advanced democracies (Lecours 2012). The phenomenon of immigration in the West has raised new challenges for sub-state nations because they define themselves from the larger state by way of distinct cultures and languages, and now they must contend with an influx of immigrants that do not share those traits. Moreover, immigrants are considered unlikely to support a nationalist party, which weakens the political power of the sub-state nation. Consequently, immigrants are often portrayed as a potential threat to the survival of sub-state nations. Nevertheless, recent studies of immigrant integration policy among sub-state nations have revealed more variance than homogeneity (Hepburn 2009; 2011). Research that seeks to account for different policy regimes and changes over time has emphasized the desire for international legitimacy and evolving conceptions of national identity (Barker

2010). This paper builds upon this work in order to undertake a comparison of the Basque Country and Catalonia. In addition to being considered 'most similar' cases along a variety of dimensions, the literature has emphasized the relative 'open' nature of Catalan nationalism and the relative 'exclusionary' character of Basque nationalism (Conversi 1997; Medrano 1995). Nevertheless, evidence suggests that the policy regime in the Basque Country is more multicultural and less assimilationist than in Catalonia. Using policy documents, newspaper reportage, and elite interviews, this paper argues that the distinct challenges of nation building faced by elites in the Basque Country and Catalonia have led them on divergent paths.

**Jobin, Shalene** (sjobin@ualberta.ca)

*Cree Political Economy: Towards Alternative Forms of Self-Determination*

It is widely accepted that Canadian economic progress has come at a cost to Indigenous peoples, undermining their collective rights to economic security and self-determination. Government initiatives aimed at fostering economic development in Indigenous communities have often failed, both in basic economic terms and in relation to the broad social indicators of the quality of individual and community life. Federal policies, rooted in a market liberal policy paradigm, have been criticized for ignoring the potential value of Indigenous economies and governance. The purpose of this paper is to understand pre-existing Cree economies and governing structures and how this knowledge can lead to different approaches to self-determination and economic resurgence for the Cree people. Specifically, this paper explores how oral histories can provide information on historic Plains Cree economic relationships. This research project is focused on providing substance to articulate, and theorize the Cree economic principles that guided and continue to guide these economic relationships. Within an analysis of a wide selection of Cree stories different themes will be explored, including: principles governing Cree economic relationships, decision-makers, and characteristics of accepted economic processes. This approach allows the patterns and governance surrounding Cree economic relations to emerge from within the stories. This analysis will assist in developing an understanding of a Cree economic relational framework. A historical understanding of Cree economic practices might provide future insights in creating Indigenous economic resurgence and aiding in more self-determination options for Indigenous peoples.

**Johnston, Richard** (richard.johnston@ubc.ca)

*Janus-Faced Electorates: Federal-Provincial Discrepancies in Canadian Electoral History*

In some provinces, gaps between the same electorate's behaviour in federal and provincial elections are as remarkable as differences within the federal arena among provinces. The pattern seems unique to Canada. But such discrepancies are hardly universal, nor do they always persist. Although controversies abound on individual sources and consequences of these discrepancies, there appears to be no macro-level account for the sources of long-term patterns. This paper will fill this vacuum with a unified dataset dating back where possible to the first decade of the 20th century. The data reveal that two basic forces are in play. One involves the appearance of niche parties, especially in provincial but also in federal elections. Such parties appear in provinces--Quebec and certain Western ones--that sit uneasily in a Canada-wide partisan framework. The second process reveals both the power and the limits of Duverger's Law. After an initial surge of multipartism in provincial elections, provincial party systems remained quite consolidated, as Duverger would predict, even as the federal electorate fractionalized. This discrepancy was especially marked where the CCF/NDP made inroads. Growth in the left vote induced strategic consolidation on the centre-right, and did so much more efficiently in the provincial than in the federal arena. The identity of the centre-right beneficiary varied over time and place, reflecting historical accident and path dependency. At the same time, provincial elections are a key counterfactual in explaining why federal elections are difficult to square with Duverger.

**Johnston, Rochelle** (rochellenjohnston@yahoo.com)

*Bystanders to Genocide in Sudan*

Significant attention has been paid to roles played by the government, opposition groups, victims and foreign bystanders in relation to the atrocities in Sudan and South Sudan. However, little has been said about the Sudanese bystanders who witness unacceptable behaviour, but do nothing to stop it. If, using Lemkin's (1944) definition, the situation in Sudan is characterized as genocide, then it is essential to consider the role of bystanders. In a conflict between adversaries, bystanders are peripheral to the action. In a genocide their turning away dehumanizes the victims, normalizing the abhorrent acts perpetrated, and their silence creates the culture of impunity that empowers perpetrators and allows genocidal acts to spread. This paper maps and describes the role of Sudanese bystanders of various ethnic, professional and geographic designations. It provides three examples to illustrate how Sudanese bystanders have stood up against genocide: popular uprisings in Khartoum; the halting of the genocidal campaign in the Nuba Mountains in the 1990s; and passive resistance and desertion by Sudan Armed Forces soldiers. The paper concludes with a discussion of the conditions that may facilitate or hinder Sudanese bystanders from standing up and a proposal for empirical research to study their role in facilitating or preventing genocide.

**Johnstone, Rachael** (5regj@queensu.ca)

*De-politicization Through Medicalization: The Regulation of Abortion After Morgentaler*

Few issues are as divisive in Canadian politics as abortion. When the R. v. Morgentaler decision (1988) struck down Canada's existing abortion law, it created a policy vacuum. An unsuccessful attempt by the federal government to create a new law led to the reclassification of abortion as a healthcare issue and shifted jurisdiction over the procedure to the provinces, but this frame did not resolve the polarizing debate between the pro- and anti-choice camps. Today, the continued conflict between those pushing for recognition of the procedure as a moral issue requiring criminal restrictions, and those who treat abortion as a woman's right, belie the apparent resolution a medical frame provides. The effect of positioning abortion as a medical issue has been to de-politicize the procedure, obscuring not only its connection with a range of social issues related to society's treatment of women, but also rendering invisible the ongoing pro- and anti-choice debates in the institutions that regulate the procedure. This paper will demonstrate the problems inherent in the assumption that treatment of

abortion as a medical necessity can resolve access issues for women. Ultimately, it will argue that abortion must be recognized as a political issue, which can only be protected through an acknowledgment of abortion as a right of women's citizenship.

**Kahane, David** (david.kahane@ualberta.ca)

*Roundtable: Deliberative democracy and climate change in a municipal context*

How might innovative forms of citizen involvement enhance cities' ability to address issues of energy use and greenhouse gas emissions? From October-December 2012, 60 randomly selected Edmontonians met for six full days to learn about climate and energy issues and make recommendations to City administration and Council. The Citizens' Panel on Edmonton's Energy and Climate Challenges was a partnership between City of Edmonton, the Centre for Public Involvement, and Alberta Climate Dialogue (ABCD). It was an unusually well researched deliberation, enabling insights into the process and its impacts on participants and policies. In this roundtable, five key researchers involved in the Citizens' Panel will sketch findings and talk about lessons learned. Mark Warren (Harold and Dorrie Merilees Chair for the Study of Democracy, Political Science, UBC) will serve as discussant. Shelley Boulianne (Assistant Professor of Sociology, MacEwan University) will draw on extensive survey research with Panelists to discuss how they experienced the process. Fiona Cavanagh (Project Manager, Centre for Public Involvement) will discuss challenges and complexities of citizen recruitment. Gloria Filax (Associate Professor of Integrated Studies, Athabasca University) will characterize climate change counter-stories articulated by ten Citizens' Panelists. Lorelei Hanson (Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, Athabasca University) will draw on key informant interviews to characterize challenges of linking deliberative methods to municipal policy processes. David Kahane (Professor of Political Science, University of Alberta) will talk about assets and limitations of deliberative 'invited spaces' as influences on municipal climate policy making.

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*Political Efficacy and Young People in Canada, 1965-2011*

The literature on political efficacy in Canada suggests that feelings of political competence (internal efficacy) have increased over the last 40 years while perceptions of system responsiveness (external efficacy) have decreased (Nevitte 2002, Kanji 2002). One might assume that the more an individual feels able to understand and participate in politics the more likely it is that individual will see the political system as responsive. The evidence, however, is not so straightforward. Internal efficacy is indeed an important predictor of external efficacy (Clarke and Acock 1985, Atkeson and Carrillo 2007) but the gap between the two persists, particularly among Canadians aged 18-34. This has implications for Canada's electoral system. This paper uses data from the Canadian Election Studies (1965-2008) and the Comparative Provincial Election Project (2011-2012) to look at political efficacy across levels of government, examining why Canadian youth today feel better able to understand and participate in politics than their predecessors yet are less impressed with the political system.

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*Support for Political Community in Quebec*

Canada has earned a fairly solid reputation worldwide of being a stable democracy and political community, despite its diverse makeup and deep divisions. Yet the 2012 provincial election campaign in Quebec reminds us how potentially fragile this "community of communities" may in fact be as three out of five parties campaigned openly on a platform of sovereignty and received a significant amount of support (about 40% of voter support in an election where approximately 75% of registered voters turned out to vote). In this paper, we employ new data from the Quebec component of the Comparative Provincial Election Project to look more closely at Quebecers' outlooks on Canada, Quebec and their various more local political communities. First, how do most Quebecers identify themselves and do the results vary depending on demographics and ethnicity (Francophone, Anglophone, Allophone, young, old, immigrant, or ethnic minority)? Second, is support for certain political communities stronger than others? For instance, how much pride do Quebecers take in their different political communities and how serious are they about leaving Canada? Third, what do Quebecers think about the way in which their political communities work and what do they think is wrong? Fourth, what accounts for Quebecers' frustrations with their respective political communities? Is it mainly a performance related matter or something deeper that may challenge the way in which the Canadian political community is generally perceived?

**Karabulut, Tolga** (karabulut\_tolga@yahoo.com)

*Reflections on Constitutional Patriotism: Arendt and Habermas on Politics and Public Freedom*

How to promote a democratic political community of free and equal citizens in modern societies with diverse cultures and worldviews has been one of the main questions of normative political theory. One response to this challenge had been the theory of constitutional patriotism, a position defended strongly by Habermas. Constitutional patriotism argues that the center of the political attachment and solidarity should be the norms, values and procedures of a liberal democratic constitution instead of a unified and homogeneous national culture. The legitimacy of political rule and law does not derive from national will or sovereignty but from the deliberations of active citizens in the political decision-making process in the public sphere. I would like to argue in this paper that Hannah Arendt's account of republicanism in which she emphasizes the importance of public sphere and political participation of active citizens without presupposing a thick shared (national) identity sets the stage for the idea of constitutional patriotism. By providing a republican conception of citizenship that is not tied to national identity, Arendt shows how to maintain public freedom and political participation with respect to plurality and diversity in modern societies. This paper aims to reveal the relations between Arendt's account of republicanism and Habermas' theory of constitutional patriotism, which will further provide some insights for democratic citizenship that acknowledges and accommodates dissent and conflict as constituting the basis of politics.

**Karp, Jeffrey** (jeffrey.karp@anu.edu.au)

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*Gender, Party Leaders and Electoral Outcomes*

Research suggests that voters evaluate male and female candidates differently and these stereotypes can serve as a basis for voters to choose or reject a candidate. Less is known about how voters view female party leaders and what personality traits they consider to be important. The increasing prominence of female party leaders in elections in the United States and abroad presents an opportunity to examine systematically what traits voters attribute to female party leaders. In turn, we can measure how far these traits influence the vote that female party leaders receive. Given that women have risen to prominence in a number of countries on both sides of the ideological spectrum we can also, through a cross national analysis, control for ideological differences that may also lead voters to view party leaders differently. To examine these questions, we will rely on data from election surveys conducted in Australia, New Zealand the United States over the last decade. We find substantial gender differences on many leadership traits, regardless of whether party leaders are located on the right or the left. This suggests that even in cases where candidates are well known, gender stereotypes can still have an important influence on the vote.

**Katz, Leanna** (leannagkatz@gmail.com)

*Choosing Provincial Party Leaders: Selection Procedures, Democracy, and Legislative Leadership*

This paper examines the central question of how provincial political party leaders are chosen in Ontario. First, I will examine the system used by each of the three parties to select their leader. Considering factors such as voting procedures, entrance fees, nomination requirements, and spending limits, I will analyze the similarities and differences among the three parties. Then I will evaluate how democratic each party's leadership selection process is. I will draw on the criteria used by the Canadian Democratic Audit Project and especially the application of these criteria by William Cross in his book, POLITICAL PARTIES. Has there been a tendency to open up the process to more involvement by party members? How do the parties evaluate this dimension of leadership selection? The methodology for this paper will involve an inquiry into each party's constitution, news coverage of the last leadership convention of each party, and selected personal interviews. Ideally I will conduct interviews with the three party presidents as well as the candidates in their last party convention. The goal will be to uncover their views of the strengths and weaknesses of not only their party's leadership selection process but also that of the other two parties as well. Hopefully this examination of the recent experience of the three Ontario parties will enrich Canadian political party literature. In addition, the paper will contain recommendations to improve the process of leadership selection in general.

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*Panel discussion of \*Secret Service\**

Secret Service by Greg Kealey, Reg Whitaker and Andrew Parnaby provides the first comprehensive history of political policing in Canada - from its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, through two world wars and the Cold War to the more recent 'war on terror.' This book reveals the extent, focus, and politics of government-sponsored surveillance and intelligence-gathering operations. It is an important book that deserves a widespread discussion; this panel brings together experts in the field -- both in Canada and beyond -- and will begin the conversation on the topic.

**Keating, Tom** (tkeating@ualberta.ca)

*Canadian Foreign Policy through an English School lens*

Barry Buzan in his discussion of the underexploited areas of English School thought suggests that there is much room for studies "looking at how particular states and peoples encounter and adapt to international society." In response this paper will look at how Canada and Canadians have encountered and adapted to international society. It starts from a premise that Canada and its foreign policy have been integrally linked with international society since the early part of the twentieth century and that international society has done much to shape and shove Canadian foreign policy practice through the years. In turn, the paper discusses how Canadian foreign policy, at times in a very direct and conscientious manner, to the development of international society. Finally the paper argues that an English School lens can provide a constructive interpretation of the significant reorientation that has occurred in Canadian foreign policy over the past two decades.

**Kellogg, Catherine** (catherine.kellogg@ualberta.ca)

*The Rights of "Man" and their Absence Supplement*

The 'enemy of all of mankind' was first articulated into the language of law during the terror, when Robespierre declared Louis the XVI a 'criminal against all of humanity'. My hypothesis is that the 'criminal against all' is the supplement to the 'man' whose rights were legally enshrined a few years later in the great Declarations of the eighteenth Century. One might say that the French and American Declarations of the rights of man, articulated together with the legal incarnation of the 'enemy of all of humanity' indicated a kind of apex, and thus a crisis, of modernity. It is not an accident, for instance, that at the same moment that 'man' is given freedom and dignity through Kant's

articulation of the moral law and his vision of a world of perpetual peace, Kant also provides a vision of radical evil. The development of the legal use of the term 'humanity' is thus fundamentally entwined with the development of a legal category of the monster, the pervert or the inhuman. And just like the law itself, this transcendental appearance is part of a (modern) strategy that 'lies' about the evil beyond the law. Indeed, the idea that the law promises us the good is a transcendental lie that casts a veil over the evil 'thing' at which the law aims. What is this thing?

**Kellogg, Paul** (pkellogg@athabascau.ca)

*Prairie Capitalism Revisited*

The principal concern of *Prairie Capitalism* - the 1979 classic work by John Richards and Larry Pratt - was not to critique mainstream Canadian Political Economy (CPE). But the book's approach was, in fact, a strong challenge to CPE's then hegemonic dependency-influenced framework. "In our study" they wrote "we find no confirmation of the thesis that provinces heavily dependent on the exploitation and sale of staples are thereby placed in a permanent position of political dependency vis à vis external capital". This put them on an unfortunate collision course with the CPE mainstream. In a quarter-century retrospective on the book, Pratt outlined what happened upon the book's first publication. At a meeting held at York University they were told they had written "a fundamentally flawed book, a dangerous book". This paper will suggest that, from the standpoint of the 21st century, this assessment has to be revised. With Calgary's emergence as a rival to Toronto and with the parallel and related emergence of an entire Prairie-based ecosystem of Canadian corporate firms - many of them in fact Canadian based transnational firms - the essential framework advanced in *Prairie Capitalism* has been confirmed. This has sharp implications both for our understanding of the trajectory of Canadian capitalism, and for our assessment of the core tenets of CPE.

**Kennedy Dalseg, Sheena** (sheenalkennedy@gmail.com)

*Learning, Tradition and Change: Lessons from the Past*

Last year marked the 30th anniversary of the final report of the Special Committee on Education entitled "Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories" (1982). The committee was mandated to review all aspects of the educational system in the NWT. The particular historical experience with education in the North, especially among Indigenous people, was understood as both a challenge and an opportunity by the Committee. Following extensive consultation with communities, practitioners and government across the North, the Committee made 49 recommendations related to all aspects of the educational system from its administration structure to language, teaching staff, and adult education. While much has changed in the political economies of the NWT and Nunavut since 1982, governments, communities, and citizens are still grappling with many of the same challenges that the Special Committee set out to address. Education is intimately linked with social, economic and political development, and its role in shaping the North must be understood in a way that respects its colonial history but also its potential for contributing to the process of decolonization as well. This paper will review the Committee's final report, including its mandate and recommendations, and its supporting documents with the following questions in mind: what was the Committee's vision for the educational system in the NWT; where can we see the legacies of this vision today; and what, if anything, has been lost along the way?

**Kenyon, Kristi** (kristihkenyon@gmail.com)

*Health Advocacy at the Margins: Indigeneity and Rights in the Kalahari*

In contrast with more traditional frames of development and public health, HIV activists have been unprecedented in their frequent and insistent use of the rights discourse. Largely originating in the global north and west, this discourse has spread globally through activist networks, becoming integrated and re-interpreted through local norms. The adoption of rights discourse has not, however, been universal and has been less frequently used with reference to socially and politically sensitive populations. Drawing on 145 semi-structured interviews with civil society groups and other actors working on HIV in Ghana, Uganda, Botswana and South Africa, this paper focuses on a subset of 30 interviews examining the use and non-use of rights language in HIV advocacy in Botswana with specific reference to the San indigenous people. In Botswana, the San are the group on whose behalf the rights discourse has been employed the most frequently and vocally, primarily by international groups in concert with global campaigns relating to land rights. Highly polarizing and conflictual in the domestic context, these campaigns have resulted in an active avoidance of rights language and even of identifying target groups as San instead using the ethnically ambiguous term 'remote area dwellers.' These international connections have led local activists to increasingly emphasize locally-grounded advocacy techniques and slogans.

**Kesarchuk, Olga** (olga.kesarchuk@gmail.com)

*Policy Choices of the Post-Soviet States Toward FDI in the Energy and Metallurgy Sectors: the Experience of Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine*

My dissertation seeks to explain why the post-Soviet states made different policy choices with regards to foreign direct investment into oil and gas and metallurgy and mining sectors. I explain these policy choices by looking at two variables. The first one is the state of sector's development during the Soviet era. I argue that the Soviet legacies these states faced were not uniform. The sectors were developed to a different extent during the Soviet era. This influenced the ability of the post-Soviet states to develop them on their own after gaining independence. Generally, whenever states could develop sectors without involvement of foreigners, they did so. Since oil and gas were well-developed in Russia during the Soviet times, Russia could develop it without involving foreign investors. Because Kazakhstan's oil and gas sectors were underdeveloped, the involvement of outsiders was necessary. Since metallurgy had extra capacities that were built during the Soviet times, all three states could develop metallurgy on their own. The state of sector's development influenced the policy choices post-Soviet states made but did not determine them. Leaders were making their choices too. That is why my second explanatory variable is political: it is the need of the political regimes that got established in these states to sustain themselves in power and create alliances to

keep themselves in power. Whereas Russia's Yeltsin and Ukraine's Kuchma decided to ally themselves with the domestic business, Kazakhstan's Nazarbaev decided to build a political alliance with foreign investors.

**Keivins, Anthony** (anthony.keivins@mail.mcgill.ca)

*Political Actors and the Extension of Welfare Coverage: Benefits for the Unemployed in France and Italy*

This paper examines developments in the unemployment and social assistance schemes of France and Italy, with a particular focus on the roles of parties and social partners in the extension of benefit coverage. Recent decades have seen the emergence, particularly in continental Europe, of an increasing divide between those workers who have well-protected, well-paying jobs, and those who have either lower quality "non-standard" employment or no job at all. This has posed a substantial problem for corporatist welfare states, which have historically tended to tie up the receipt of unemployment benefits with former occupational and employment status. In this context, some countries (such as France) have dealt with the changing nature of the labour market by adapting less generous benefits to be extended to those outside of the social insurance fold; others (such as Italy), however, have failed to deal systematically with the issue, leaving their programmes relatively unreformed. This essay will examine, in a primarily qualitative manner, the various critical junctures over the last several decades that have culminated in divergent benefit coverage levels in France and Italy. In doing so, we intend to explore the roles that parties and social partners have played in benefit extension, with an eye to the ways in which their respective actions have been shaped by various institutional factors. Overall, through this investigation we hope to contribute to the study of macro level processes at work in the extension of benefit coverage from welfare "insiders" to the rest of the workforce.

**Kido, Hideki** (kido@narapu.ac.jp)

*Political Party as an Agent for Sub-national Governments: Comparative Study of Japan and Canada*

This paper will clarify how party organization influences the policy outcome in intergovernmental relations between the central and sub-national (prefectures and provinces) governments. How does party organization matter in intergovernmental negotiation? To answer this question, this paper will compare two countries; Canada and Japan. Canada represents the country where party organization is completely separated between the central and sub-national government. On the other hand, Japan is often seen as the patronage between the central and local party is quite strong, therefore the party organization between the two level of governments is strongly connected. This paper will examine whether the difference of party system in Japan and Canada would affect the result of financial transfer cut implemented since the 1990s. This paper will also reveal the importance of party organization in shaping the negotiation between the central and sub-national government.

**Kim, Jemma** (jemmakim@hotmail.com)

*Japan after 311 Tsunami and East Asian Regional Integration: the Prospects for the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP)*

This paper aims to examine the nature of Japanese government's trade policy in the current climate of economic downturn after the tsunami disaster of March 2011. Consistent with its earlier policies promoting regional economic integration, the Japanese government has actively and strategically been pursuing bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs) with its trade partners. Recently, however, Tokyo also announced its interest in joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) negotiation. The question then is: Why is Japan pursuing regional trade strategies centered on FTAs and the TPP, instead of relying solely on bilateral FTAs? Will the growing number of FTAs, and now the TPP, turn out to be a stepping stone or stumbling block towards regional and global economic integration? How is Japanese FTA/TPP policy likely to evolve over the next decade? What are the implications of Japanese participation in the TPP for East Asian Community building? While existing studies have treated FTAs as the policy norms and basic premise of Japanese trade policy, this paper offers an alternative explanation of Japan's FTA/TPP policymaking process, mainly focusing on the institutional problem such as the lack of communication channel between governments and interest groups.

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*"Discovering White People": Indigeneity and International Relations Theory*

Reviewing the International Relations (IR) theory literature, Indigenous peoples rarely come up. The orthodox schools of Realism and Liberal Internationalism mention Dene and Lakota peoples briefly, and then only to demonstrate various turns on life in the state of nature. Likewise, Marxist, post-modern and post-colonial writers often refer to Inuit or Salish peoples but only obliquely and in the context a shared victimhood among marginalized peoples globally. Even explicit references to Indigenous peoples, which are often couched in discussions of the liberal international human rights regime (and increasingly the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) can be superficial - homogenizing distinct peoples and reifying states at the expense of Indigenous political communities. These consequences of the shallow acquaintance between Indigenous peoples and IR lead to questions about the viability of engagement. In other words, what is the normative shape of the relationship between Indigenous intellectuals (and communities) and the discipline of IR? What are the real-world implications for self-determining Indigenous nations? Attempts to answer these questions suggest that an Indigenous critique of the discipline can help define difference; that is, the unique nature of Indigenous conceptions of the international. This in turn might allow space for Indigenous intellectuals to contribute to the resurgence of the diplomatic traditions of Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee peoples, among others.

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*Trust, Engagement, and Stable Diversity in Canadian Cities*

A vibrant and effective democracy seems to demand at least some degree of both engagement and trust: at the very least citizens must be willing and able to do their part as citizens, and they must trust others to do likewise. Yet mounting evidence from across industrial

societies suggests that diversity - especially ethnoracial diversity - correlates with declines in trust and engagement, suggesting that even the weak standards just mooted may be difficult to sustain in the face of deep differences. Unsurprisingly, these worries play out most dramatically in and around major cities, but these sites also provide tantalizing possibilities for understanding the micro-politics of trust and engagement in diverse settings. Against the backdrop of important recent Canadian contributions to these debates, our aim is to identify and examine the familiar correlates of trust and engagement in urban and suburban neighbourhoods characterized by stable diversity. For a variety of reasons, some populations become ethno-racially diverse and remain so for decades at a time. We develop a typology of stable diverse areas, then draw on two relevant Canadian datasets to determine new correlates of citizen empowerment in diverse settings: how do certain historical demographic trends at the local level, paired with particular forms of micropolitics, mitigate and ameliorate the pessimistic findings rising out of several recent, and especially U.S. surveys on diversity, trust, and democratic engagement?

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*The Political Theory of Plutarch's Moral Essays*

It is evident that Plutarch figures centrally in the Western tradition of political theory (e.g. in Montesquieu, Rousseau, Harrington, Emerson). What has been less considered is the degree to which Plutarch himself offers a coherent account of politics across his writings. While generally considered to be a Platonist, Plutarch also deviates significantly from traditional Platonism through his interest in history and personality over metaphysics, and in the sentiments through which we regulate our lives and navigate our place in broader social and political settings. In this paper, I examine part of Plutarch's opus, i.e. selected essays in his *Moralia*, to work out a tentative account of the principles of political theory that can be said to inform his work. There is an increased attention to the works of Plutarch within the field of Classics, but these studies tend to focus on one particular text with an analysis of the moral theory informing it (e.g. Beneker, Kechagia, Klotz and Oikonomopoulou). This paper is part of a larger project which seeks to give a more general account of the political significance of Plutarch's work, as a starting point for a reconsideration of his place within the traditional canon. The paper will pay particular attention to the links between politics and moral psychology as examined by Plutarch in such essays as "Against Colotes", "On the Use of Reason by 'Irrational' Animals", "On Moral Virtue", "On Affection for Offspring", "On Envy and Hate" and "How to Profit from One's Enemies".

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*Precaution or Politics: The Curious Canadian Decision To Label BPA "Toxic"*

The regulation of potentially toxic substances exists at the crossroads of science, politics and public administration. Historically, Canada's regulation of toxic substances has been restricted to a narrow range of actors, contributing to a hesitant approach on the part of the federal government. Thus, Canada's decision to list bisphenol A (BPA) as "toxic" under the provisions of the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) was surprising in light of historical practice. It was equally surprising in that it was based on weak and conflicting scientific evidence. This paper analyzes the process that led to this decision documenting how both long-term factors (such as the insertion of the precautionary principle into CEPA in 1999) and short-term factors (interest group pressure and prominent media coverage) led to a regulatory outcome based on weak scientific evidence. The paper concludes by using details of this case study to critically assess how Canadians and the federal government deal with potentially toxic substances, including the implementation of the precautionary principle, the integration of interest groups into decision-making processes and journalistic practices that shape coverage these issues.

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**Dunton, Caroline** (cedunton@uwaterloo.ca)

*Transnational Security Policing as Local Foreign Policy*

The erosion of the clear distinction between domestic and foreign policy, and with it the erosion of the distinction between crime and security, has meant an increasing transnationalization and securitization of Canadian policing. Consequently, to fully conceptualize the field of Canadian foreign & security policy, we must relocate it beyond the federal government. We show how Canadian police departments at the federal, provincial and local levels engage in activities beyond borders that blur the lines between defence and crime control, military and policing. We compare Canadian examples to transnational security policing in the United States and the United Kingdom. We argue that the study of Canadian foreign policy beyond the federal government must go beyond paradiplomacy to consider the ways in which transnational security policing changes and relocates traditional notions of the border and create networks of governance beyond the state that have profound implications for Canadian foreign relations as well as domestic governance.

**Klepeter, Dillon** (klepeter@american.edu)

*Do Third Party Candidates Influence Incumbent Agendas?*

Most studies of third party candidates in the U.S. focus either on why candidates enter a given race, or their effect on electoral outcomes once they do. And while candidates from outside the established two party system can have a "spoiler effect", their impact usually does not affect the outcome of the race. However, popular accounts of third party candidates often claim that their motivation for running is symbolic; used only to imbue otherwise marginal perspectives into the campaign dialogue. This study tests this claim by analyzing House races in which third party candidates were present albeit unsuccessful. I rely on repeated cross sections to track changes in the policy agendas of winning incumbents in the session following their reelection. The dependent variable is the size of the shift in the incumbents' attention to the campaign themes of third party challengers over time. To predict variation in agenda shifts, I use the third party candidates' vote share as well as several theoretically-justified control variables. Preliminary results demonstrate that third party candidates can have an effect on an incumbents' policy focus, particularly when incumbents do not face challengers in the primary race.

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### *Discursive Institutionalism Coming of Age in International Relations*

In the political science debate about various foci of new institutionalism, discursive institutionalism has been recently added to the three “older” approaches of rational choice, historical and sociological institutionalism. This “new” approach is increasingly becoming important and gaining ground in International Relations. Discursive institutionalism - similar approaches have been denoted as constructivist, strategic or ideational institutionalism - accentuates that international institutions can frame discourses between political and societal actors seen as interactive processes of communication, deliberation and learning conveying substantive content on how to overcome obstacles, meet new challenges and risks, address cognitive, evaluative and normative conflicts as well as create ideas of problem solving. The paper reviews the recent IR literature referring to discursive institutionalism and surveys the ways how they establish causal links between the communicative modes of discourse and deliberation as dependent variable and institutional problem-solving capacity. Discursive institutionalism provides a logic of discursive rationality that significantly differs from the logic of instrumental rationality theorized by rational choice institutionalism, the logic of appropriateness found in sociological institutionalism and the logic of path dependency postulated by historical institutionalism. The “older” new institutionalisms represent a more equilibrium-focused and static view that is undermined by discursive institutionalism with a more dynamic and adaptive take on change and discourse. This new emphasis on the explanatory power of processes of rational discourse, deliberative democracy, arguing and persuasion in international institutions may be the most striking feature of the recent development in institutionally related theories of global governance.

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### *Justice Deflected? The Uses and Abuses of Customary Transitional Justice Mechanisms*

Much has been made in the literature on transitional justice of the spread of certain norms and practices for seeking accountability after civil conflict or authoritarian rule, most notably trials and truth commissions. Lost in this discussion, however, is the remarkable resilience and emergence of local approaches to resolving conflicts, seeking truth, memorializing events and reintegrating members back into society. In the few instances that these mechanisms are considered in the literature, they are generally regarded in a positive light as ‘locally owned’ and more ‘culturally appropriate’. However, the question of how and why these approaches are deployed in transitional societies has gone largely unexplored. This paper argues that local approaches are sometimes used instrumentally by regimes to deflect justice rather than achieve it. To support this claim, this paper presents the results of ‘structured, focused comparison’ of twelve countries’ experiences with ‘local justice’, identifying patterns and trends. Such empirical groundwork and cross-national comparison is necessary to better understand and appraise local-level transitional justice initiatives, which are increasingly common after civil conflict. This paper represents the first part of a larger study looking at the different ways local approaches are deployed to pursue transitional justice in the aftermath of mass atrocity.

**Kohn, Margaret** (kohn@utsc.utoronto.ca)

### *Territorial Rights and the Right to the City*

A number of scholars have advanced a right to place or territory as the theoretical foundation for criticizing the wrong of displacement. These theories draw on an analysis of indigenous issues and the history of forced removal from traditional lands. Is there a similar “right of occupancy” in an urban context? This paper focuses on two processes that displace urban dwellers: gentrification and the removal of informal settlements. It considers whether the theoretical arguments against forced removal of indigenous peoples also provide compelling reasons to restrict the displacement of urban dwellers. In order to answer this question I will consider a number of differences between the two cases: violence versus market mechanisms, presence of shared democratic institutions, and the existence of an ethno-geographic community.

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### *Disentitling, selecting, or investing? Understanding institutional responses to the Progressive's Dilemma*

Commonly referred to as the ‘Progressive’s Dilemma’, most authors agree that there is an inherent tension between open immigration policies and generous welfare institutions. The way policy-makers have aimed to defuse this tension, however, differs sharply from one country to another. Some welfare states have recently decided to introduce restrictions and limits on immigrants’ access to social programs and benefits. Others have chosen to employ a selective admission policy, attracting those immigrants who are least likely to turn to the state for financial support. Yet others have sought a remedy in extending integration services and immigrant-targeted labour market programs. This paper maps the currency these three policy responses enjoy in fourteen Western welfare states: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, and US. It then proceeds to offer an explanation for the variation between these countries. I first show that actual patterns of immigrants’ economic integration have little to do with the dominant institutional response. I instead argue that an exclusionary response to immigrant welfare dependence is the most likely outcome in countries with a sizeable anti-immigrant party, exclusionary nation-building policies, and a non-universal welfare state structure.

**Koop, Royce** (royce.koop@ad.umanitoba.ca)

### *The Practice of Municipal Representation in Canada*

Canadian municipal governments are undergoing a scholarly reconceptualization from service providers to democratic governments. Here, I add to this reconceptualization by providing a preliminary exploration of municipal councillors as representatives. In particular, this paper (1) explores the representational attitudes and behaviours of councillors and (1) traces the influence of municipal institutions of election and representation on the development of those attitudes and behaviours. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 sitting and former city councillors and one former mayor from six cities in British Columbia’s Lower Mainland. Councillors are found to vary in their role

orientations (both style and foci) and in their emphasis on policy, service, and symbolic representation. Institutional characteristics of BC cities—including at-large units of election, a lack of professionalism in the resources provided to councillors, high numbers of electors to representatives, and (in all but one city) the presence of municipal parties—contribute to the development of distinctive representational styles. Future work will incorporate interviews with councillors from Canadian cities that differ in their institutional characteristics.

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*Roundtable: Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics*

This roundtable explores both historical and recent trends in the development of Canada's national party system. How has Canadian party politics changed since 1993 and 2004; and in what ways has it stayed the same? In particular, we will address the outcome of the 2011 election, placing it in historical context and attempting to understand the consequences of this election for the future of Canadian politics. Did national politics enter into a new system of stability with the election of a new majority Conservative government, or can we soon expect a return to minority governments and instability. The roundtable will be followed by a reception hosted by UBC Press to mark the release of *Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics*, edited by Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop with contributions from several distinguished Canadian political scientists.

**Kornelsen, Derek** (derek.kornelsen@gmail.com)

*Postcolonial Citizenship: Reconsidering Indigenous Political Belonging and Authority in Settler Societies*

A consistent pattern has emerged in the scholarship and practice of settler states according to which the array of Indigenous claims to self-determination are interpreted as claims to a form of differentiated citizenship within the colonial state. Yet many prominent Indigenous scholars and leaders explicitly reject state authority and state membership. This paper proposes the concept of 'postcolonial citizenship' as a placeholder for this unique form of citizenship and offers an historical analysis of the concept of citizenship in order to disentangle the notion from the concept of statehood, thus creating the analytical space for a postcolonial rendering of political community and authority. To this end, 'postcolonial citizenship' is introduced as entailing two key features: ambivalence (the state is engaged out of necessity yet state authority and membership in the state-defined polity is rejected); and 'universal kinship' (political community includes nonhuman entities such as land). The historical analysis that follows includes two main observations: classical conceptions of citizenship shared the concern with the constitution of community and authority but through the expansion of the Roman Empire and the advent of modernity this shifted to a concern over the legitimation of given authority over given, territorially defined communities; and modern territorial renderings of community contrast starkly with the postcolonial 'universal kinship' paradigm. The paper closes with a discussion of what these similarities and differences mean for the prospects of shared citizenship/community between Indigenous peoples and settler societies and how contemporary theory and practice might accommodate the concept of postcolonial citizenship.

**Kroker, Arthur** (kroker@uvic.ca)

**PARTICIPANTS:** Dr. Arthur Kroker, CRC in Technology, Culture and Theory & Professor of Political Science, University of Victoria; Marilouise Kroker, Senior Research Scholar, PACTAC, University of Victoria, Dr. Jackson Zberas (indigenous theorist and award-winning videomaker); Dr. Michael Dartnell, Department of Political Science, Laurentian University at Georgian College; and Chris Parsons, doctoral candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria. **LOCATION:** Pacific Centre for Technology and Culture (TEF 170), University of Victoria. **THEMES:** The increasing use of drones as a military strategy deployed in the 'War on Terror' raises questions of significance for contemporary political theory. First, as Judith Butler has noted in *Frames of War* one of the primary division lines of contemporary politics involves 'bodies that count' and, conversely, bodies that don't count. In this case, the deployment of drones as a military strategy might be viewed as premised on a prior moral calculation concerning whose bodies are deemed grievable and thus worthy of remembrance and those rendered ethically invisible. Second, while drone warfare involves sophisticated cybernetic technologies, it also involves an ontological understanding concerning good and evil in the world. Third, the widespread acceptance of drones for purposes ranging from surveillance, targeting and exploration is perhaps less a novel technological development than one which indicates a fundamental change in human subjectivity. In this case, perhaps drones can be so acceptable because we have passed beyond human subjectivity into something very different, namely a new form of subjectivity anticipated in the writings of Heidegger, Sloterdijk, and Baudrillard.

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*The civil society and the executive after the Lisbon Treaty*

The Lisbon Treaty has changed both the configuration of the executive ( a separate Presidency of the Council of Minister and a permanent President along with the Commission) as well as the position of the citizens ( the citizens initiative). But to what extent has the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty reformatted the relationship between the Brussels-based organized civil society and the executive of the EU. Based on a comparison of pre and post Lisbon instances of dialogue between the social actors and the Presidencies or the Commission, as well as interviews and opinions from Brussels-based civil society associations and Council-Commission officers In Brussels, I seek to probe and explain the evolution and transformations of the communicative action on both sides. More in particular, I will attempt to crystallize and shed light on the effect of the Treaty provisions and the daily routines arising from them as opposed to other phenomena unrelated to the letter of the Treaties, but which impact the operations of the executive offices.

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*Putting the No in Notable: Theory and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy*

In 1993 David Black and Heather Smith argued that despite some "notable exceptions" the theoretical development of CFP was "marked by significant inadequacies and lacunae." Several solutions were offered, including approaches integrating domestic and international levels

of analysis, a greater emphasis on ideas from the international relations and comparative politics literatures, and the need to compare case studies over extended periods of time. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to suggest observers of Canada's foreign trade relations followed this advice. Although "categories" have emerged during the past two decades, usually focusing on specific trade negotiations, treaties, sectors, or issues regarding continental integration, most contributions lack theoretical analysis. Reasons include a proliferation of research from non-academic sources (Parliamentary committees, think-tanks, and non-governmental organizations); the "reactive" nature of the field, leading to a lack of long-term comparative analysis (with the possible exception of a growing North American literature); the varied approaches and backgrounds of contributors (writing from international relations, global political economy, Canadian foreign policy, federalism, public policy, and/or historical perspectives); and a relative absence of normative scrutiny from academic sources.

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*Do scientific risk assessments matter? The cultural politics of unconventional gas*

In the face of an industry push to develop North America's shale gas deposits and in the context of continued economic hardship in Canada and the US, what explains differences in the risk perceptions and policy preferences regarding shale plays at the level of US states and Canadian provinces? Using original data from three representative state and province-wide telephone surveys conducted in the Fall of 2012, this research seeks to explain differing risk perceptions and policy preferences of the adult population in Québec, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Specifically, the paper examines the extent to which the issue is culturally salient across the sub-federal jurisdictions by testing insights from Douglas and Wildavsky's (1982) Cultural Theory (CT) of Risk. The predictive power of CT is then compared to other factors commonly examined in studies of mass opinion, including political ideology, party identification, and in this case, "NIMBY" type reactions. The paper then moves to an examination of results from an embedded survey experiment designed to test how individuals react to information cues that they are in/out of sync with prevailing scientific opinion and to the priming of specific party policy preferences.

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*Input and Output legitimacy in Governance Regimes*

This paper examines how practices of political representation have evolved in Canada since the 1960s. Drawing on Scharpf's distinction between input-oriented and output-oriented legitimacy, it is argued that both types of legitimacy have posed different demands on the participation of voluntary organizations in governance regimes over time. Input-oriented legitimacy derives from the extent to which the organization is representative of a particular constituency, whereas output-oriented legitimacy derives from the contribution that organizations make to government performance, most often around service delivery. The question we pose is to what extent input and output legitimacy can be realized simultaneously within a governance regime. We argue that voice, dissent, protest, civic action, and deliberation tend to be dislodged when attention shifts to the role of voluntary organizations in service provision. In addition, the recent rise of regulation-by-transparency as a semi-autonomous force in governance regimes has complicated reporting related to both inputs and outputs, distorting how both are treated by voluntary organizations, governments and citizens. The implication is that it narrows down concerns with regard to the voluntary sector to management issues, at the expense of larger more critical issues of democratic governance.

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*Canadian Command-in-Chief: Executive Power and Section 15 of Canada's Constitution Act, 1867*

Section 15 of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1867 vests the command-in-chief of the Canada's armed forces in the Crown. Little of substance has been said about this section or its contemporary relevance. It is typically understood to bestow ceremonial or antiquated responsibilities on Canada's governor general, but not much more. This paper argues that section 15 is not merely symbolic or a vestigial; rather, it vests the executive with constitutional powers over the Canadian military. The statute which currently regulates how the CF are governed, the National Defence Act, it is shown, can only be properly understood with reference to section 15 and the constitutional powers it vests in the executive. Indeed, section 15 serves as the constitutional foundation upon which the National Defence Act is built. The language employed by the National Defence Act must be read in light of section 15 to grasp its actual meaning, and the gaps and silences that are found in the legislation are necessarily filled by the Crown's constitutional powers of command-in-chief. Under a system of responsible government, this in turn means that section 15 vests the prime minister and Cabinet with more power over the armed forces than a simple reading of the National Defence Act might suggest. This interpretation is informed by the nature of the executive power in Canada, the Crown's historic powers over the armed forces, and an analysis of Canadian statutes and those of other Westminster states.

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*Canada-United States continental security cooperation: Assessing the influence of a neoconservative strategic sub-culture*

North American security cooperation has evolved unevenly since 2001. Beginning with the Smart Border Agreement, Canada and the United States have worked to strengthen their shared and respective homeland security and defence architectures, all while finding ways to assert their national sovereignty and ensure a free flow of goods and people across between the two countries. These efforts have produced mixed results. Whereas continental defence cooperation has grown, it has not occurred in the binational manner that appeared probable in 2001-2002. Border security cooperation stalled for several years in the middle of the 2000s, as both Ottawa and Washington struggled to overcome clashing objectives and aspirations, yet it now seems to be nearing a new level of integration. Information sharing between Canadian and American security services, meanwhile, has flourished, in spite of the vocal opposition of civil society groups and opposition parties. This paper argues that the unevenness and vacillation that has marked North American security cooperation since 2001

reflects the pulling and hauling of competing Canadian strategic sub-cultures. In making this argument, the paper will assess to whether a neoconservative strategic counter-culture has influenced Canada's approach to continental security and to what degree. The paper's working hypothesis is that a neoconservative sub-culture is present and has some influence, but it has yet to become the dominant strategic culture in this area.

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*Almost a biopic. Les web-mises en scène des candidats aux élections québécoises de 2012*

Cette communication aborde les stratégies de personnalisation politique utilisées par les partis sur le web lors de la campagne électorale législative québécoise de 2012. La personnalisation est étudiée du point de vue des pratiques médiatiques (van Santen and van Zoonen 2009, Van Aelst, Sheafer et James 2011) et critiquée pour ses possibles effets pervers (Blumler et Kavanagh 1999, Mazzoleni et Shulz 1999, Neveu 2005). Elle a cependant peu été étudiée en contexte électoral. Cette présentation fera ressortir les caractéristiques propres au web politique lorsque les partis et leurs stratèges font la promotion de leur candidat et mettent en récit son parcours, sa personnalité. L'accent sera-t-il mis sur les réalisations du candidat ? Quel sera le rôle joué par la vie privée ? Quels types de discours les différents candidats adopteront-ils ? Pour répondre à ces questions, une analyse de contenu quantitative et qualitative des sites web des partis lors de l'élection québécoise de 2012 a été réalisée. Nos analyses révèlent qu'une variété de voix s'entremêlent, passant d'un discours au « je » au discours rapporté, afin de mettre en scène les candidats et faire valoir leurs compétences. De plus, l'idéologie des partis influence la mise en récit du parcours politique et de la vie privée des candidats. Nous verrons également que le genre du candidat amène des présentations distinctes, ce qui rejoint les conclusions de nombreuses études sur les différences de traitement médiatiques des femmes politiques (Van Zoonen et Holtz-Bacha 2000, Trimble et al. 2010).

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*Why Stories Matter - Feminist History and the Politics of Sex/Gender, Time, and Place*

In recent years there has been an emergence of interdisciplinary feminist theory that emphasizes materiality as part of a "discontent with the social constructionist orthodoxy" (Alaimo and Hekman 2008: 90). These new material feminisms renegotiate the biological essentialist and social constructionist binary in feminist theory, and constitute what has been called the material turn (Ahmed, 2008; Hird, 2003), the ontological turn (Asberg, 2010; McNeil, 2009), or the post constructionist turn (Lykke, 2010a). Lykke believes that these materialist feminist works, best described as "post-constructionism" are indebted to feminist de/constructionism "from Beauvoir to Butler" (Lykke 2010: 132). Significantly, then, this reengagement has the advantage of decades of feminist insight about the co-constitutive relationship between representation and reality regarding sex/gender and embodiment. Nonetheless, because the features of post-constructionism are often characterized as "new" which implies "next" or "better" in a chronological succession it has drawn some feminist ire (See Ahmed 2008, Davis 2009 and van der Tuin 2008). While there are differences between "modernist" 1970s feminisms and "postmodernist" 1990s and contemporary feminisms not to be overlooked, like Zalewski (2000), I question whether this emphasis currently serves feminism. In this paper I employ Lykke's umbrella term, which she defines as a new "thinking technology" (borrowing Haraway's wording) that best describes its capacity to transcend the feminist constructionist / essentialist impasse because it breaks away from any temporal and conceptual limitations associated with the feminist waves model. I explore these boundaries drawing on recent feminist scholarship and investigating how materialism may address them.

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*Shifting Conceptions of Legitimacy in UN Peace Operations: the Case of Timor-Leste*

Scholars who study UN peace operations are increasingly aware that a mission's legitimacy has important on-the-ground implications. Managing the legitimacy of international peacekeepers and peacebuilders is one of the best ways to maximize local consent, mobilize grassroots support, and prevent active opposition to peace support operations, all of which make long-term success more likely. However, legitimacy is a dynamic and contested concept. Its role in peace operations is under-theorized, and scholars disagree about the nature and sources of legitimacy for UN missions. This paper will engage with competing conceptions of legitimacy by addressing the following research questions: How have ideas about the legitimacy of UN peace operations changed since the end of the Cold War? How have these ideational changes affected the goals and performance of UN missions? Procedural considerations were central to the legitimacy of traditional UN peace operations. Missions had to be initiated and conducted in accordance with generally accepted rules of right process. This paper will argue that it has become much more common to judge the legitimacy of intervention by looking at whether substantive goals, like protecting civilians and restoring order, have been achieved. Drawing on case study evidence from Timor-Leste, the paper will show that this new conception of legitimacy has led the UN to adopt more ambitious goals, but it has not always produced durable peace. This paper develops part of the author's dissertation research, which looks at the relationship between neutrality, impartiality, and legitimacy in UN peace support operations.

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*Reframing and Reforming Pension Policy: From the Public to the Private*

Over the past quarter century, pension policy has gone from a stable pillar of the welfare state to a policy domain that is in perpetual "crisis" according to the media, as well as political and economic elites. Underlying the fiscal challenges around government provision of a public pension are structural factors such as demographic changes and the legacy of previous economic commitments, but the pension "crisis" may also be driven in part by a change in the ideologies of decision-makers or perhaps a broader shift in ideas of how public money should be redistributed (Seeleib-Kaiser 2008). If such a change has indeed taken place, the redefinition of pensions has been a subtle one, but possibly evident through media framing (see Baumgartner & Jones 1993, 1994). This article addresses how changes in competing (or

complementary) frames over time can contribute to an overall redefinition of an issue over time by using 25 years of Canadian and British media coverage of pension policy to illustrate both structural and framing changes to pension policy. These cases illustrate how subtle shifts in the framing of pension policy has resulted in an movement away from government as a key provider of retirement income security, toward an emphasis on the privatization of pension provision and personal responsibility for retirement security. The result is a recasting of a pillar of the welfare state: pensions are now defined as a public-private partnership, resulting in serious consequences for the social welfare of a broad sector of society.

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*The Rule of Law and Legitimate Prerogative: An Argument for Flexible Government*

In a rule of law regime, it is easy to conflate individual prerogative power with tyranny. Yet every rule of law regime, both historically and in the contemporary world, has forms of prerogative power for both emergency and everyday use. This paper argues that there are robust reasons why prerogative may be understood as an intrinsic and necessary aspect of all constitutional and rule of law regimes, not just a constitutional hangover from Royal times. To make this argument, I draw a consequential distinction between the legitimacy of prerogative as such and the dangers of its use, arguing that modes of flexible power exercised in the public interest are not intrinsically violations of the rule of law. Like all power, particular exercises of prerogative may be corrupt and abusive. But it does not follow from this fact that prerogative as such is illegitimate. Using both normative and case-based argument, I will argue that unwarranted suspicion of flexible government more generally underlies misperceptions about the legitimacy of prerogative power in a constitutional regime. While prerogative power is certainly dangerous, these inevitable dangers do not suffice to show its illegitimacy as an institution.

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*How Time Frames: Marxism, Primitivism, and the Politics of Clock Time*

It is striking that so many heroes in popular culture and myth were raised on farms: from Enkidu to King David and from Frodo Baggins and Luke Skywalker to Mr. Smith who goes to Washington. Across cultures and times, people in cities have tended to associate a closeness to nature with simplicity or moral purity while civilization is associated with moral decline. Underlying this is a conception of the flow of time that is entropic. Now, we usually associate the idea of progress with the left, but the aim of this paper is to show the central role of primitivism in 20th century leftist politics. This primitivist rhetoric follows a millennia-old pattern of reacting to increases of civilization with an implicit critique which conflates 'nature' in the sense of a thing's uncorrupted character or essence with 'nature' as untouched by artifice. By working through examples from mid- to late 20th century Marxism, particularly with respect to clock time in factories, the paper develops and applies a theoretical framework on which I'm at work for a book manuscript. The aim of this framework, generally, is to explain how and why different conceptions of the flow of time are used in politics. I argue that conceptions of the flow of time often serve as rhetorical frames that have a profound impact on the perceived legitimacy of political ideas and innovations. By exploring the primitivist strain in 20th century Marxism, I hope to illuminate this general theory also.

**LeBlanc Haley, Tobin** (tobinh@yorku.ca)

*Charting Neoliberal Transinstitutionalization: A critical political economy analysis of Ontario's mental health policies*

In Ontario, psychiatric treatment is provided through short-term stays and out/day patient programs in psychiatric hospitals or psychiatric units in general hospitals. Governmental and extra-governmental organizations involved in community-based housing and other social supports are expected to work cooperatively with hospitals in providing "networks of care". Scholars interested in mental health and madness developed the term transinstitutionalization to describe the operation of "networks of care". Transinstitutionalization refers to the policies and programs that move mad people through hospitals, prisons, shelters, streets and housing (Stavis 2000, Slovenko 2003, Thakker et. al 2007). Recently, struggles of the mad community have received increased attention from government and critical scholars interested in the effects of neoliberal welfare-state reordering. The focus, however, is largely on housing, income and employment; examination of current effects of mental health policies is largely absent. This paper draws on a critical political economy of public policy framework (Graefe 2007, Mahon 2008) to map the (re)organization of Ontario's mental health care in the context of neoliberal transinstitutionalization. Taking seriously Morrow's (2004) assertion that to understand mental health policy we must examine prevailing economic ideology and understandings of "mental illness", I pay close attention to the relationship between treatment policy and neoliberal transinstitutionalization and to the discourses of psychiatric disability advanced through policy. I draw on documentary and regulatory analysis and qualitative data from interviews with service providers and government officials to offer an improved understanding of Ontario's mental health policies in the current conjuncture.

**Lecours, André** (a.lecours@videotron.ca)

*The Politics of Federalization in Nepal*

In 2008, Nepali citizens elected a Constituent Assembly (CA) tasked with drafting a federal constitution, yet federalism has proven so contentious that it has prevented the adoption of a new constitution and led to the dissolution of the CA in May 2012. This article develops three explanations for why federal structures have yet to take shape in Nepal. It argues that consensus on federalism hides a reluctance by key actors to build a federal system; that while some political forces want federal structures based on ethnic identities, two of the three main political parties have little appetite for 'ethnic federalism' while the Maoists publicly support it but are internally divided; and that political actors hold antagonistic ideas about federalism and what it should achieve.

**Lee, Martha** (leema@uwindsor.ca)

### *Farrakhan, Race, and Religion in America*

Throughout its almost one hundred year history, the Nation of Islam has been an open and constant critic of American government and society. These criticisms spring from the movement's roots in apocalyptic theology, a form of belief system that is both religious and political. The Nation's theology has evolved over time, but its fundamental tenet, the strengthening and salvation of the United States' black community, has remained central to that development. This paper builds on my early analyses of the Nation of Islam as a millenarian movement to examine the most recent developments in the Nation's history: Minister Louis Farrakhan's response to the 2008 election of Barack Obama (and his perception of the most recent election), and the movement's recent links to Scientology and L. Ron Hubbard's "Dianetics Auditing Technology." Critics of Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam have cited these events as evidence that the movement that has lost its purpose and become politically irrelevant. This paper will explore these developments in the context of the movement's religious faith and political goals. It will suggest that these criticisms do not account for the interrelated religious and political ideology of the Nation, and in part reflect a misunderstanding about the role and nature of its complex religious faith, which combines theology with a specific interpretation of race, and the multiple meanings of race in America.

**Leo, Christopher** (christopher.leo@shaw.ca)

### *Winnipeg: Aspirational Planning, Chaotic Development*

This paper looks at the politics of development in suburban and exurban Winnipeg, showing how the reality of chaotic development is glossed over by specious argumentation. Drawing on case studies of two undeveloped or newly-developing areas of the central city, Transcona West and Waverley West, and a developing exurb, Springfield Municipality, the paper shows how municipal infrastructure and services are extended widely and inefficiently across the region in response to developers' demands, and wishful thinking conceals the reality of an unviable network. The city is left with infrastructure and municipal services whose lack of viability becomes manifest in the city's inability to maintain inner-city streets and underground municipal services.

**L'Espérance, Audrey** (audrey.lesperance@gmail.com)

### *The politics of infertility in Québec, Ontario and England: How the medicalization of infertility bridged social experience to political expertise*

Comparing access to fertility treatments, gamete donation and surrogacy in three polities, this article suggests that the medicalization of infertility contributed to bridge political rationales with experienced-based discourses in the political arenas. Infertility turned out to be viewed as what Peter Conrad (1987, p.24-27) described in his seminal work as a "lived-with", "at-risk", "stigmatizing", or "invisible" illness and as a narrative response to bodily, social, and cultural failure. Medicalization can be conducive to policy change by becoming a trigger for social cascades, accordingly giving power to certain types of actors and providing political narratives with enough meaning to be mobilized in several political arenas. The article argues that, in the political spheres, medicalization can offer an administrative rationale for regulation in bringing to the surface the social need of despaired couples and children, as well as raising awareness in the population of the social consequences brought about by childlessness and by the remedy of assisted reproduction. In that sense, the medicalization of infertility allows the narration of social and individual experiences in agreement with the narration of a cost controlled public strategy to protect women and children welfare.

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### *Fishing for answers: In the aftermath of Newfoundland and Labrador's 2003 Dunne Report*

Despite repeated efforts to restructure and rationalize Newfoundland and Labrador's oldest resource-the fishery-over the past quarter century, all efforts have been met with limited to no success. While it is tempting to blame the fact the fishery is a common pool resource for this failure and therefore unmanageable, that is, subject to become a tragedy of the commons, research over the same time frame suggests this need not be the case. Yet Newfoundland and Labrador continues to buck the trend. Why? This paper examines one effort to restructure the Newfoundland fishery, the 2003 Dunne Report which focused on one sector of the fishery, fish processing which is an area of provincial responsibility. It chronicles the actions the provincial government undertook, the controversy that ensued among stakeholders and how the government quickly retrenched in the face of such controversy to highlight the multilevel, multi-dimensional nature of the policy problem. While theory suggests the sector can be effectively managed, the fact the necessary conditions remain distant and unconnected threads ensures effective policy change remains elusive. Even if the threads could be connected, a sustainable fishery sector may not be attainable given power dynamics which is under-theorized in resources theory.

**Levick, Laura** (l.levick@queensu.ca)

### *Recasting Electoral Reform: Identifying and Overcoming Problems of Selection Bias*

The present paper advances a broad methodological critique of the existing comparative literature on electoral reform. The difficulty of separating normative concerns from the mechanics of electoral systems, the rarity of major reforms, and the widespread tendency to treat electoral systems as independent rather than dependent variables, all complicate systematic inquiry into electoral reform. As such, it is not surprising that the comparative literature on the subject is generally weak. As the paper demonstrates, however, these difficulties are unnecessarily exacerbated by widespread selection bias, as the literature remains overwhelmingly focused on a minute sample of cases of successful reform, while unsuccessful and unattempted reforms receive considerably less attention, if any. Yet in order to explain when and why electoral reform occurs, it is logically imperative to consider cases where it does not. Thus, the paper argues that a reconceptualization of the variable of electoral reform is urgently required. Rather than a simple binary (successful / unsuccessful), it is more useful to think of reform in a multidimensional way (successfully attempted / attempted but unsuccessful / investigated but not attempted / not investigated). Reconceiving of reform in this way would not only greatly expand the range of cases available to scholars of the subject, but would also help to overcome the systematic selection bias that is widespread in the literature.

**Lewis, Clayton** (clay.d.lewis@gmail.com)

*Responsibility And Fraternity: The Political Implications Of Levinas' Ethics As First Philosophy*

The ethics of Emmanuel Levinas tends to be interpreted in contemporary scholarship as a failure to “traverse the passage from ethics to politics.” It is frequently contested that the insufficiencies of Levinas’ description of the “face-to-face” relation become apparent in relation to political considerations of reason and universality. In other words, while the ethical relationship is concerned with the situation of one before the other, politics must contend with the situation of one before all, and of all before the State. Contrary to the above criticisms, I contest that ethics is undergone for the sake of politics. I attempt to present the ethical relationship in light of the political question that Levinas himself poses: “Does the egalitarian and just State proceed from a war of all against all, or from the irreducible responsibility of the one for the other?” (Levinas 1996). Levinas asserts the latter, taking up this argument in dialogue with Kant, who presupposes the former. Contrary to Kant, Levinas argues that freedom and rights manifest themselves as responsibly and fraternity prior to manifesting themselves in opposition to the freedom and rights of the other. Rights are not conferred by the State, by Nature, or by God, but rather originate from an anarchic proximity to the other, signifying a peace prior to the rational peace of liberalism. Thus, the ultimate political import of “ethics as first philosophy” is to demonstrate that more than liberalism is needed to achieve “authentic dignity for the human subject” (Levinas 2006).

**Lewis, J.P.** (jp.lewis@unb.ca)

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*Symbolic Reassurance or Policy Simulation? The Proliferation of Ministerial Portfolios in Canadian Provinces*

Public administration literature considers ministerial portfolios as important indicators of government activity (Hughes, 1984; Moon and Sayers, 1999). Grounded in Murray Edelman’s *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, this type of work can help to explain the comparative growth of government activity in state or provincial governments in federal states. The case of portfolio growth across the Canadian provinces has yet to be studied. Using Hughes’ (1984) comparative methodological framework with Australian states and Edelman’s theoretical notion of “symbolic reassurance”, this study examines the growth of cabinet portfolios across the ten Canadian provinces to find patterns in government activity. Provincial trends in portfolio growth will be compared to economic, social and political factors in attempt to locate any strong variables in explaining government activity growth. My analysis contributes to the public policy and public administration literature (Hood, 1984; March and Olsen, 1984; Linder and Peters, 1989) on organization of government and government activity and how it reflects policy objectives and goals or symbolic action to appease the public. Moreover, this research will address the dearth of comparative provincial research and contribute to the small but significant collection of literature on Canadian provincial politics, policy and public administration (Brownsey and Howlett, 1991; Dyck, 1991; Dunn, 2006).

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*Valence Issues and Policy Networks: The Case of Canadian Civic Education Policy*

Policy network theory is an approach to policy analysis that provides clear and accessible frameworks for analytical approaches to understanding policy conception and implementation (Helco and Wildavsky, 1974; Benson, 1982; Coleman and Skogstad, 1990; Atkinson and Coleman, 1992). In the past two decades, the policy area of civic education in Canada has grown dramatically. A number of key stakeholders and advocacy groups (Historica Institute and Samara) joined federal and provincial governments and electoral commissions as policy actors in the development and delivery of citizenship education. In recent years, organizations such as the Historica Institute (political knowledge) and Samara (political engagement) have become staples in the media as advocates for civic education policy. The nature of civic education policy is significant for policy network analysis because of its identification as a valence issue. Opposite of a position issue, valence issues are those where most voters and parties share the same position. It has been widely reported that civic education policy is widely supported solution to political apathy and ignorance. However, this policy network has yet to be mapped in a comprehensive and pan-Canadian fashion. The central research question for this study is: What is the current state and membership of the Canadian civic education policy network? Drawing on data collected through both surveys of the policy fields and interviews with policy actors my study contributes to our understanding of the public policy responses to public problems through the case of citizenship education policy.

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*Writing Assignments in Introductory Canadian Politics and Government Courses in Canadian Universities: Some Preliminary Findings*

In his attempt to explain the origins of American English departments, Berlin (2003) traces a shift in college education from nineteenth-century liberal arts institutes to twentieth-century research universities shaped by emergent corporate power groups. While liberal arts institutes prepared students for civic engagement by offering courses in law, the ministry, and politics, Berlin explains, research universities seek to serve the economy by training professionals. In the midst of this shift, did civic engagement fall by the wayside as a priority objective of higher education, or was this objective identified as a professional specialization and moved into political studies programs? If so, has the task of fostering civic engagement led political studies programs to develop unique/effective strategies for promoting enthusiastic independent learning and critical thinking among budding political scientists? Our pursuit of these research questions will first involve a survey of introductory Canadian politics and government university courses, including the collection and analysis of program teaching outcomes, course syllabi, and writing assignment descriptions and guidelines. From these documents, we hope to discern the extent to which civic engagement is a teaching objective in these courses and, where applicable, the ways writing assignments have (or haven’t) been designed to foster it. This approach follows the work of Roger Graves (2012) who has surveyed writing assignments in a number of disciplines, including most recently in engineering.

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*Lived Indigenous Sovereignty Practices: Haudenosaunee Passports and the Ongoing Negotiation of Indigenous Self-Determination*

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) formally recognizes Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination but stops short of recognizing their claim to sovereignty, a right it reserved exclusively for states. While some hold that this right to self-determination is equal to all other peoples in international law, others are critical of UNDRIP's framing of self-determination, arguing that it enshrined a diminished international status of Indigenous peoples. Yet, others view the powers of self-determination articulated by UNDRIP as neither entirely equal to, nor necessarily less than, the previously enshrined statist understanding of self-determination predominant during the decolonization era (1950s-2000s). In this view, Indigenous self-determination is now recognized internationally as a unique and relational form of self-determination requiring ongoing negotiation. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy, located in the trans-border region of Ontario, Quebec and New York, issues its own passports, which citizens have regularly used since the 1920s. This paper will examine what the Haudenosaunee passports case reveals about ongoing negotiations of Indigenous self-determination. It will argue that the Haudenosaunee are creating a new space of lived sovereignty practices in a way that both demonstrates the potential of Indigenous "self-determination" while also problematizing the construction of "sovereignty" as it is currently understood in practice and within the discipline of International Relations.

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*The housing insecurity spectrum, from homeownership to homelessness: A study of housing policy, household debt, and the public discourse of housing in Canada*

Despite the severity of the affordable housing shortage and the rapid growth in both mortgage debt levels and homelessness in Canada, relatively little public attention has been paid to the political dimensions of housing insecurity. The lack of a public outcry to this critical problem presents a paradox: it appears that average citizens struggling within the housing market are not drawing associations between their own situations and the role that policy plays in exacerbating or ameliorating shelter costs. Although the shortage of affordable housing has been well documented, few scholars have examined if media representations of housing insecurity, homelessness and the government's role in regulating the housing market can help explain why housing has not become a more politically charged issue. My paper addresses this gap by examining housing discourse in two widely circulated national newspapers, the National Post and The Globe and Mail. The first part of my paper examines point in time shifts in housing policy in Canada and the consequences of these changes for the availability and affordability of housing. Next, I present findings from my discourse analysis, which examined whether the media framing of housing insecurity works to obscure the political dimensions of the issue. The findings of my study suggest that in the public discourse, housing insecurity is framed in narrow and stereotypical ways, rather than as an expansive concept that affects all households struggling to afford their accommodations. This research highlights an obstacle to be overcome in addressing the pressing affordable housing shortage.

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*Conceptualizing land and nature in political theory*

A particular conception of 'land'--as a stationary, situated parcel of the earth's surface, which can be enclosed, conquered, divided, owned, transformed and exchanged-- is foundational to a broad range of issues that lie at the heart of political theory. Despite its salience to many central issues of political inquiry, political theorists have generally neglected to thoroughly explore this conceptualization of land or to reflect upon the implications that this notion of land has had for the evolution of political thought over the last four centuries. My paper explores the foundations of this conception of land by discussing the influence of John Locke's notions of land rights on a number of subsequent political theorists, particularly John Rawls. I use the work of Franz Fanon and Mahatma Gandhi to illustrate how colonialism facilitated the ascendancy of one specific conception of land, which precluded the development of alternative physical and psychological relationships between communities and the lands that they inhabit. My paper investigates the consequences of this common conception of land, in light of contemporary ecological crises, and argues for establishing the basis for an entirely new politics of land that can be used to guide future political theory.

**Lucas, Jack** (jack.lucas@utoronto.ca)

*Basic Structural Changes to Local ABCs in Three Provincial-Municipal Domains, 1810-2000*

Why are local special purpose bodies created? When and why do they change? This essay examines the long-term history of local agencies, boards, and commissions (ABCs) in Ontario within three provincial-municipal domains: education, public health, and hydro. Using both cross-sectional and longitudinal comparison, we explain how the basic structure of local ABCs in the three domains has changed over time and then attempt to identify the most important processes driving those changes. The paper begins by outlining three major processes of structural change among local ABCs: creation/elimination, specialization/generalization, and consolidation/partition. We then identify key episodes of these processes within each of the three domains, and carefully process-trace the episodes to understand what is generating the changes in each case. Finally, we bring the three domains into explicit comparison, showing how macro-level politics combines with domain-specific factors to produce both the nature and the timing of structural change in each case. This essay will be of direct interest to students of local government and special-purpose administration. We hope that it will also be of wider interest to scholars of institutional and policy change. By comparing similar structural changes within three very different domains, we can better understand the relative importance of domain-specific and macro-political factors; and by taking a long-term view, we can begin to understand how the impact of these factors changes over time.

**Lui, Andrew** (luis4@mcmaster.ca)

*Sino-Canadian Relations and the Competing Faces of Public Diplomacy*

Traditional modes of foreign policy analysis tend to focus on the rationalist or instrumental sources of how states behave in relation to other states. Although these frameworks remain relevant, they cannot explain significant developments in the field today. Public diplomacy—the influence of public attitudes on the international policies of a given state by external actors—is having a greater impact on decision-making processes and is therefore playing a greater role in foreign affairs. Yet the analysis of public diplomacy remains a neglected area of scholarly inquiry. This oversight is especially problematic given the current context of Sino-Canadian relations. On one side, Beijing is becoming increasingly adept at utilizing public diplomacy in an attempt to influence Canadians' perceptions of China and, ultimately, to ensure the country's longer-term goal of soft rise. On the flip side, Ottawa continues to face notable hurdles when it comes to telling the Chinese that Canada still matters. Beijing and Ottawa thus possess vastly different strategies and capabilities in the arena of public diplomacy. But how will asymmetries in public diplomacy define Sino-Canadian relations over the medium to long term? Are these patterns susceptible to change or are they determined by more resistant, underlying structures? In exploring these questions, this paper will show that ingenuity and more astute engagement from Canada's international policymakers can, in fact, play a positive role in successfully managing Sino-Canadian relations while better serving the interests of citizens at home.

**Lyon, Vaughan** (vaughanlyon@shaw.ca)

*Treading Water: The Democracy "Industry" and Neglected Citizens*

Proposal CPSA annual meeting in Victoria 2013 Treading Water: The Democracy Industry and Neglected Citizens Vaughan Lyon The institutions studying Canadian democracy ("partyocracy") proliferate. The provincial government that does not have a department or agency charged with considering one dimension or another of partyocracy is exceptional. The same observation is applicable to universities and their departments of political science. In addition, there are "private" organizations like Samara probing the innards of our political system. Where, exactly, is all this valuable study taking us? The "target" seems to be incremental adjustments in a system that has alienated citizens from politics. In other words, they are "adjustments" limited in their impact by their continued reliance on parties to represent and govern. But adopting this modest target is a completely inadequate response to the political alienation that exists. It will do little or nothing to alter the dysfunctional "we-they" relationship that exists between Canadians and their governments. The approach does not challenge the foundation of "partyocracy"—the delegation by citizens of their political rights and responsibilities to flimsy party organizations engaged in bitter adversarial competition. That seems to be a strange and unpromising approach to strengthening democratic representation and governing. It completely ignores the desire of most Canadians for transformational change to constituency representation—a feasible change that would encourage the growth of a truly democratic citizenship supporting "its" government.

**Lyons, Joseph** (jlyons7@uwo.ca)

*Conservation Authority Board Composition and Policy Implementation*

Included in the debate between polycentrists and consolidationists over the governance of metropolitan areas are arguments over the advantages and disadvantages of specialized governments. A further extension is to explain what happens if the boards of specialized governments are consolidated or not. By comparing two conservation authorities with different geographical reaches—the Upper Thames River Conservation Authority (UTRCA) and the Hamilton Conservation Authority (HCA)—this paper assesses the extent to which board composition affects policy implementation. The UTRCA's board is fragmented because its jurisdiction encompasses many municipalities, the largest being London. The jurisdiction of the HCA is mostly within Hamilton's municipal boundary, so board membership is consolidated. The goals of development and watershed management often conflict and conservation authorities are supposed to intervene when they do. Here, the dependent variable is responsiveness to the provincial mandate for watershed management. The hypothesis is that the UTRCA will be more responsive to the provincial mandate than the HCA, because its board structure insulates it from the control of any municipality. This paper examines subdivision applications in London and Hamilton which impact areas regulated by these CAs. Responsiveness is operationalized as the percentage of applications for which the corresponding CA issues a recommendation of deferral. During the period studied, the UTRCA deferred a greater number of subdivision applications in regulated areas. This difference is significant after the introduction of updated regulations in 2006. So, specialized governments that serve several municipalities are less captured than those dominated by a single municipality.

**Maas, Willem** (maas@yorku.ca)

*Reconsidering the Gap Hypothesis in Immigration Control: Evidence from the Netherlands*

An influential hypothesis about immigration policy-making holds that the gap between the goals of national immigration policy (more restriction) and actual policy outcomes (more immigration) is increasing, thereby provoking greater public hostility toward immigrants in general and putting pressure on political parties and government officials to adopt more restrictive policies. The case of the Netherlands offers a possible corrective to this so-called gap hypothesis. In order for the hypothesis to be valid, it must first be clear what the goals of national immigration policy are. Such clarity is lacking in the Netherlands, where both public opinion and the government's approach are polarized and volatile. Anti-immigrant parties have had electoral success. At the same time, the declining relative net immigration from traditional source countries and their replacement with new source countries such as Poland coupled with the increasing emigration of Dutch-born citizens,

particularly within the European Union, changes the picture of both the immigrant and the emigrant.

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*Changing Climate for Biofuels*

Canada and the United States have taken a similar approach to developing agricultural biofuels, using a combination of mandates and incentives to create significant production capacity. In January of 2012, long-term incentives for corn-based bioethanol production expired in the USA. Ultimately this will impact the patterns of biofuel sector development across the USA, and it is not unreasonable to assume that this change in the policy landscape will also impact Canadian decision-making on future mandates or incentives. The impact that removing incentives has had on the US market may be assessed using quantitative production data, but it is anticipated that this will be challenging due to the short timeframe available for assessment, and the difficulty in isolating policy impacts from the effect of drought on corn production during the summer of 2012. To increase our understanding of policy impacts, input from industry and academic partners in the US will be sought through an expert interview process. The current status of the Canadian biofuels sector, and the impacts of potential changes in Canadian biofuel support mechanisms - including aligning Canadian policy with the current US position - will be explored. Discussions with key decision-makers in industry will inform an analysis of different policy scenarios. A series of recommendations on the development of future biofuel policy in Canada will be provided.

**MacArthur, Julie** (jmacarth@sfu.ca)

*Tilting at windmills? The changing ownership of renewable power generation in Canada*

This paper examines the implications of private ownership of new renewable electricity generation in Canada. In a time of rising energy prices, intensifying climate change and federal attacks on environmental oversight, it is more important than ever to ensure that the mode of provincial power 'greening' actually serves to meet public needs rather than further undermine them. Provincial power sectors have undergone significant change over the past two decades (Gattinger and Hale 2010). Since power restructuring began in the 1990s, private interests have captured the lion's share of new renewable electricity development. This trend is particularly pronounced in the case of windpower generation; in 7 provinces in 2010, for example, the private sector accounts for between 83 and 100 per cent of installed capacity (MacArthur 2012). As new wind, solar and small hydro generation comes online the distribution of asset ownership is changing from one dominated by public hydropower to one with a larger role for private industrial and utility actors. For some advocates, new private renewable generation injects much-needed capital into projects that aid in a transition from coal and nuclear to 'clean' power, in some cases even allowing for community and first nations project ownership. For skeptics, however, the shift to private renewables in the context of NAFTA-and perhaps now FIPA-are part of a larger erosion of democratic resource control in this country (Cohen 2007, Cohen and Calvert 2011). This shifting ownership structure may, in fact, be accompanied by efficiency, equity and environmental challenges (Beder 2003).

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*Longing and Belonging: a Psychoanalytic Critique of Western Discourse of Indigenous Property Holding*

In this paper, I use a critical psychoanalytic approach to argue that the racialization of indigenous peoples is achieved in part through an association of indigeneity with a particular form of property holding. Indigenous people are expected/required to be coextensive with a particular territory and to relate to that territory in a manner that is conceived in psychoanalytic theory as "narcissistic" -- that is, as fully identified and "at one" with the land, and as lacking the differentiation, remove, and autonomy that characterize Western property holding. This racialized discourse of indigeneity is marked by an ambivalence in which a sense of belonging to the land is romanticized even while those who are deemed to have this relationship to the land are repudiated and infantilized for doing so. Mastery and possession of the land, by contrast, are sanctioned in conventional "anaclitic" desire and in corresponding patterns of Western ownership. Yet a critical psychoanalytic approach reveals the privileging of the latter as always having a psychological component in which dependence on the other, and identification in that relationship, are disavowed and dissembled. The consequences of this critique are to examine the links among anti-indigenous racism, Western discourses of indigenous property holding, and the resulting creation of a vicious circle in which both indigeneity and property relationships are contained and confined.

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*Supreme Inconsistency: Social Policy and Positive Rights under the Charter*

Although the Charter of Rights explicitly requires positive obligations like minority language education under section 23 or the provision of particular benefits conferred on some be conferred on others under section 15 equality rights, the Supreme Court has generally refrained from reading section 7's "life, liberty, and security of the person" as mandating positive rights. The Court's decision in the 2011 case PHS Community Services Society raised once again the spectre positive obligations. The Court found that the federal Minister of Health's decision to not renew an exemption under the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act for the supervised injection site in Vancouver infringed section 7 because the facility helped prevent overdose and the spread of disease. There is an inherent tension in the Court's application of the Charter in this case. By opening Insite and granting an exemption in the first place, the government has, according to the Court, created legitimate rights claims. In effect, governments risk creating new, permanent rights obligations by developing pilot projects or enacting new policy initiatives. This may lead to risk-aversion in policy development. Further, it is unclear if drug addicts in other cities enjoy the same rights as those who have access to the Vancouver facility. In this sense, the negative/positive rights distinction is very thin. Nonetheless, there are benefits to the Court's tentative approach. My paper will explore this conundrum by examining the Court's development of section 7 and the implications positive rights would have on social policy in Canada.

**Macias, Teresa** (tmacias@uvic.ca)

*Can the Indian in the child ever speak? The production of the residential school survivor in media discourse in Canada*

In 2009 Canada instituted the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools (TRC) as an independent body with the mandate to acknowledge “residential school experiences, impacts and consequences”; provide those affected with a “holistic and culturally appropriate” opportunity to share their stories and/or experiences; and facilitate “reconciliation among former students, their families, their communities and all Canadians”. The TRC is a key component of the 2007 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement between the Canadian government and survivors of residential schools. As a result of the TRC, stories of survivors and of residential schools have proliferated in Canadian media providing us with images and narratives about this dark episode in Canadian history. This paper uses a Foucaultian discourse analysis approach, and a post-colonial and critical race theory framework to explore the process by which media reports surrounding the TRC capture residential school experiences and use them to produce images of residential school survivors, narratives about residential schools and their role in Canadian history. Three main questions guide this analysis: who is the residential school survivor that speaks through the media and how is that survivor discursively produced? What are survivors allowed to say and what is it that they cannot say about the history of residential schools? And, what kind of national narratives are made possible through the discursive production of residential school survivors in media discourses? Bio of Presenter: Teresa Macias has a PhD from the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at OISE-University of Toronto. Her PhD Thesis entitled “On the Pawprint of Terror”: The Human Rights Regime and the Production of Truth and Subjectivity in Post-Authoritarian Chile traces 20 years of history in the development of Chilean state policy to deal with human rights abuses. Her work deals with issues of disappearances, torture, truth commissions and compensation policy. Her research and teaching interests also include professional and research ethics, nation and identity making, and anti-oppressive and anti-colonial practice and teaching methods. She is currently conducting research on the Canadian Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

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*Mes que un club*: Football, nationalism, and identity

This paper explores the link between political identity and sport affiliation. It examines the role of football (soccer) allegiances as a form of social identity and assesses its impact on the formation and continuation of political divides. The influence of fan groups, social clubs, and supporter firms demonstrate the importance and strength of local football clubs to individual and collective social identity. Our central concern is the ways in which sports are utilized to consolidate political identities. Through a case study of two regionally dominant Spanish football clubs, FC Barcelona and CF Real Madrid, this paper argues that sport allegiances offer important sites where political, ethnic, and regional differences are given particular resonance. The rivalry between Barcelona and Madrid has existed since 1902, and is highlighted each season by two ‘el clasicos’ - the annual league games between the clubs. The rivalry is described as one of the biggest and most contentious in the world, and the matches draw nearly 100,000 fans to the stadiums. Beyond the spectacle of the games themselves, the Barcelona-Madrid rivalry provides a unique case as regional tensions between the Catalan capital and the Castilian capital are further inflamed through sport identity. By examining the role of voluntary sporting association as a place where enduring political rivalries are confirmed and, in some cases, heightened, this study contributes to a growing literature on the impact that non-traditional identity constructions have.

**Maciel, Robert** (rmaciel@uwo.ca)

*Rooting Cosmopolitanism: Global Obligations and Associative Duties*

This paper considers the relationship between global obligations and associative duties. It is argued in the literature that cosmopolitanism is neither tenable nor desirable, as it requires us to forgo associative duties. This is seen as problematic as it does not resonate with our lived moral experience. The task for a successful theory of cosmopolitanism, then, must account for associative duties in some manner. In this paper, I argue that previous attempts to account for associative duties as a way of efficiently fulfilling our global obligations misconstrue the nature of these obligations. Cosmopolitan theory, I contend, needs to be reformed so as to make it consistent with associative duties in such a way that does not reduce their structure or content. In the alternative, however, we may have obligations to associates that are, by their nature, inconsistent with our global obligations. My goal, then, is to determine whether we can interpret cosmopolitanism in such a way. I argue for a rooted form of cosmopolitanism as a possible alternative to ‘strong’ or ‘naïve’ cosmopolitanism. In the literature, rooted cosmopolitanism is presented as a way to fulfill the goals of cosmopolitan theory without forgoing local or particular duties. I conclude by considering the possibilities for rooted cosmopolitanism to resolve the tension between global and associative duties.

**Mackenzie, Michael** (mmacke@interchange.ubc.ca)

*John Stuart Mill and the Canadian Senate*

In this paper I explore the relationship between John Stuart Mill's proposal for a well designed second chamber and the design of the Canadian Senate. Mill's proposal was made in his 1861 book *Considerations on Representative Government*. There is historical evidence that some of those who were involved in designing Canada's federal institutions were familiar with Mill's work, and with that book in particular. As with much of Mill's work, his proposal for a second chamber made up of appointed statesmen rather than noblemen was designed to strike a balance between what Thompson (1976) has called Mill's Principle of Participation and his Principle of Competence. By making connections between Mill's proposal and the design of the Canadian Senate, it is possible to gain a greater appreciation of the intended purpose of this institution and the role that it was designed to play in Canadian politics. This, in turn, helps set the context for a debate about the extent to which this institution has or has not lived up the intentions of its designers.

**Magnusson, Rachel** (rmagnus@uvic.ca)

*From Freedom to Equality: Thinking Politically about Education*

As with much of our thinking about politics, our political thinking about education is often framed by a problematic of freedom and authority: In a liberal democracy, what limit should be placed on state authority when it comes to ensuring a liberal democratic education? Who should have the authority to set the standards for a liberal democratic education? How can indigenous education work to free itself from the patterns and influences of colonialism? How might we free the learner from the curriculum and institutional constraints of traditional schooling? How might we develop a truly emancipatory education? Despite its widespread appeal, this problematic has led to many intellectual and practical dead-ends. Taking inspiration from the writings of Jacques Rancière, I will argue that his political thought presents us with a problematic of equality and inequality which opens up new ways of approaching issues of politics and education. Most obviously, it focuses our attention on equality, and I will argue that this focus on equality is both more pragmatic and more fruitful than our conventional focus on freedom. In particular, I will suggest that if we think through the lens of equality, our political thinking about education is likely to emphasize the importance of demonstration, relationships and repetition without forsaking the pursuit of justice that lies at the heart of our interest in freedom.

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*Will Green Movement succeed? The Challenge of Democratization in postrevolutionary Iran*

Iran's prodemocracy Green Movement precedes the Arab Spring, but the Islamic Republic seems to dominate the political field. This paper examines whether the Movement is capable of materializing Iran's a century-old quest for democracy? What structural and agential factors contribute to the success or failure of the movement? A major controversy in democratization literature revolves around the issue of agency and structure. This paper keeps an equal distance from vulgar voluntarism and structural determinism and provides an operational definition of structure and agency by subdividing each into three levels of analysis. The structural factors are measured by examining the structure of the Iranian state, Iran's socio-economic uneven development, and the global structure of power. The agential factors are examined in terms of the leadership capability, the organizational arrangements, and the intellectual discourse. The findings (fieldwork and context analysis) suggest that Iran's democratization is surrounded by a number of domestic and global obstacles: Iran's oil-centered rentier state; the global realpolitik, which is more concerned about Iran's nuclear issue and less concerned about democratization; and the weakness of the leadership, well-organized civil society institutions, and an inclusive political discourse of the movement. However, Iran's future prospect is optimistic due to the following elements: an epistemic shift in Iran's political culture towards a recognition of non-violence and pluralism; a crisis of legitimacy and factional politics in the state; and a vibrant civil society due to demographic changes. Hence, the Green Movement will most likely succeed to bring a democracy from within.

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*Canadian Turnout Inequalities in Time: Understanding the Changing Education Gap*

One of the most established facts in the field of political behavior is about the relationship between education and political participation: the higher educated individuals are more likely to participate and vote. But a puzzle remains, as to why rising levels of education have not been matched by an increase in aggregate turnout. In fact in Canada, as in several other established democracies, we see that while overall education levels are increasing, turnout has been declining for several decades. Studies have shown that the decline in turnout mostly comes from the younger cohorts and the less educated citizens who are increasingly less inclined to vote. Using the Canadian Election Study, from 1965 to 2011, this study focuses on the trend of turnout inequalities between citizens with different levels of education. I propose to investigate several explanations to understand why inequalities in participation have increased between educational groups. I focus on three sets of factors: economic, institutional and sociological. The main hypothesis is that the lower educated citizens experience changes in the Canadian context differently, compared to their more educated counterparts. I thus consider changes in the economic context, changes in the national institutions (like the fractionalization of the party system), and societal changes to understand the timing of these turnout inequalities and why education increasingly differentiates voters and non-voters.

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*Travelling Policy Ideas: Integrating the Social into CEPAL's Neo-Structuralist Paradigm*

The demand for women's equality came to the fore just as the postwar social policy model was being increasingly challenged by neoliberal ideas on the international as well as national scale. My paper will look at the way the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) dealt with these twin challenges. In particular it will chart changes to the discourse of Working Party 6 (Role of Women in the Economy or ROWITE). ROWITE was established when second wave feminism was in full bloom and then adapted to, but also sought to challenge, the OECD's emergent 'active society' agenda in the 1980s and early 1990s, only to be eliminated on the eve of the new millennium. In many ways, ROWITE's work on gender equality presaged another internal challenge to neoliberal idea, one that has helped to draw global attention to the growth of inequality over the last three decades.

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*The Platform as an Agenda-Setting Document: Constructing Ideal Voters and Rhetorical Communities*

In 2011, the Harper Conservatives earned their first majority government by building on their previous minority government's successes that focused on middle class voter issues and stimulus spending during the global economic crisis. Due to the global recession, similar issues were also at the forefront during the American Presidential Election in 2012. Research has documented how American political parties share communication and public relations advisors and strategies with their partisan counterparts in Canada, but how does each nation's politics shape the partisan agendas that are presented in the party election platforms crafted by those same cross-border politicians? Little

analysis of the platform as an agenda-setting document has been conducted comparatively for both the recent American and Canadian federal elections. This study analyzes the framing language used in the platforms of those elections to assess their constructions of idealized voting groups and rhetorical communities. Automated Digital Humanities methods are used to identify the dominant issues in each party's platform; such methods as creating digital concordances and word count frequency analyses have gained acceptance through precedent setting political science research in the past decade. Using digital methods, this analysis demonstrates that both the American and Canadian platforms target the largest voting blocks in their middle class bases through their platform messaging, while limiting rhetoric that constructs idealized regions or minority subject positions. Such insights provide a starting place to track the issues across other digital media and to hold leaders to account in terms of achieving their stated goals.

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*Fugitive Democracy and the 'Political' in Sheldon Wolin's Thought*

In this paper I revisit Sheldon Wolin's notion of fugitive democracy. For Wolin, fugitive democracy emerges parallel to the 'degrounding' and 'autolegitimacy' and of the 'Megastate' in late modernity. This configuration comes out of Wolin's engagement with the imaginary of the demos as chaotic and unruly, long a staple of the western tradition. The capacity of the demos to define common projects, and modes of action for realizing them, in a world of diversity and unequal powers has a quasi-mythological status in Wolin's work. It is central to his critique of the competitive-elitist model of liberal-democracy. It also emerges from Wolin's encounter with a thinker who is both a deep influence on his work as well as an antagonist, Max Weber. Through his dialogue with Weber's ghost, Wolin tests boundaries, those of democratic theory and the boundaries of the 'political' in the western tradition, even while working within them. After situating Wolin's work in relation to the fractious current debates in democratic theory, I provide examples of fugitive democracy (including participatory budgeting and Occupy) in different contexts in the global north and south. Arguing that Wolin's work cannot easily be categorized as post-structuralist, post-modern, or post-Marxist, that he is not a deliberative or an agonistic democrat, I see his thought as distinctive in the way it pushes the boundaries of democratic theory to recognize and include the diversity and capacities of the late modern demos.

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*Competing Logics in the Paradox of the Canadian Parliament*

Academic and popular reflection about parliamentary government in Canada are driven by two competing and to some extent incompatible logics. One, the logic of governance, argues that the primary purpose of Parliament is to enable governments to govern, and to be held accountable for that governance. The other, the logic of representation, sees Parliament as a place of competing representative voices that not only voice concerns and grievances but actively participate in the making of laws and the investigation of issues. These competing notions have long been identified, for example as "Tory" vs. "Whig" or "executive-centred" vs. "legislator-centred" ideas of parliamentary government. However, current debates about prorogation, for example, have not engaged with these competing ideas of what parliament is for, and the basic paradox they present. This paper will analyze the tensions and balance between the two logics, how they inform current debates and arguments about Parliament, and how their relationship differs in Canada compared to other Westminster systems.

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*The Limits of Green Keynesianism*

Ecological and political economic crisis increasingly elicits arguments for a 'Keynesianism' suitably modified to spur carbon-reducing employment and investment growth. This vision underwrites such disparate efforts as the Green European Foundation's 'Green New Deal', the Stern Report, and the Obama administration's cash-for-clunkers program. This paper considers the limits to a 'greened' Keynesianism, via an examination of current policy developments in the Eurozone. It identifies three principal challenges to 'green Keynesianism'. First, in Europe (and arguably throughout much of the world), radical shifts in international geopolitical order have dismantled the domestic political-economic sovereignty Keynesianism assumes. In Europe, the structure of monetary union seriously troubles any governance reasonably called 'Keynesian'. Second, Keynesianism, in 'theory and practice', is irreducibly consumption-driven. Since it is difficult to imagine that we will be able to consume our way out of current ecological predicaments, any 'green Keynesianism' may have to sacrifice its Keynesian credentials. Third, all 'varieties of Keynesianism' are structured by the dominance of technocratic and bureaucracy-intensive government (just as Keynes proposed, and as it evolved after World War II). The resulting 'democratic deficit' was arguably rendered more manageable by high rates of growth and income equalization during the 'Golden Age', it cannot be assumed that return to 'technocracy' is politically stable at present or in the near future. The paper demonstrates the ways in which these problems are at the heart of Europe's current political instability, entangled in both its monetary and fiscal policy structures.

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*What is a political brand?: Justin Trudeau and the theory of branding in Canadian political science*

When Justin Trudeau announced his candidacy for leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, journalists and pundits immediately pontificated about "the Trudeau brand" as though Canadians are inherently familiar with the concepts of 'brand' and 'branding'. This is but one example of the intersection of business marketing strategies and tactics with politics and government: political strategists are increasingly concerned about their clients' brand image, politicians learn about the importance of brand management, and public servants seek to enforce brand standards. Not surprisingly branding terminology is creeping into political science. However it is often used as a surrogate for party labels, packaging, personalities and valence issues in a manner which suggests that political scientists lack awareness of what 'brand' is. What is a political brand? This paper seeks an answer in the Canadian context. It begins by drawing on business and political marketing literature where the concept has been the subject of theoretical debate. It then identifies the various understandings of branding in Canadian politics by discussing its use in recent news media reports (with an emphasis on media coverage of Justin Trudeau), in Canadian government policy

standards and in political science literature. It concludes that the application of commercial branding concepts to politics is not seamless and presents a Canadian definition of political branding.

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*Negative advertising in provincial election campaigns*

CAMPAIGNS AND COMMUNITY IN CANADIAN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS Political advertising plays a central role in electioneering. Research has shown that advertising can influence voter behaviour and that political parties invest considerable resources into TV spots in particular. The most contentious form is negative advertising which highlights or distorts select policy positions of an opponent who is presented in an off-putting manner. Although this has been studied extensively at the national level in the USA, Canada and elsewhere we know little about its practice at the sub-national level. If it is true that Canada's provincial campaigns often emulate what transpires at the federal level then we would assume that negative spots are common in the provinces. Indeed in many of the provincial contests of 2011 and 2012 negative ads were present - and yet in other provinces they were not. This chapter sets out to answer: why is negative advertising used in some provinces but not in others? The primary source of data is a series of depth interviews with political party executives which is supplemented by media reports of political advertising in the provinces and parties' expenditure reports filed with election agencies... The paper identifies which provincial parties spent the most on advertising; in which provinces did negative spots stimulate media discussion; and why some strategists advocated "going neg" while others did not.

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*THE EVOLVING SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF SKILLS IN THE LABOUR MARKET*

This paper analyses labour demand and supply with respect to skills and tasks. The literature on this topic is abundant, especially in light of education expansion and the impact of technology on labour demand. The goal of this work is not to add evidence to the causes and effects of labour demand and supply but rather to sketch the broader picture of their equilibrium and then to try to anticipate what type of skills mismatch EU countries will encounter during the next decade. The paper begins with separate considerations of labour demand and supply with respect to qualification, outlining the main trends and their causes. This is followed by an analysis of their equilibrium and a matrix which can be used to understand the potential types of mismatches. Finally, conclusions and avenues for future research are drawn.

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*Specters of Indigeneity in British Indian Migration, 1914*

Colonial legal histories of indigeneity and British Indian migration have not often been placed in conversation with one another. This article pursues such a project by tracing indigeneity as a spectral presence that emerged with uneven regularity in juridico-political conflicts over British Indian migration. Specifically, I focus on the 1914 journey of the Komagata Maru, a Japanese steamship carrying 376 Punjabi migrants that sailed from Hong Kong to Shanghai, Moji to Yokohama, and across the Pacific eventually arriving in Vancouver (Canada). Crisscrossing continents and approaching law in its broadest sense, I explore three struggles over the ship and its passengers: a satirical cartoon published in the Hindi Punch (Bombay), a legal test-case heard by the British Columbia Court of Appeal (Vancouver), and a public debate on the racial meanings of imperial subjecthood as it unfolded in Indian English newspapers in various Indian cities. In each of these, I examine the changing conceptions of indigeneity that were strategically appropriated, never by indigenous peoples themselves, but by the Dominion of Canada and by British Indian migrants, each deploying indigeneity to their own advantage and to achieve particular effects. Ultimately, this article considers the political and legal work that the spectral figure of indigeneity performed, the conceptions of time that underwrote its recurrence, and the colonial temporalities that it sustained and called into question.

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*Shifting Judicial Conceptions of 'Reconciliation': Geographic Commitments Underpinning the Supreme Court of Canada's Van der Peet Decision*

In the aftermath of the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *R. v. Van der Peet* (1996), a number of scholars charged the Court with conjuring doctrines 'out of thin air,' covertly serving 'economic interests,' and/or finding new ways to express old 'colonial mentalities.' Such criticisms stemmed from the fact that as the Supreme Court's jurisprudence moves from *Sparrow* (1990) to *Van der Peet* (1996), the judicial understanding of reconciliation also changes direction, shifting from a 'tempering' of federal power to one in which Indigenous peoples are situated firmly under the sovereignty of the Crown. This paper will complement and build upon this previous work by providing a more comprehensive explanation of this shift. Through a comparison of the Supreme Court of Canada's hearing transcripts in the 'Van der Peet trilogy' with the written decisions themselves, this paper will show that particular territorial and geographic commitments underlie the Court's conception of 'reconciliation.'

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*Post-Conflict States, Outsiders and the All-Affected Principle*

Democratic state-building in post-conflict states often relies upon a significant degree of outsider involvement in the domestic authority structure of the state, ranging from conditional aid donations and mediation efforts to co-decision-making between locals and outsiders to final decision-making by outsiders in international transitional administrations. Drawing insights from the all-affected principle, we argue that the risk of outsiders usurping domestic political authority must be balanced against the normative and practical benefits that minority groups in post-conflict states-because they face additional obstacles to effective participation-gain from outside assistance. In so doing, we identify the strengths and weaknesses of different kinds of outsider involvement in the internal decision-making processes of the post-

conflict state. We examine the contributions (or lack thereof) these kinds of involvement make to the prospects for democratic stability, and analyze the reasons for this. Key to this examination is an analysis of the degrees to which different groups-the post-conflict state, its constituent segments, and various outsiders-are affected by the divided state's decisions and the implications this has for questions of political equality.

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*Women, Peace, and Security in Power-Sharing Systems: A Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Feminist scholars argue that the inclusion of women in peace processes and the adoption of a gender lens in the writing of peace accords are important measures for the pursuit of greater gender equality in the post-conflict period (Bell and O'Rourke 2010). Do peace processes need to include women's issues during negotiations in order for them to be properly addressed in the post-conflict period? Or can a 'gender-just peace' (Björkdahl 2012) be built in the post-conflict period without explicit commitments made during peace negotiations? In this paper, I take up these questions by way of a case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the process to end the conflict gender considerations were completely absent from negotiations and the Dayton Peace Accords (1995) were generally silent on issues of gender equality. Did this fundamental lack of attention paid to gender and women's issues at Dayton pose constraints on the ability of women to be politically involved the post-conflict period? Moreover, what role, if any, does the corporate consociational system adopted at Dayton play in restricting women's post-conflict participation? Through an analysis of the institutional gender mechanisms present in the country, I detail the progress that has been made in Bosnia on women's post-conflict political inclusion and outline the remaining constraints on their effective political participation.

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*Politics or progress for Canadian children: has a policy focus on reduced child poverty improved child development?*

Canada's child poverty rate has been nearly halved in the past 15 years: from over 18% in 1996 to approximately 8% in 2010. While not accomplishing the 1989 parliamentary goal to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000, this improvement is a direct result of increased political attention to children- and family income in particular. A major motivation for a policy focus on income comes from research showing that poverty affects child development with early disparities leading to life-long inequalities. But this large body of research also shows income is not an isolated factor in understanding what disadvantages children. A social policy focus on child poverty has proven a politically expedient, but has the reduction in Canadian child poverty been met with a decrease in childhood inequalities? Has divergence in provincial child and family policies since the introduction of the National Children's Agenda (2000) resulted in different effects on child well-being across Canada? This paper explores these questions using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), a Statistics Canada survey of approximately 20,000 Canadian children from birth to age 25 between 1996 and 2008. The paper compares changes in federal and provincial policy and poverty rates to measures of inequality in children's cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural outcomes. Using these socio-economic gradients of outcomes rather than child poverty, the paper evaluates whether child policy over the past 15 years has in fact made real improvements in the lives and development of children in Canada.

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*Separatist Parties in National Parliaments.*

How do separatist parties engage with political systems they wish to leave? This paper examines the legislative activities of parties which seek regional self-government yet sit in the national parliament - the very institution they argue should not make decisions about their region. Do they participate in parliamentary activities or do they disengage from the national institution in protest? If they decide to participate, do they seek concessions through co-operation with nationwide parties or use the legislature as a platform to attack the political system and articulate the case for secession? This paper examines how three separatist parties have grappled with this dilemma over the course of several decades within their respective national parliaments: the Bloc Québécois, the Scottish National Party, and the Irish Parliamentary Party. It uses parliamentary votes, debates and committee proceedings to assess when separatists build alliances with other parties and how they frame their arguments when engaging with mainstream political actors. Using cross-party comparisons I test the impact of three independent variables on the separatist party's level of participation: a) the size of the party b) the legislative status of the party and c) constitutional structure (federal or unitary). I also test whether each party changes its approach over time: does it behave differently when separation is on the immediate agenda?

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*Options for increasing minorities' parliamentary representation in Canada*

The Fair Representation Act, passed in December 2011 adds 30 seats to the House of Commons: six each to Alberta and British Columbia, fifteen to Ontario, and three to Quebec. These additional seats provide a better inter-provincial balance of representation with respect to population, but it reduces Quebec's relative parliamentary weight. Consequently it has led to a debate over Francophone representation because the shift in relative seat-share from Quebec to Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario creates a perceived reduction in Francophone influence. This perception rests on the assumption that Francophone plurality ridings can only be created in Quebec. This paper will show the potential for additional Francophone plurality ridings outside Quebec.. Manipulating population variation, and/or using alternative electoral systems - such as non-contiguous ridings, proportional representation, mixed systems, and ethnically based voter lists - could increase Francophone-controlled seats. The same analysis is also applied to Aboriginal groups to show how the same techniques might raise the number of seats representing First Nations. Aboriginals are the fastest growing segment of the population in Canada and

are beset with a host of social problems, but they are rarely concentrated enough to form an effective voting block. The goal of this study is not to advocate any particular option for representation, but to show where the current system fits into the range of options.

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*The Politics of Large-Scale Canadian Mining Operations in Latin America: Insights from the case of Marmato, Colombia*

Beginning in the 1990s, Canadian companies, taking advantage of the openings afforded by economic liberalization, became increasingly dominant in mining operations globally, particularly in Latin America. The implications of this expansion have been numerous and complex for the national societies that host these companies. One case which starkly demonstrates this point is that of Colombia, where Canadian mining operations have increased 4-fold since 2006. Empirically, the consequences of Canadian mining companies' expansion into Colombia over the last decade remain largely unexplored. This paper attempts to fill in this empirical gap in the literature, by examining the politics of large-scale Canadian mining operations in Colombia, with special reference to the dynamics of changes in Colombia's mining code and how this expanded transnational corporate presence squares with the current Colombian administration's stated objectives of encouraging long-term, sustainable economic growth and the elimination of poverty and inequality, particularly in the countryside. The main argument of this paper is that an evaluation of these operations highlights the problematic tension between Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos' twin imperatives: using mining as the country's primary engine for sustainable economic growth and ensuring the elimination of poverty and inequality within the country. Based on extensive field work carried out both in Canada and Colombia with politicians, mining executives, and impacted local citizens, I will demonstrate my central contention by examining the case study of the Gran Colombia Gold (A Canadian mining company) operations in Marmato, Colombia.

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*What About Municipal Parties in Québec ?*

The municipal political field is generally filled either by subsidiaries of parties existing at upper levels of government or it is dominated by independent candidates. In Québec another formula exists: that of municipal political parties (MPP), which exists since the 1960s in big cities. There are now 123 throughout the province. MPP are not affiliated with federal or provincial parties. Nevertheless, they share a number of traits in common with the latter: 1) they have a role of mediators between the municipal government and civil society; (2) they are electoral machines; (3) their goal is the exercise of power. The objective of this communication is to showcase the original model of MPP. To do this, we rely on quantitative data from the Chief Electoral Officer of Québec and on qualitative data from sixty interviews with municipal electees. They participate in transforming how representative democracy is performed, both in forms of conquest as well as in the exercise of power. They thus participate in making the municipal scene an autonomous political field, structured by its own rules. At the same time, one can see a form of parliamentarianism, even "westminsterization" of local politics. It is therefore an original political and partisan model that is being put in place in several Quebec municipalities.

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*Incumbency Advantage: the case of municipal officials in Ottawa*

There are relatively few studies in Canada which take seriously the way profiles and biographies of municipal elected officials can be useful for the study of municipal elections. Such classical perspective within the field of political sociology seems to have been left out by political scientists. However it remains relevant for two reasons. First, studying profiles and biographies provides much needed descriptions of the main characteristic of municipal officials. Secondly, it allows for a renewed discussion of the resources used by municipal candidates for getting elected and the underlying logic of municipal elections which inform their choices. Everywhere in Canada, the municipal level is characterized by the fact that its elected officials remain in position for long periods of time. It is our argument in this paper that the concept of incumbency advantage can be mobilised in order to describe the electoral stability which seems to characterise this level of government as well as the type of resources used by those elected officials during their mandate and during their electoral campaigns. Data used for this paper come from a longitudinal analysis of the city of Ottawa's municipal elections. It is a relevant case for a study of incumbency advantage because of the important stability of municipal officials on the City Council since the 1960's, despite changes in the voting system, the municipal merger in 2000 and its bilingualism.

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*Treaties of Sharing: Interrogating Assumptions of Sovereignty*

This paper offers a critical reflection on the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada through a comparison of two interpretations of treaty politics. I use treaties as a site of analysis for thinking through what it means to be a self-determining people. On the one hand, there is the understanding that presents treaties as mutual recognition of sovereignty. On the other hand, there is a vision of "treaties of sharing" which are often called treaties of peace and friendship. From my perspective, the interest of the comparison lies in, first, reflecting on the limitations of a politics of self-determination that is grounded in assumptions of sovereignty, and, second, revealing the implications of the same assumptions for the way peoples interact with one another and with the world. By assumptions of sovereignty I refer to this idea that is pervasive to the Western canon in political thought and according to which one can and should free oneself from all exterior influences, starting with the natural world. In the first section of my paper I compare the two understandings of treaty politics, paying a special attention to questions of sovereignty. In the second section of my paper I turn to exploring the proposition of an original treaty between Indigenous peoples and the land. I argue that, in following the insight of Indigenous

political thought and thinking self-determination away from assumptions of sovereignty and in relation to nature might open up possibilities for the future of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

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*Constituent Unit Foreign Relations in Federal Countries: Political, Economic and Cultural Dimensions*

A NEW ERA OF PROVINCE BUILDING? THE POLITICS OF SUBSTATE DEVELOPMENT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES Martin Papillon and Jennifer Wallner Section: Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond CPSA 2013 - Victoria BC Paper Proposal: Hans Michelmann, Department of Political Studies University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon SK S7N 5A5 michelmann@arts.usask.ca The foreign relations of federal countries' constituent units are becoming increasingly prominent as these provinces, states, cantons and so on engage actors beyond their national boundaries, be these their counterparts in other countries or even national governments themselves, international organizations, or private organizations such as MNCs, INGOs and cultural organizations. Such relations are practiced because they are seen to further the constituent units' economic, political and cultural interests. They are undertaken most often in a context of cooperation with their federal governments, though not infrequently in a less cooperative domestic political environment. The paper examines the reasons and that impel constituent unit foreign relations in federal countries, focusing on the factors both domestic and international that affect its practice, and examines the implications of constituent diplomacy for the development of these polities (in Canadian parlance: "province building"). The analysis will be based on an analytic framework developed in *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2009) which examines constituent unit foreign relations in twelve federations including Canada on an array of political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions.

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*The Capacity of Policy Consultants in Canada: Survey Evidence*

The nature of policy advisory systems and the capacity of individual system actors has been the subject of much interest in recent years, in Canada and elsewhere. Studies for the most part however have focussed on the capacity of specific actors such as professional policy analysts in government or those in the NGO and business sectors. This study examines the role of the 'shadow' or 'invisible' actors employed by governments on temporary contracts as managerial or other kinds of consultants, but who undertake important roles in policy development and evaluation processes. The study reports on the findings of a 2012-2013 survey of consultants and presents data on relevant aspects of their background, training, perceptions and capabilities.

**Millar, Heather** (h.millar@utoronto.ca)

*The Microfoundations of Evidence-Based and Participatory Styles of Policy Decision Making in GMO Food Policy in North America and the EU* North American and European genetically modified organism food policy varies with regard to prevalent institutional policy decision making styles evident in each jurisdiction. While North American policy makers tend to rely on evidence based policy decisions, European decision makers have more broadly engaged with participatory or deliberative decision making styles. This paper develops an analytical framework to explain cross-jurisdiction variation in policy decision making styles in GMO food policy, drawing on three different microfoundational theories of individual decision making: instrumental rationality, cognitively bounded rationality, and non-rational logics of appropriateness. The paper hypothesizes that different microfoundations align with variance in three key meso-level factors: 1) causal beliefs regarding the policy problem and environment, 2) the characteristics of actors providing policy advice and 3) the core criteria used by policy decision makers to evaluate policy options. The article illustrates the framework drawing on case studies of GMO policy decision making in the US, Canada, the EU and the UK. The article concludes with a discussion of the ways in which different decision making styles align with varying perceptions of policy failure. The paper is pilot study to inform a larger comparative study examining the causal relationships between uncertainty, expert knowledge, and policy decision making styles in Canadian and European jurisdictions.

**Millar, Heather** (h.millar@utoronto.ca)

**Doberstein, Carey** (carey.doberstein@utoronto.ca)

*Balancing a House of Cards: 'Throughput' Legitimacy of Network Governance in Canada*

How do we determine whether multi-level network governance arrangements have democratic legitimacy? 'Network governance' signals the shift from traditional state-centered authority and bureaucratic hierarchy towards governance patterns that are more horizontally configured and inclusive of non-state actors. Yet a central critique of network governance arrangements is their potential to be undemocratic and unaccountable, since they tend to include unelected, civil society actors in a policy formulation, or even decision-making, role. Students of the EU have long struggled with the question of democratic legitimacy in Europe-wide political institutions, though analogous multi-level governance arrangements involving state and non-state actors likewise exist in Canada, particularly at the urban level. Traditionally, the legitimacy of EU-level policymaking has been conceptualized and measured along two dimensions: input legitimacy—the extent and representativeness of citizen influence on policy formulation—and output legitimacy—the effectiveness of the policy or regulatory response. Building on Schmidt (2012), we contend that another important and theoretically distinct category, *throughput legitimacy*—which captures the quality of participation and design of deliberative systems—may be even more important than the other two in terms of undermining network governance when it is interrupted or underdeveloped. We construct an analytical framework that differentiates between normative categories of input, output and throughput legitimacy, and draw on two empirical cases of multi-level network governance in homelessness policy in Calgary/Alberta and Toronto to illustrate the relationships between input, output and throughput legitimacy. We conclude by reflecting on the implications of the concept of throughput legitimacy for designing network governance institutions in Canada, as well as identify avenues for future research, particularly as it relates to accountability.

**Mitchell, Liam** (liammitchell@trentu.ca)

*Boredom, Interest, and Distraction in Social Media*

The aimless Internet browsing familiar to many users of social media can be discussed in terms of distraction, understood as the continual alternation between moods of boredom and interest. One might therefore conclude that websites like Facebook are responsible for shortening our collective attention spans, but this assumes a simple causal relationship between the technology and the mood. Different conclusions might follow if both were understood as symptoms of something unknown. I therefore ask: What is the character of the relationship between distraction and social media, and what political consequences follow from this relationship? I argue that distraction is mode of looking on the world that discloses things as either boring or interesting. Distraction shares a number of characteristics with Martin Heidegger's account of modern technology that should be kept in mind when considering social media's political effects. The disclosive looking of distraction, for instance, challenges the world to be interesting, imposes on the world to present itself for our diversion, and disposes the world to be usable on the basis of a pre-existing sociotechnological order (i.e. the predictability of the internet). This results in the world being rendered a collection of disposable distractions that are archived and presented on social media sites and evaluated on a binary basis as either interesting or boring. So considered, distraction is a technological and ontological hybrid threatening a series of minor evaluations that give rise to major consequences for our thinking about, and therefore acting in, the world.

**Mitchell, Mark** (mmitch04@uoguelph.ca)

*(Un)Democracy from the Outside In? Realism and Democratization in Azerbaijan*

This paper offers a theoretical in explaining and understanding the democratization process in developing states by incorporating international actors via the realist paradigm. The paper begins by reviewing efforts by scholars to apply realist logic towards actors operating within a geographical territory characterized by civil war, or anarchy. The paper then offers some analytical insight by demonstrating that the state of anarchy within a state is not a zero-sum phenomenon, and that in fact nearly every developing state can be characterized as being operating within a state of anarchy, or not, to a matter of degree. The paper then offers a typography of how to characterize the extent to which a given state is anarchic, or not. This analytical advance enables the paper to conceptually tear down the borders of the state, enabling the incorporation of international actors into the democratization process in developing states and allowing it to conceptualize the process of democratization as occurring under realist logic. Following the conceptual progression outlined in the first half of the paper, the paper then turns to an application of the conceptual advancement to Azerbaijan. The paper demonstrates that by utilizing realist logic it is apt to explain Azerbaijan's experience with democratization while incorporating the role of both Russia and the United States in affecting Azerbaijani democratic development. The paper then summarizes its conclusions while offering some critical insights into how the conceptual advancement can be applied to other similar states.

**Mitropolitski, Simeon** (simeon.mitropolitski@umontreal.ca)

*How much eclectic and opportunistic is modern political science?*

Largely inspired by Max Weber's instrumental vision of social science, the modern political science likes to see itself as an enterprise where researchers choose freely among different methods for the only sake of advancement of knowledge. Adam Przeworski, for example, a name in comparative politics and in democratization studies, calls his method eclectic and opportunistic, bearing facts, intuitions and prior beliefs ("Minimalist conception of democracy: a defense", p.25; in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds. "Democracy's Value", Cambridge, CUP 1999). This presentation challenges the understanding of modern political science as an eclectic and opportunistic methodological enterprise. My conclusions are based on the analysis of the writings of a few key names in the discipline, including Przeworski. I will show that despite the full academic freedom to choose among different research techniques and methods of interpretation, most scholars prefer to stick with limited number of similar instruments. I will investigate the reason(s) why these authors, including Przeworski himself, do not follow the call for eclectics and opportunism.

**Mitropolitski, Simeon** (simeon.mitropolitski@umontreal.ca)

*Ethnic and civic nationalism: a dynamic picture of political identities*

The classic dichotomy of ethnic vs. civic nationalism does not allow for dynamic alterations between the two. Peoples that see their identities basically in terms of blood kinship will hardly accept an alternative mainly civic identity. Any change, within this picture, presupposes generational replacement. On the level of collective attitudes of a particular generation, however, peoples remain invariable. I challenge this static vision of nationalism that allows for change only as part of generational replacement, although I do not challenge the latter postulate. Change within identity on the scale between ethnic and civic nationalism is possible within specific communities. One of the causes for such change is the presence of strong international political institutions, institutions aiming to create their own transnational political identities. I take the European Union as an example of such international political institution and a sample of EU member-states and candidates for membership as cases of possible cultural shift from ethnic toward civic nationalism and vice versa. I use qualitative and ethnographic techniques and methods of interpretation to account for the causal mechanisms that link the EU and the dynamic picture of nationalist identities.

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*A Policy in Search of a Spokeswoman? Lessons from Canada's Experiment with Universal Child Care*

An important subset of the comparative welfare states literature deals with the question of how states adapt to the weakening of traditional gender roles. The advent of working mothers and the subsequent demand for state-sponsored early childhood education and care [ECEC] is of particular interest to social policy scholars (Morgan 2006; Lewis 2009). Accordingly, in this paper I address a number of significant theoretical questions in social policy through a detailed analysis of the Canada's brief experiment with a national early childhood

education program [2005-2007]. Despite enjoying broad public support and passing through all major veto points in the political system, the program was ultimately terminated by the administration of conservative prime minister Stephen Harper at no perceptible political cost. Employing a methodology of analytic induction (Znaniecki 1934; Rueschmeyer, Stephens and Stephens 1992, p. 36), I find that the ultimate failure of universal ECEC in Canada was in packaging, not necessarily in substance. Notably, the program lacked a credible female champion, allowing its opponents to characterize it as intrusive and paternalistic. I concurrently develop a theory of early childhood education reform as a “policy in search of a spokeswoman” and present Germany, a country where universalistic ECEC reform succeeded on the strength of spokeswomen Renate Schmidt and Ursula von der Leyen, as an illustrative foil to the Canadian case. This finding bears significant implications for the agendas of state transformation (Streeck and Thelen 2005) and the gendering of political issues (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993).

**Montanaro, Laura** (montanaro@uchicago.edu)

*Democratic Constituency Formation*

In this paper, I bring the constitutive nature of representation to bear on the paradox of constituency formation. It is traditionally thought that the moment of constituency formation is pre-democratic, in large part because of the logical problem that a demos must exist for it to then decide matters democratically. In this paper, I claim that through the process of authorizing or rejecting their political representatives, individuals decide whether they want to be part of this and/or that people. Political representation renders constituencies visible and audible as affected by a given issue. When individuals authorize or reject their representatives, they accept or reject this rendering of themselves, and thus constitute themselves as a demos. This account of representation enables an understanding of democracy as an ideal of self-determination in which the boundaries of demoi are established by citizens themselves, and even in non-electoral contexts, count as part of democratic systems within which citizens self-govern. This constitutive understanding of representation is potentially rich and interesting for two reasons. First, it recasts some core premises of democratic theory and practice precisely because it functions as a mechanism of constituency formation. Second, it acknowledges that democratic constituencies are frequently political entities, not formal legal constructs.

**Murakami, Go** (gmurakam@interchange.ubc.ca)

*How does candidates' ethnic minority background matter in voting? A survey experiment*

Recent studies on the influence of candidates' ethnic background on voting identified several conditions and characteristics of voters, by which a subset of them are affected by this information. While such identifications are important, examining the underlying psychological mechanism is often neglected. How does candidates' ethnic minority background influence vote choice? This paper aims to examine two mediating steps involved between candidates' ethnic background information and voters' choice. In this paper, two different mechanisms derived from two theoretical camps are tested. First, the theory of negative prejudice towards ethnic minorities suggests that voters reflect their affective orientations in their candidate impression in deciding their vote choice. Accordingly, the ethnic background cue should first change the overall candidate impression, which leads to vote decision. On the other hand, the theory of policy benefits predicts that voters use candidates' ethnicity as a heuristic to estimate candidates' policy preference. In this cognitive process, the ethnic background should first influence the perceived relative distance of policy preferences between voters and candidates, which leads to their vote choice. Although two processes are not mutually exclusive, they must be tested as an important foundation of the existing findings. To test the mechanisms, an online survey experiment will be conducted on general Canadian population. In this experiment, the ethnic background and expressed policy preferences of hypothetical candidates are manipulated and randomly assigned to participants. By using both mediation analysis and structural equation modeling, the paper examines the relevance of two mechanisms, and discuss implications.

**Nagy, Rosemary** (rnagy@nipissingu.ca)

*The TRC of Canada: Genesis and Design*

How and why did Canada end up with a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to examine the legacy of Indian Residential Schools, rather than its default investigative body, the public inquiry? Using a research process akin to institutional ethnography, this paper traces the genesis of the TRC of Canada, including through interviews with persons involved in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) and the TRC. The paper provides thick description and a set of analytic insights into the process of how and why people came up with the idea of a TRC and set about implementing it. It argues that although the international idea of a truth commission was influential, there were also significant ‘homegrown’ elements that continue to bear on the TRC process today. The Government of Canada's historically narrow, individualizing interpretation of IRS violence finds resonance with the globally “dominant script” of truth commissions that scholars have criticized for neglecting structural violence. Yet, the spiritual and cultural elements internal to the process of reaching settlement may help set the groundwork for a more expansive understanding of IRS violence. This may, in turn, help expand the international truth commission model.

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*Governance Reform in Japanese Local Governments*

In my presentation, I analyze the organizational reforms in Japanese local governments in these fifteen years. The changes of the traditional public organizations and organizational managements have been widely observed from 1980s in developed countries and the series of the reforms is now theorized as New Public Management. In Japan, originally such NPM movement was not popular and local governments were also slow to respond the worldwide reform trend. However, because of the long economic depression after the bubble economy, Japanese local governments gradually adopted NPM-based organizational reforms. According to the leading Japanese scholars, Japanese local governments have been involved in the era of comprehensive governance reforms since mid 90s (Muramatsu and Inatsugu

2003) During this decade, various types of organizational reforms have been implemented for the efficient management and service provisions in Japanese local governments. In this reform movement, what has been changed and what has not? This paper tries to answer this question using succeeding comprehensive survey datasets collected by Japan Center for Cities and Nikkei Research Institute of Regional Economy. Comparing these two surveys, I will investigate how and why Japanese local governments have changed their organizations during the era of the NPM reform.

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*Minority Report: Explaining the shift in the 'ethnic vote' in the Canadian Electoral Politics*

In the 2011 federal election, the Conservative Party won a majority of seats in the House of Commons. The seat gains made by the Conservatives in the Greater Toronto Area were particularly important in providing the Conservative majority. In fact, 20 out of the 23 seats that the Conservatives gained were located in the Greater Toronto Area where 41 per cent of first generation immigrants who are mostly visible minority reside (Taylor, Triadafilopoulos, and Cochrane, 2012). Earlier voting behaviour studies have suggested that a major factor in the Liberal Party's historic electoral success resulted from the disproportionate levels of support they received from Catholics and visible minorities (Blais, 2003). What explains the shift in the allegiance of visible minorities away from the Liberals and towards the Conservatives in the 2011 federal election? We seek to understand the sets of factors that caused the shift in ethnic vote from the Liberal Party towards the Conservative Party. To answer this question, we explore the specific electoral appeals made by the Conservatives to visible minorities in 2011 election campaign. More specifically, we explore the ethnic outreach strategy of the Conservatives and compare it to the efforts of the Liberal Party and the NDP. We also analyze the affluence levels, educational achievement, and social values amongst these voters. Finally, we consider whether micro-targeted campaigns were occurring at the constituency level in the GTA

**Nater, John** (jnater@uwo.ca)

*The Institutional Imperative: The Government Caucus Meeting from 1984 to 2011*

This paper examines the government caucus meeting within an institutionalist perspective. While a significant amount of literature exists on the role of Parliament and parliamentarians, little is written on the role of Members of Parliament through the caucus meeting. This paper theorizes that the government caucus meeting represents a functional and necessary component of the parliamentary system; particularly in light of the dominance of Canadian political parties. As an institution, the government caucus meeting allows individual parliamentarians to privately oppose the direction of their party leadership, while publicly displaying a degree of loyalty. This theory challenges the literature which suggests that party discipline prevents an MP from meaningfully contributing to the legislative or policy process. The caucus meeting remains a "black box" and is considered a footnote in most writings on Canada's Parliament or party system. This paper seeks to partially fill this void, while also providing an alternative understanding of the rigidity of party discipline in Canada. This project is supported by an analysis of first-hand interviews with Members of Parliament from the 33rd to 40th Parliaments. In addition to these interviews, the historical record is reviewed through Hansard, the media and past literature related to the role of parliamentarians. This paper represents one aspect of a broader potential field of study related to the caucus meeting and its role in Canada. This includes institutional differences between parties, leaders and whether a party serves in government or opposition.

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*Third Wave feminism, the labour market and generational exceptionalism*

One of the features of the third wave feminism of generation-Y is the belief that economic independence and success is assured. As Aapola, Gonick and Harris (2005, p. 64) argue: "young women are often perceived to be the beneficiaries of the restructured labor market ... unlike even a generation ago, many of them are imagining and organizing their lives around the idea of a career, and in this way are entering into the new economy with a sense of entitlement to participation." Similarly, Sylvia Wably (1997) has identified in the UK that the gender restructuring of the labour market attributed to state sponsored equity policies has created a generational difference between younger women who have predominantly benefited from the changes and older women who have not. This generational exceptionalism has profound consequences, for the relationship of women to feminist struggles for equality in the workplace by confirming the fragmentation implicit in feminist and post-feminist characterizations. This paper examines the relationship between state policy, labour market success and generational positioning of Canadian women within the economy. Combining a historical survey of national and provincial employment equality legislation with an across-time analysis of the Statistics Canada Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), it will examine if patterns of generational exceptionalism exist in Canada, if young women have gained greater entry to higher skilled and better paid occupations, and whether that success can be linked to changes in employment equality policies.

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*Testing the Waters and Spreading the Word: The role of Private Members' Bills*

This paper examines the role of Private Members' Bills (PMBs) in Canadian minority parliaments arguing that PMBs serve several purposes beyond back bench legislating. While from 1867 to 1962 the Standing Orders in the House of Commons favoured Private Members' Business, governments had long been making special and sessional orders to give precedence to government business. In 1962 the Standing Orders were changed setting aside one hour a day for Private Members' Bills recognizing Private Members had secondary status as initiators of legislation. Yet curiously the number of Private Member's Bills (PMBs) increased dramatically during the subsequent Pearson and Trudeau governments. In explanation of this apparent anomaly R.V. Stewart Hyson (1974) suggested that PMBs were a vehicle for Private Members' to express their views. This paper argues that PMBs fulfill a number of roles. Firstly PMBs, as Hyson argues, are used to express the views of individual Private Members'. Secondly they are used by sitting governments as legislative 'test balloons'. Thirdly, and

perhaps most importantly, they are used to express opposition party platforms. This paper will compare the nature of PMB during the Harper and Pearson minority governments to examine these assertions. It will conclude by asking whether or not Private Members' Bills are substantially different between minority and majority situations.

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**Wood, Amy** (awood59@uwo.ca)

*The Role of Interest Groups in Environmental Policy Making in Canada: The Curious Case of Bill C-288*

While there is a good deal of scholarship regarding the failure of Canadian policy making progress in the area of climate change and lack of regulatory measures in its resultant initiatives (see MacDonald 2009, Helm 2011, Boyd, 2003), less has been written on the impact of environmental civil society organizations on private members legislation during minority governments. Brazier and Fox (2010) argue that in the UK, private members legislation provides an incentive for parliamentarians and interest groups to work together to advance common interests. This paper seeks to explore the ways in which interest groups participated in the parliamentary success and eventual legal failure of Bill C-288, the Kyoto Implementation Act. Groups such as the Pembina Institute, Greenpeace, and the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) participated as witnesses during the hearings in federal standing committees, contributed to the political climate, and public awareness around Bill C-288. Given these considerations, we ask what is the role of private member's legislation in policy innovation from perspective of NGOs, and whose interests are represented in the agenda-setting and legislative processes? This examination will illustrate the utility of a Parliamentary focus for civil society actors. As such, the paper will address arguments regarding: 1) the institutionalization of civil society movements (VanNijnatten 2001); 2) how knowledge and resource asymmetries between interest groups influence the legislative process; and 3) the role of NGOs in environmental policy making in minority governments in Canada.

**Newman, Joshua** (joshua.newman@sfu.ca)

*Project Management and Politics in Case of the Canada Line*

Completed in August 2009, the Canada Line is a \$2 billion, 19 kilometer extension to the urban rail transit network in Vancouver, British Columbia. Because of overlapping jurisdictions, a complicated multi-level financing arrangement, and a mandated structure as a public-private partnership, the successful development of the project depended on formal cooperation between numerous public and private sector entities. Many of these entities, which included the federal and provincial governments, the Vancouver International Airport Authority, and several private sector partnership contenders, had divergent interests, partisan differences, and varying degrees of political and financial influence over the nature and development of the project. Using analyses of primary documents and interviews with elite informants, this paper will show how the unique project management format employed in the development of the Canada Line was able to lock out partisan politics, lobbying, electoral cycle disruptions, and intrusion from all levels of politics including the provincial executive, while at the same time deflecting negative feedback away from the various governments and public sector agencies involved in the project. This was done without suppressing information flows to the public which might have reduced the public's perceived legitimacy of the project. While infrastructure megaprojects in many parts of the world are frequently prone to conflict or even open hostility between collaborators, the Canada Line's project managers were able to mitigate conflict between the partners and achieve an unusual level of cooperation.

**Ng, Winnie** (winnie.ng@ryerson.ca)

*Pedagogy of Solidarity: an act of decolonization and making whole*

As the neoliberal agenda deepens its grip globally, labour market structuring has created havoc in the lives of workers and their families, impoverished local communities; and given rise to a prevailing politics of division and fear. The paper reports on my recent research examining the meanings and practices of solidarity from anti-racism and decolonizing perspective. Utilizing the research methodologies of participatory action research and circle dialogue, the study draws out the complexity and richness of lived experiences of a group of labour activists from Aboriginal and racialized communities. Grounded in an anti-colonial discursive framework and the Aboriginal worldview, the research reveals the need for a more holistic approach in solidarity building. The study proposes a pedagogical framework with four interlinking components - rediscovering, restoring, reimagining and reclaiming - as a project of decolonization. It offers a transformative process for activists across different constituencies to come together in a shared vision of an inter-racial working class movement. Recognizing that organized labour is a microcosm of the larger society that carries the ongoing colonization project of Aboriginal Peoples and the persistent reality of racism, the potential of the proposed pedagogy of solidarity offers broader lessons for social justice activists. The Occupy movement has captured the world's attention on growing income inequality. It is now more critical than ever to reimagine new ways of making its iconic slogan- "We are the 99%" - real in both spirit and practice.

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*Consulting Whom? Lessons from the Toronto Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS)*

This paper seeks to answer the following question: Are public consultations an effective tool for increasing Aboriginal participation in the decision-making process? This paper argues that public consultations are an effective tool for increasing Aboriginal input in the decision-making process when the consultation process includes mechanisms for redistributing power from governments to stakeholders. When power relations are equalized, the Aboriginal-State political relationship will be one based on trust and mutual respect, aspects which have been absent within the Aboriginal-State apparatus resulting in the political exclusion of Aboriginals in Canada. Specifically, this paper looks at the current Federal Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS) in Toronto. This Strategy is to provide long-term investments to support Aboriginal communities in urban settings by focusing on three priority areas: improving life skills; promoting job training, skills and entrepreneurship; and supporting Aboriginal women, children and families. Though consultation can be a vehicle for empowering participants with decision-

making authority, this is not the case in Toronto. The lack of a common vision, political buy-in, and the aura of secrecy leads to a political relationship built on mistrust. Mistrust between members and government hinders the consultation process ineffective. This paper combines the literature on public consultations with official government documents to identify critical components that must be evident for consultations to be fruitful and participation effective. This criterion is the benchmark upon which to measure effectiveness. Based on interviews with the Steering Committee, this paper finds that the UAS in Toronto as practiced is not an effective mechanism for enabling the effective participation of Aboriginal participants in the democratic process.

**Nichols, Robert** (rnichols@ualberta.ca)

*Democracy and Colonialism*

This paper reads changes in policy regarding the enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples in the Anglo settler colonies during the mid to late 19th century as expressions of contrasting and competing visions of the relationship between democracy and colonialism. Using the Gradual Civilization Act (1857) and the first Indian Act (1876) as synecdoche, the paper begins by observing a familiar tension between a vision of democracy as predicated upon the formation of a racially and ethnically unitary 'people', versus one that aspires to transcend such formations and move towards a more universalized citizenry. I argue, however, that oscillation between these two visions is comprehensible only by also considering settler colonial projects of expansion and indigenous incorporation. I further argue that by foregrounding colonial expansion, we can shed new light on familiar 19th century concerns about the 'soft despotism' of mass democracy-articulated most famously by Tocqueville and Mill- to take into account how resettling 'unruly' populations functions to externalize and displace these anxieties. The paper concludes with reflection on how such observations can augment and correct contemporary work on the vicissitudes of democracy.

**Nikolenyi, Csaba** (csaba.nikolenyi@concordia.ca)

*Executive Stability in the Indian States*

This paper examines the duration in office of the heads of the Indian subnational governments, the Chief Minister. According to conventional wisdom in the Indian state politics literature, the stability and longevity of Chief Minister's terms in office depend both (i) on the incumbents ability to retain the support of his/her party or coalition in the state legislature as well as (ii) on his/her ability to negotiate and secure the support of the national central government. This paper will be the first attempt at a systematic analysis of the length of Chief Ministerial terms. It draws on an original data set of Chief Ministerial careers from 28 states for the period 1952-2012 and considers the impact of both state-specific and national party systemic variables. The working hypotheses of the paper are that Chief Ministers are likely to stay in office longer when they are leading a minimum winning coalition or a single-party majority government in the state; their party forms both the state and the national governments; and the national government is fragmented and lacks a stable majority in the national parliament.

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*Feeling Proud: A Socio-Affective Exploration of Pride Politics*

Within the last decade, there has been a resurgence of scholarly and activist interest in the vital role affect and emotion have in structuring, maintaining, and thus potentially transforming, political sensibilities and identities. Much of this work has occurred in the wake of the "affective turn" (Clough 2004) and more recently "new materialism" (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012), both of which are indebted to early philosophical work on affect and power- perhaps most notably the work of Spinoza, Bergson and Whitehead, resurrected by Gilles Deleuze. What these thinkers are emphasizing is that affective experience, conceived as an increase or decrease in a body's capacity to act, is simultaneously constituted and constituting. Thinking about affect as inherently social and political has the effect of decentering the dominant understanding of affect and emotion as originating 'within' an individual to a conceptualization of bodily intensity as collective, structured according to dominant values and ways of knowing, and coming from 'without'. This paper will draw on this theoretical tradition to examine the affective and embodied components of four contemporary Canadian pride movements, all of which are articulated on the basis of identity: Gay Pride, Mad Pride, White Pride and Fat Pride. Embedded within and beneath dominant discourses of 'pride' lie a plethora of rogue affects and the deeply embodied politics of identification. To this end, I will consider to what extent pride politics, as an affect, a strategy, and an identificatory practice, are really about pride at all.

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*What Became of Falun Gong?*

Scholarly accounts of China's Falun Gong religious movement typically fall into one of two categories. The first presents Falun Gong as part of a long tradition of mobilization by secret millenarian societies that challenged powerful dynasties in China's past, casting the group as a credible threat to the stability and rule of the current regime. The second dwells more extensively on government responses to the movement, highlighting the effectiveness of the state's coercive capabilities and portraying claims about Falun Gong's revolutionary potential as exaggerated, even hysterical. This article presents new information concerning the activities of Falun Gong, pointing to its survival on the mainland and a continued pre-occupation with the group at the Party's uppermost ranks, suggesting implications for the ability of religious movements to flourish in a Leninist state whose capacity to control them may not be all it seems, and whose continued efforts at repression belie its image as an orderly, self-assured and increasingly liberal authoritarian regime.

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### *Closing the Gap? The Determinants of Provincial Orientations Toward Aboriginal Peoples in the 2000s*

Canadian scholars have not paid much attention to the role of provincial governments toward Aboriginal peoples and, insofar as they have, they emphasized common trends and determinants that apply to all. A growing provincial involvement, for instance, has been associated to Ottawa's desire to download the delivery of services, or to the new constitutional and legal context created by the Constitution Act, 1982. Conflicts over resource development would also play a similar role in all provinces. In our own work, however, we found significant differences in provincial orientations toward Aboriginal poverty: in the 2000s, some governments made commitments to address the standard of living gap that plagued Aboriginal peoples (British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec), while others did not (the rest, and notably the Prairie provinces). These genuine differences in orientations cannot be explained simply by the importance of the provincial gap in living conditions, by partisan politics, or by a province's overall strategy against poverty. We argue instead that they relate to broader institutional and political factors such as provincial autonomy, social diversity in the province, and the politics of land claims negotiations. The paper uses fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) to assess these different factors and establish the determinants of provincial orientations toward Aboriginal peoples in the 2000s.

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### *About Face: Explaining Changes in Canada's China Policy, 2006-2012*

While in the last decade relations between Canada and China were marked by increasing intensification and diversification and robust people-to-people links, the government-to-government relationship underwent a series of substantial changes. From the "strategic partnership" of the mid-2000s, the bilateral relationship deteriorated rapidly after the election of the Conservative government of Stephen Harper in January 2006. The Harper government left in no doubt that it had little desire to cooperate with the government in Beijing, taking a pointed stance on several heated issues that contrasted with Chinese policy. The Chinese government reciprocated, publicly challenging Canadian policy and rhetoric in exceptionally incisive terms and snubbing Canadian officials up to the highest level. By 2009, however, the Harper government abruptly changed its approach and both sides demonstrated a renewed commitment to constructive engagement with a spate of high-level visits, significant agreements, and public relations and diplomatic gestures. Rhetoric and policy is once again focused on trade and investment, with the prospect of Chinese state-owned companies owning growing swaths of Canada's oil and gas sector and the recent completion of a Canada-China Foreign Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement in the works since 1994. The purpose of this paper is to examine Ottawa's abrupt turn in its China policy. We explore possible reasons for the change, including domestic electoral politics, bureaucratic politics, and the Harper government's perception of the evolution of global politics and the longer-term consequences of Canada's marginalization in the Asia Pacific.

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### *Mandates and accountability. Comparing MP's, candidates and citizens' perceptions of fulfillment of election promises*

Actors in democratic systems should be able to identify failures and successes of governments. This paper is one of very few examples where both representatives' and voters' views of government accountability are surveyed and compared using the exact same questions. We ask: Do citizens and representatives evaluate fulfillment of election promises in the same way? Our data comes from the 2010 Swedish National Election Study and from the Comparative Candidate Survey which was directed to all Swedish parliamentary candidates and MPs in the election 2010. Seven fulfilled and broken election promises were chosen from the 2006 manifesto of the right wing government coalition Alliansen. The respondents were asked to state whether or not the promises were fulfilled by the end of the election period in 2010. Our conclusion is that attribution of accountability for specific election promises is best performed by the governments own MPs. Our data indicates that citizens refrain from both giving credit for fulfilled promises and blame for unfulfilled promises. We also conclude that opposition politicians are more affected by their political bias than by their knowledge about the actual decisions when they hold governments accountable.

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### *Overcoming methodological nationalism in comparative welfare state studies*

Studies of the relationship between the decentralisation and the welfare state typically take one of two approaches. Some view decentralisation as an attribute of the state itself that helps explain part of its overall welfare effort; they have usually found that decentralisation limits the growth of the welfare state. Others focus on the protagonism of regional governments, which gives us extensive knowledge of how regions develop distinctive welfare arrangements but does not shed much light on the overall interaction of decentralised political institutions and the welfare state. This paper argues that a way out of this impasse is to incorporate regional welfare effort into comparative studies, identifying the extent of regional welfare state effort instead of averaging it out. We use the United States and United Kingdom in order to demonstrate how salient attributes of welfare states, such as new social risks, particularly age-orientation, are entwined with the allocation of power and resources between different levels of government.

**O'Neill, Brenda** (bloneill@ucalgary.ca)

### *The Political and Civic Engagement of Canadian Women*

The paper provides an overview of how Canadian women participate in extra-electoral politics in Canada. Using several original data sources (the 2007 Women's Political Participation Survey, 2010 Quebec Women's Political Participation Survey, and the 2009 Young

Feminist Women in Canada Survey), the paper seeks to establish a comprehensive picture of the types and levels of women's civic engagement. In particular, it examines women's engagement in the feminist movement, traditional forms of political engagement (voting, party membership), non-traditional forms of political engagement (demonstrations, petitions), modern forms of engagement (political consumerism) and volunteering. Very little existing research offers a comprehensive description of women's political activity; this paper seeks to address that omission. The second objective is to understand how these patterns vary across Canadian women in an effort to identify the key determinants of participatory decisions. A range of traditional socio-demographic determinants are examined - age, education, income, marital status, immigrant status, visible minority status, children - as well as a set of important attitudinal and knowledge determinants - political efficacy, knowledge and interest - both individually and in combination to identify the key shapers of women's various forms of engagement. The paper concludes with an evaluation of the broader implications of these findings for women's political representation.

**O'Neill, Brenda** (bloneill@ucalgary.ca)

**Croskill, Julie** (jcroskill@gmail.com)

*The Wild Wild West? The 2012 Alberta Election*

In the spring election of 2012, the Wildrose Party shook up the Alberta party system by threatening the support base of the ruling Progressive Conservatives. The election campaign period was especially intense, given the very real possibility that the Wildrose Party could form the next government. The unusual existence of a real alternative was matched by the equally unusual fact that the two leading parties were each led by women. Demonstrations, pointed debates, public gaffes and critical mistakes marked the campaign period. At the end of the campaign and with the highest turnout since 1993, the election returned the Progressive Conservatives to government, albeit with fewer seats than they held in the previous government. The Wildrose, on the other hand, won 17 seats overall to become the official opposition. Using the 2012 Wildrose Post-Election Poll, the paper analyzes the voting dynamics of this highly unusual election campaign to understand where each of the two parties drew their support, the key issues and events for voters, and the overall role of the campaign in shaping vote choice. The paper concludes with an assessment of the long-term impact of the election on Alberta voters and politics more generally.

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*At the Intersection of Experience and Expertise: Comparing mother and would-be-mother activism in infertility and autism*

This paper explores the advocacy of mothers and would-be mothers in two fields: autism and infertility. While parents routinely advocate for their children, we suggest that these forms of advocacy develop at a level of frequency and complexity that is not experienced by other parents in the political sphere. Parents and would-be-parents, for instance, develop a special competence in dealing with professionals, and in negotiating the delicate balance between expert discourses and expertise grounded in their situated knowledge and experience. In contrast to their experience when advocating for public support or public policy changes, in clinical and specialized milieus, mothers and would-be-mothers often struggle to position themselves as credible interveners. Drawing on the social movement and frame reflection literature, we seek to disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions about the role of mothers and would-be-mother in these complex policy fields. We argue that (would-be) mothers are far more likely than other women to take on the major advocacy role considering their need to respond to bodily, social, and/or cultural "failures" imposed on them by the medical discipline (Conrad 1987). In the autism case, this advocacy role is complicated by the initial view that cold parenting ('refrigerator mothers') was linked to an autism diagnosis. Issues of access to fertility treatments and care for autistic children provide a vantage point from which to study not only their experience in the policy arena, but also questions related to the changing role of the state, and the authority of experts in policy discourses.

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*Swing Voters in Canada: Stability, Change, and the Role of Electoral Context*

Swing voters are the darlings of media and political pundits during election campaigns and are often credited with the ability to decide important elections. The concept 'swing voter', however, remains under-defined, particularly in multiparty systems such as Canada. It is also not clear who swing voters are and the extent to which membership in the group is constant or fluid. Of particular interest is the relationship between the characteristics of different election campaigns and the types of individuals who classify as swing voters. This study addresses these gaps in our understanding of swing voters in Canadian elections. After providing a novel conceptualization of, and measure for, swing voting in a multiparty system, this study draws on Canadian Election Study data to examine changes in complexion of swing voters between 1965 to 2011.

**Pageau, Stéphane** (spage081@uottawa.ca)

*Étude comparative sur l'impact de la forme des institutions sur la participation des organisations d'intérêt aux parlements du Canada, de l'Ontario et du Québec*

Les études sur les populations de groupes d'intérêt ont commencé aux États-Unis dans les années 1960 (Schattschneider, 1960) et elles sont sorties du paradigme descriptif dans les années 1990 (Gray et Lowery, 1996) avant d'être transportées en Europe rapidement par la suite. Depuis le milieu des années 2000, nous comptons plusieurs ouvrages européens sur la question (Halpin et Grant, 2012, Halpin, 2012). Un des sous-champs de cette discipline est l'étude des populations à l'intérieur des institutions démocratiques (Christiansen et Pederson, 2012, Berry, 1999). Au Canada, hormis quelques modestes décomptes (Pross, 1986), les chercheurs n'ont tenté ni d'étudier la rencontre des groupes d'intérêt et des institutions au niveau d'analyse de la population, ni d'étudier la population canadienne de manière systématique. Nous proposons d'évaluer l'impact de la forme des institutions parlementaires sur la population d'organisations d'intérêt

entendues au Parlement fédéral, à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec et à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario. Comme le mentionnent Young et Everitt (2004), les comités parlementaires sont les instances de lobbying les plus accessibles à une plus grande diversité d'organisations. Nous avons compilé la présence des organisations d'intérêt dans les comités parlementaires des trois différents parlements susmentionnés, entre 1990 et 2010, ce qui correspond à plusieurs milliers d'organisations. À l'instar de Halpin et al (2012), nous découvrons différentes populations selon les institutions. Toutefois, les institutions choisies nous permettent d'isoler des différences précises et d'explorer plus en détail l'effet que la structure du système parlementaire a sur la diversité des organisations d'intérêt représentées. Autres panélistes :1) Maxime Boucher2) Stéphanie Yates

**Papillon, Martin** (martin.papillon@uottawa.ca)

The idea of "province building" refers to the self-reinforcing phenomenon of provinces leveraging their fiscal and jurisdictional capacities to foster their own distinctive development strategies and, ultimately, to reinforce their internal cohesion as distinct political communities with their own policy logic. The current context in Canada is particularly amenable to province-building, with the expansion of the province-driven natural resource extraction economy, a tight fiscal context and simultaneous federal disengagement on a number of policy fronts. As part of the workshop exploring these themes, we are inviting civil servants from four provincial governments to share their perspectives on the implications of these ongoing developments for federal-provincial relations in Canada. They will be invited to comment on the following questions: to what extent, and how, are the roles and responsibilities of provincial and territorial governments changing in various policy sectors? What is the role of the federal government in these changes? And how are these changes reshaping dynamics of intergovernmental relations?

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*The Political Economy of Aboriginal Policy-Making in Canadian Provinces*

This paper addresses the growing engagement of Canadian provincial governments in the area of Aboriginal policy. Relations with Aboriginal peoples is a federal jurisdiction according to the Constitutional Act, 1867, but provinces are increasingly active in developing their own policies and strategies in tackling the complex web of economic and social challenges facing Aboriginal peoples. Building on a comparative analysis of provincial policy developments in the past 10 years, this communication proposes a theoretical framework to make sense of provincial engagement in Aboriginal policy. I suggest provinces are largely reacting to the push and pull of federal policy and judicial interpretations of Aboriginal and treaty rights in developing their approach to Aboriginal policy. Their autonomy is relative in this respect. But convergence-inducing institutional constraints are not the only aspect to consider in order to make sense of recent policy developments. The paper discusses how behind broad similarities a distinct provincial policy sphere is in fact emerging in the area of Aboriginal policy, with significant cross-provincial variations in approaches. These variations, I suggest, are tied to the economy of natural resource extraction in each province and to the configuration of interests associated with this type of economy, which plays a central role in framing how provinces define their relationship and role with Aboriginal peoples.

**Paquet, Mireille** (mireille.paquet@umontreal.ca)

*The New Resource? Province Building in Immigration 1990-2010*

Since 1990, provincial governments in Canada have developed policies to intervene in immigration and integration and demanded federal policy changes. This global development represents a break from the historical federal dominance in the governance of Canada's immigration regime. This paper traces the source of this shift in the engagement of province building mechanisms in immigration in every Canadian province between 1990 and 2010. Province building in immigration, it is argued, explains both the increased activities of subnational governments as well as part of the federal decisions leading to a partial decentralization of resources, political authority and program administration during that period. Building on provincial and federal case studies using process tracing methodology; this paper unpacks the mechanism of province building in immigration in three steps. First, it defines the global features of province building in immigration - centrality of immigration as a resource, importance given to economic integration and limited attention to identity and belonging - as to position it in line with previous version of the mechanism and in contrast with competitive state building. Second, the paper explains the broader context of emergence of province building in immigration, including changes in provincial economies, modifications of fiscal federalism, evolution of Canada's immigration policies and ideological changes. Third, it discusses and compares four trajectories of province building in immigration - 1) Québec and Manitoba, 2) British Columbia and Ontario, 3) Alberta and Saskatchewan and 4) Atlantic provinces - and their impact on provincial and federal policies between 1990 and 2010.

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*Le positionnement stratégique du Canada à l'égard des interventions militaires en Libye et en Syrie*

Contrairement aux soulèvements populaires au Bahreïn, en Égypte ou en Tunisie, qui ont été gérés de manière diplomatique par les États occidentaux lors du « printemps arabe », les guerres civiles libyenne et syrienne ont quant à elles conduit les États atlantiques à intervenir militairement en Libye et à considérer sérieusement une intervention militaire en Syrie. Dans ce contexte, notre article cherche à déterminer l'impact des dynamiques transatlantiques sur le positionnement stratégique du Canada à l'égard des interventions militaires directes dans ces pays. Nous posons trois questions de recherche. D'abord, quel rôle le Canada a-t-il joué dans le processus décisionnel transatlantique à l'égard de ces crises? Ensuite, pourquoi le Canada a-t-il appuyé et participé activement à l'intervention militaire en Libye en 2011, alors qu'il s'est fait plutôt discret par rapport à la crise syrienne? Enfin, le Canada a-t-il été un acteur actif ou réactif lors des discussions sur la question des interventions militaires? Afin de répondre à ces questions, nous testerons plusieurs hypothèses associées aux approches institutionnalistes, libérales, constructivistes et réalistes en Relations internationales. Quant aux méthodes employées, nous

procéderons à une analyse qualitative de l'ensemble des déclarations officielles émises par cinq des principaux alliés transatlantiques (le Canada, les États-Unis, la France, l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne). Nous utiliserons un logiciel d'analyse de contenu (Nvivo) avec lequel nous comparerons les positions et les actions diplomatiques prises par les différents États transatlantiques lors de ces crises. Deuxièmement, nous effectuerons des entrevues semi-dirigées avec d'actuels et d'anciens représentants du gouvernement canadien.

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*The (E)state: The spatial origins of Sri Lanka's ethno-nationalist crisis*

Although various forms of political organization have existed in South Asia for millennia, postcolonial scholars have long noted the importance of nationalism and modern statecraft as being largely derivative of European discourses. Colonization was spatial and territorial, involving revisionist histories, centralized governments, and the moral justification that constructing colonial satellite-states was indicative of progress/development. This paper takes up the question of sovereignty as a practice in an effort to de-naturalize the idea of the "nation-state" in postcolonial places. It asks whether statecraft and the social construction of territory in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) required acts that mirrored the historical processes of European colonization. I examine the political, economic, and geographic processes that led to the consolidation of British rule on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in the early 19th century, linking the transformation of the island into a plantation-based economy relying on migrant Tamil labour to the fundamental "clash of indigeneities" in the immediate post-colonial era. Bringing into conversation theoretical insights from the literatures on postcolonial nationalism, territorialization, and critical historiography, this paper seeks to show that the structure of the nation-state itself is a colonizing entity such that when nationalist elites endeavored to "indigenize" state-craft after independence, they perversely employed many of the same bureaucratic and biopolitical techniques used by Europeans to construct the state in the first place.

**Pasternak, Shiri** (shiri.pasternak@gmail.com)

*Property in Three Registers*

This paper examines property relations in three distinct registers of power: property as sovereignty; property as accumulation; and, property as ontology. The first register - sovereignty - represents the untroubled category of the dominant settler colonial order; the second register - accumulation - represents the social relations of capitalist ownership relations; and the final register - ontology - represents property as being in the world, a radical alternative to the first two registers. My paper will explore the work these three registers do through the political struggle of the Algonquins of Barriere Lake to maintain law and jurisdiction over their lands. At the heart of Barriere Lake's struggle is a responsibility to protect their traditional territories through a resource co-management agreement signed over twenty years ago by Canada and Quebec, which was never fully implemented. My paper details the ways in which settler possession co-exists in a jurisdictional overlap with Indigenous forms of belonging to the land. I will argue that overlapping ownership claims to the land are resolved spatially through specific struggles that can challenge the legal fiction of Canada's absolute property claims, or lead to extinguishment through land claims.

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*The State of Gender Analysis in Canada: An Interprovincial Comparison*

Since the mid-1990s, Canadian gender analysis has been shaped largely by gender mainstreaming, a commitment to apply a 'gender lens' to all policies and programs. While considerable attention has been paid to the strengths and limits of GBA at the federal level, little attention has focused on gender analysis within the provinces. Yet the commitment to and outcome of gender analysis at the provincial level is crucial, since provincial jurisdiction includes areas such as health, education, and social assistance, which acutely affect the everyday lives of women in Canada. In this paper, we undertake a comparative study of gender analysis across the ten provinces. Inspired by the literature on strategic partnerships, we attempt to better understand provincial commitments to gender analysis by interrogating its relationship to factors such as proximity to centre of power (e.g., finance, treasury, premier's office); resources (budget, staff); mandate; and relationship with women's movement leaders. We hypothesize that close proximity to the centre of power, high resources, a mandate expressly seeking gender equality, and a strong relationship with the women's movement will result in a strong commitment to gender analysis, which, in turn, will result in positive policy outcomes for women.

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*When Balance of Power Meets Globalization: The Rise of China and South Asia's Emerging Security Order*

This paper addresses the interaction of the twin forces of globalization and balance of power and how that process is shaping China's and India's relationships with each other and their neighbors as well as the larger South Asian security order. Will the growing economic links among regional states especially between India with China limit the balance of power competition and arms race in the region? What will be the impact of a China-US rivalry in Asia-Pacific on South Asia's security? What will be the role of India and the smaller powers, especially Pakistan, in this dynamic environment? The current behavior of China toward South Asian states shows a mixture of traditional balancing as well as soft balancing, while that of India toward China largely of hedging relying on soft-balancing and limited arms buildup. Economic links resulting from intensified globalization may be one of the key reasons for these somewhat mellowed behavioral patterns. Smaller states of South Asia are maneuvering between China and India with the hope of gaining economic and political favors. The region has the potential to become a bigger theater of balance of power competition, relying on arms buildups and alliances in the years to come, although if economic links continue to increase, such behavior could be mellowed. The increased US involvement in Asia-Pacific military affairs also will affect the South Asia security order.

**Pemberton, Sarah** (sxpemberton@gmail.com)

*The State of Nat-arr! Locke's Second Treatise and the Philosophy of Piracy*

This paper critically examines The Second Treatise of Government by drawing parallels between Locke's social contract theory and eighteenth century piracy, focusing on the interconnection of freedom, property, and political authority. My work responds to three areas of scholarship: Hume's critique of Locke's account of tacit consent; critical contract theory by CB Macpherson, Carole Pateman and Charles Mills; and the literature about the politics of piracy between 1710 and 1726, including work by Marcus Rediker and Peter Leeson. Whereas acts of theft by pirates are overt, colonial theft of land in the Americas is rendered invisible in Locke's work through concepts such as 'terra nullius', as James Tully and Barbara Arneil have shown. This appropriation enables the relative equality between participants in the contract, both in the case of actual pirate crews, and amongst the individuals who establish civil society in Locke's account. I also show how Locke's theory and the Articles of Agreement between pirates are shaped by a conception of the subject as able-bodied, adult and male, including the absence of dependence and care. Given the basis in colonial dispossession, I consider the extent to which Lockean contract theory is a philosophy of piracy.

**Penner, Erin** (penner.erin@gmail.com)

*Personality, Political Values, and Attitudes toward Multiculturalism*

This paper provides an empirical account of how Canadians' personality traits and political values work together to shape their attitudes toward multiculturalism. Using an embedded experiment about multiculturalism policy in the 2012 Canadian Election Study, the analysis finds that the attitudinal gap between personality traits that typically predict attitudes about ethnic diversity (i.e., openness to experience and agreeableness) vanishes when the beneficiary of multiculturalism spending is a veiled Muslim. The paper then asks how individuals with personalities predisposed to ethnic tolerance can overcome triggered negative reactions to veiled Muslims and realign their ethnic attitudes to achieve attitudinal coherence. Taking cues from the political values literature, I examine how values can help individuals with generally tolerant personalities moderate negative attitudinal impulses. Specifically, I look at how stances on collectivist egalitarianism differentiate individuals with personalities high in openness and agreeableness into two groups, enabling those agreeing with collectivist values to support multiculturalism spending for veiled Muslims. Alternative explanations of political attitudes, such as material threat, media consumption, or political sophistication, are shown to be ineffective. The interaction between political values and personality traits demonstrates how political values can be powerful regulators of deep-rooted tendencies and more proximate situational triggers. It also provides lessons for policymakers interested in encouraging interethnic harmony by revealing how at least some citizens can overcome triggered negative attitudes if certain political values are primed. As part of my dissertation, this paper builds on work presented at the 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2012 CPSA conferences.

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*One Flew Over the Policymaker's Desk: Mental Health Policy Reform in Canada*

Mental health policy is a pressing issue in Canada. Both federal and provincial reports on the condition of mental health services point towards a similar conclusion: mental healthcare systems across the country are in crisis. In response to this, a flurry of documents geared towards these systems' reform have emerged, ranging from the Mental Health Commission of Canada's Changing Directions, Changing Lives (2012), to the Ontario Human Rights Commission's Minds that Matter (2012). However, mental health policy documents are not new to Canada. The last thirty years have seen an abundance of research geared towards how best to manage mentally ill populations in light of policies geared towards deinstitutionalization. What is novel is the model being advanced in recent documents, a model that places the individual at the centre of reform. In this paper, I will answer the following question: What is novel about the model of mental healthcare advanced by recent policy documents throughout Canada, what form of political rationality guides this model, and what does it mean for Canadian social citizenship? Methodologically, I will undertake a Foucauldian genealogy of five key policy documents produced between 1867 and 2012. I will analyze how the models advanced in each of these documents correspond to broader political rationalities of their time. I will argue that the model advanced by recent policy documents corresponds to a broader shift in public policy towards neoliberalism. I will conclude that this shift has problematic implications for definitions of citizenship and social liberalism.

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*The Provincial Regulatory State*

Majone (1994) asserts that in the 21st century the state will have its greatest effect through its use of legislation and regulation. Most of the activities we engage in on a daily basis are governed by a mix of "hard" and "soft" law that is increasingly established by provincial legislation or regulation or sanctioned by devolved authorities from the provinces, such as municipalities, regulatory agencies, or self-governing professions or organizations. The emergence of the provincial regulatory state is partly the result of increased interactions in our economy and society, almost all of which fall in the domain of provincial authority, and partly in response to diminished expectations that taxing, spending, direct employment, investment, government ownership, or direct program delivery can meet the needs of the economy and society. This presentation will examine the dimensions and direction of the provincial regulatory state in Canada.

**Piché, Geneviève** (genevieve\_piche@carleton.ca)

*Life and death in the government of irregular maritime migration*

Migrants and asylum seekers traveling by boat bring to the fore questions of security and humanitarianism, with life and death at their core. This paper builds on Canadian studies in the area of irregular maritime migration (Mountz 2011; Watson 2007), exploring continuities and shifts in the representations and practices used in governing this form of mobility. Specifically, I explore how life and death inform governing practices and shape representations of asylum seekers and migrants in irregular maritime migration incidents. Adopting a lens

that combines governmentality (Foucault 2007), humanitarian reason (Fassin 2012), and securitization (Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde 1997), this paper examines the themes of life and death in five incidents of irregular maritime migration related to Canada: the Komagata Maru (1914), the St. Louis (1939), the Indochinese “Boat People” (1975-1995), the Ocean Lady (2009), and the MV Sun Sea (2010). I argue that the organization of passengers on board vessels, medical examinations and care for migrants upon arrival, and patrols surrounding vessels kept off shore are practices meant not only to promote order, but also to make live. Meanwhile death is a prominent theme in the creation of a sense of urgency around the situation of migrants, especially where asylum seekers are fleeing for fear of death in their country of origin. Death is central to the representation of this form of mobility as dangerous, both in the condemnation of organizers and smugglers and in the mobilization of assistance for migrants.

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*Testing the Effect of Published Vote Intention Polls on Vote Intention*

Despite increasing concern over the potentially negative consequences of published vote intention polls for election outcomes, and despite searching for empirical support for hypothesized poll effects for over a half century, scholars have come to no obvious consensus on the nature or magnitude of polls’ impact on electoral democracy. We demonstrate the difficulties faced when determining the effect of polls on vote choice. We then propose a model, within the Bayesian framework, to address these problems. The model is tested with Monte Carlo simulation. The results in hand, we revisit the current evidence for poll effects and evaluate the prospects for future research on the question.

**Pilon, Dennis** (dpilon@yorku.ca)

*Assessing Gordon Campbell's Uneven Democratic Legacy in British Columbia*

Opinion seems divided on just about every aspect of Gordon Campbell’s legacy in the ten years he led British Columbia, except on the topic of democratic reform. Here friend and foe alike appear willing to concede that the Premier delivered on his promises to fix election dates, consult the public on the voting system, and hold a binding referendum on the latter issue. Was Campbell a genuine democratic reformer or just a wily and opportunistic political operator? There seems ample evidence for both positions. This paper will attempt to evaluate Gordon Campbell’s actions on democratic reform by putting them into the larger context of his career as a politician and the competitive pressures he faced in becoming and remaining Premier. This will involve comparing his more recent democratic reform initiatives with the electoral reform efforts he sponsored as Mayor of Vancouver in the 1980s, reviewing the development of his democratic reform commitments in the 1990s, critically assessing the rules he established for the 2005 and 2009 provincial voting system referenda, and interviewing key government and Liberal party activists on the issue.

**Planinc, Emma** (emma.planinc@utoronto.ca)

*The Freedom of Equals or Unequals Alike? Animals as Citizens in the Democratic Zoopolis.*

Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka’s Zoopolis has caused a significant stir of interest and support in political theoretical circles (and beyond). Zoopolis, being A Political Theory of Animal Rights, deserves a serious and reasoned response from the perspective of political theory itself. If it is in fact in the future for us as human beings to be part of a Zoopolis, then we must step back to examine the dialogue into which these arguments are thrust. In my paper, I argue that it is consistent with the logic of democracy and our modern commitment to pluralism that animals be included in our political community. I claim, however, that through the history of political thought - specifically through Plato’s Republic and Rousseau’s Discourse on the Origin of Inequality and On the Social Contract - there exists a critique of this internal logic and tendency of democracy to move toward broadening conceptions of what it means to be free, and to have agency. In both Plato and Rousseau’s accounts, the freedom that is essential to democratic rule is highly problematic, and this problematic nature of democratic freedom is exemplified by the confusion of the autonomy of human beings with the autonomy of animals in the state. Is this granting what Plato calls “equality to both equals and unequals alike”, and are these arguments to which we must remain attuned in our consideration of a modern Zoopolis?

**Prince, Michael** (mprince@uvic.ca)

*From Social Investment to Night Watchman: Shifting Roles of the Federal State in Canada*

The Harper record on social policy is a distinctive intermingling of high profile policy cancellations, new interventions, program reductions and non-decisions on many issues. The pecking order of purposes in social policy has been rearranged, with an expanded emphasis on regulatory functions by the federal government. Over the Harper years, law and order issues have defined much of Canadian parliamentary business and federal social politics. This regulatory governance is selective in focus emphasizing judicial, correctional and policing more than occupational health and safety, pay equity or human rights. At the federal level, then, governing has shifted in important respects from social investment to the night watchman state.

**Pruyers, Scott** (spruysr@connect.carleton.ca)

*Party Linkages in Federal States: An Examination of Elections and Parties in Ontario and Canada*

Vertical integration between parties in multilevel systems has considerable consequences for national unity, federal stability, accountability, and intergovernmental relations. Despite the numerous and far reaching consequences, little work has been done to understand the causes of party integration or the reasons for differing levels of integration between parties that compete within the same

jurisdiction. Rather than deriving party integration from organizational structure, this paper considers the role of individuals and ideology as integrating forces for parties. More importantly, it asks whether a party's organizational structure has an influence on non-organizational aspects of party integration such as campaign behaviour, membership, career paths of elected officials, and shared and consistent ideology. To uncover the relationship between party structure and party integration, this paper draws on evidence from Ontario. Ontario allows for this relationship to be explored due to the unique constellation of parties; each of the major political parties has adopted a different organizational structure in response to the federal system. The NDP has created an integrated organizational structure, the Conservatives opted to establish a truncated structure that is organizationally distinct from provincial counterparts, and the Liberals established a confederal structure that spans the divide between integrated and truncated. As a result, we can examine if different organizational structures produce different outcomes for party integration. Data will be gathered using a number of methods and sources including surveys of party members, voters, and candidates, content analysis of party platforms, analysis of career patterns, and interviews with party elites and campaign professionals.

**Puddister, Kate** (kate.puddister@mail.mcgill.ca)

*Unravelling Reference Questions: Theoretical and Political Implications in a Canadian Context*

Many scholars have signaled the judicialization of Canadian politics with the entrenchment of the 1982 Constitution. While this portrayal of the enhanced role of the courts is not unwarranted, it ignores the role that courts have played as a political actor prior to the entrenchment of the Charter, demonstrated by the reference question procedure. Supreme Court reference opinions have pronounced on extremely divisive and political issues such as the separation of Quebec and the patriation of the 1982 constitution. These advisory opinions have directly inserted the judicial branch into complex and controversial policy debates and have allowed politicians to arguably 'pass the buck' to the courts. Yet reference cases remain understudied and their implications are similarly under theorized. References pose many important theoretical questions for Canadian politics. First, the potential for politicization of the bench through its involvement in contested policy debates raises concerns about judicial independence. Second, the practice of reference cases questions the notion of the separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary within the parliamentary system. Third, these cases suggest larger theoretical questions relating to democratic legitimacy. Utilizing several critical reference cases as examples, the paper examines the phenomenon of reference cases and their implications for the independence of the judiciary, the separation of powers, and the judicialization of politics. Additionally, as part of an ongoing project, the paper investigates the political motivations behind the statutory creation of reference questions, strategic litigation by the executive, and the impact of reference decisions on greater political disputes.

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*Regionalism in a Conservative Era: Assessing Political Identities in Canada*

Regionalism and substate identities have been enduring features of Canada's political landscape. With its more decentralist, "open" vision of federalism, the 2006 election of Stephen Harper's Conservative government arguably changed the dynamics of regionalism and regional actors in Canada, as the West has been brought "in", while other provinces like Ontario and Quebec are further distanced from the federal government than ever before. In this paper we draw on public opinion survey evidence to consider regionalism from the perspective of citizens' identities, and ask whether, and the extent to which, citizens' political identities (national and provincial) have changed during the Conservative Party of Canada's government. Presumably, shifts in citizens' political attachments and identities have important implications for federal and provincial policymakers, as politicians at both levels seek out public support for their policy positions.

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*Becoming and Belonging: Gender, Race, and Canadian Citizenship*

In this paper, we engage in a conversation about belonging to the Canadian nation and becoming Canadian citizens, recognizing that in doing so we are complicit in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. We employ personal narratives and feminist critical race theories to problematize our own journeys to becoming Canadians. In doing so, we situate ourselves as women occupying different positions: one, a white, middle-class immigrant from the United Kingdom, who, though in the process of becoming a Canadian citizen, is already perceived to be Canadian; the Other, an immigrant from the Global South who became a Canadian citizen as a teenager, yet is perceived as a foreigner. We ask, what is the relationship between becoming and belonging? Does becoming a citizen lead to a sense of belonging? Or, can belonging be achieved without citizenship? And what are the implications of these questions for Indigenous peoples and racialized Others? Belonging, we argue, has both formal and informal dimensions. While citizenship guarantees belonging on a formal level, informal barriers to belonging persist. Inversely, informal belonging often exists without citizenship. Further, drawing on Sunera Thobani (2007), we argue that citizenship, by its very nature, excludes as it includes. Specifically, Canadian citizenship involves the exclusion of gendered and racialized 'Others', who are not perceived to 'belong' to the nation, in which white, heteronormative male subjects are valorized.

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*The Development of Provincial Administrative Institutions*

Three dynamic forces have shaped the development of provincial administrative institutions in Canada. The first are the issues around convergence among the provinces and their related role as policy laboratories. Provinces, learn as much from failures as from success, but have long tended to either imitate or engage in "beggar-thy-neighbor" policies. Yet at the same time, we can observe the second theme, which is decentralization in terms of more arm's length agencies, more nonprofit organized, and different forms of alternative service delivery that fit under the general rubric of networked government. Finally, provincial ambition to enter new areas of activity due to the

pressures associated with both convergence and decentralization means that provinces have begun to develop new policy and administrative capacity in areas such as international trade, immigration, and environmental regulation. This paper will explore these three interrelated themes that continue to explain the development of provincial administrative institutions in the 21st century. Convergence, decentralized, and the ongoing sense that provinces must struggle to match the policy capacity of the federal government in the face of pressures to keep the provincial state as small as possible and continuing public resistance to deficits and increases in taxation needed to expand provincial activity and capacity.

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*Ending Civil Wars: Understanding Disengagement and De-radicalisation Processes in Bosnia and in the North Caucasus*

Since the end of the Second World War, the civil wars in Bosnia and Chechnya have been the bloodiest conflicts in Europe. In the case of the former, the 1996 Dayton Accords successfully ended the war even if political and identity-based tensions remained very salient. In the case of the latter, the end of the war resulted in political instability where Chechen fighters remained mobilized and sought to export the conflict to the entire region of the North Caucasus. The result of this Chechen spillover is an important upsurge of violence all across the North Caucasus. How can one explain the diametrical differences between the Bosnian and the Chechen case? What are the roles played by demobilization programs and the presence of foreign fighters in sustaining (or not) the conflict? Based on a series of interviews conducted with ex-combatants, their relatives and governmental officials in Bosnia, Chechnya, Dagestan, and Kabardino-Balkaria and over 8 months of ethnographic research, this paper seeks to study the processes and mechanisms of demobilization and de-radicalisation in a comparative way. In order to do so, I will analyse the various programs of demobilization launched in Bosnia and in the North Caucasus since the middle of the 1990s. I will then analyse the development of Salafism in both regions in order to try to understand its role in the radicalisation and disengagement process of fighters. I will finally compare the role of traumas and the psychological situation of ex-fighters mainly based on personal testimonies.

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*The Tea Party, social media and the new emergence of online politicking 3.0*

This paper argues that the Tea Party movement (TPM), which emerged in early 2009 as an influential player in the local, regional and national political landscape of the United States, constitutes a sharp departure from the previously-dominant bottom-up political mobilization model. In fact, it can be seen as the manifestation of a new form of decentralized and hyper-fragmented grassroots-intensive organizing that is expected to become increasingly popular in Western-styled democracies. Several politically-oriented mobilization initiatives closely mimicking the Tea Party blueprint have already gained varying levels of traction in many national contexts since the early months of 2010 such as the U.S.-based Coffee Party movement, the transnational Occupy movement and, more recently, Quebec university students' strike against tuition hikes during the spring and summer months of 2012. This paper presents data from the quantitative content analysis of 1,747,306 tweets with the #teaparty hashtag that were posted on Twitter by 79,564 unique twitterers between Wednesday, December 9th 2009 and Saturday, March 19th 2011. It will offer a detailed assessment of twitterers' patterns of utilization of social and content-interactive mechanisms (eg.: @replies, @retweets, etc.) as well as hashtags in their posts in order to characterize the structure of the #teaparty-related micro-cyberpoliticking dynamic.

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*Frame rejection: hybrid policy designs, 'back talk', and the lessons of first generation biofuels policies in Europe and North America.*

Nearly twenty years ago, Donald Schoen and Martin Rein warned against an overly rationalistic approach to policy design, one in which the designers' framing of the policy problem is a taken for granted starting point. Arguing that public policy is a process of negotiation between competing interests and opposing frames, they urged policy designers to be more sensitive to "back talk" from the targets of policy interventions that reveals alternative problem framing and creates the possibility for more nuanced designs. This paper traces the emergence of back talk against the efforts of first generation biofuels policy to create incentives for wider use of transportation biofuels. Using evidence from public consultations on biofuels in Canada, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the paper focuses on an overlooked element in Schoen and Rein's account, the likelihood that successive rounds of policy making will create hybrid policy designs that incorporate multiple, incompatible frames. It argues that the existence of these frames may pose significant challenges for second-generation biofuels depending on the constraints imposed on new policy designs by the broader context of energy policy in the different jurisdictions.

**Reddekop, Jarrad** (jreddeko@uwo.ca)

*On Nature, Relations, and Politics*

Recently, many scholars have begun to explore the possibilities that a relational ontology might hold for rethinking our politics and our ways of being in the world. My paper seeks to contribute to this discussion in two ways: first, by bringing the matter to focus around the question of human relationships to the non-human world (i.e. that which we typically understand as "nature"), and the ways we frame what a politics concerning nature can be or amount to. Secondly, by offering the suggestion that tensions between primarily atomistic and relational ontologies can already, and crucially, be seen to characterize political and legal struggles between Indigenous and settler peoples in colonial contexts like Canada and elsewhere in the Americas. Accordingly, my paper explores some of the ways a more serious engagement with relational themes in Indigenous thought raises questions about who and how we understand ourselves to be as modern selves, and what kinds of relationships to the non-human world we consider to be possible and viable. To this end, my paper brings together Western and Indigenous thought, drawing on theorists such as Martin Heidegger and Hannah Arendt - whose meditations on the

impoverishments of modern life, and movements towards a greater relationality, can help prepare us to hear what is at stake in such political contexts of “ontological disagreement”. In addition, I argue that Indigenous thought (including Anishinabek and Northwestern Amazonian) affords us occasions to push critical insights offered by these theorists beyond their usual bounds.

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*Justice in a Suitcase: Immigration: Ethnic Diversity and Changing Opinions of Social Inequality.*

Since the 1960s, a popular explanation for rising anti-immigration sentiments has been realistic group conflict theory, which holds that the presence of an out-group and resource stress leads to inter-group tensions. Recent studies have relied on cross-national public opinion data to disentangle the link between diversity and anti-immigrant attitudes. However, they seem to take a leap with the causal reasoning, assuming that heightened out-group prejudice in diverse communities originates from increased competition. In this study, we would like to qualify existing causal flaws by responding to the question whether immigration diversity decreases perceptions of social mobility. According to realistic group conflict theory, the presence of a sizeable immigrant population and resource stress would increase the awareness that the opportunities for social mobility are low and that resources in society are unequally distributed. In order to respond to this research question, we analyze the 2009 Social Inequality wave of the International Social Survey Program. In this survey, respondents of more than 40 advanced democracies were asked about their own and their family’s social position as well as opinions on social competition, enabling a comparative analysis of perceptions of social mobility.

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*Lesser Evils and Strategic Partnerships: Independent Immigrant Service Organizations and Federalism in Canada*

Canada is unique amongst developed states in that rather than delivering immigrant settlement services directly, services and programs such as language training, cultural courses, job link, and counseling are instead - with a couple exceptions - delivered by independent, not-for-profit immigrant service organizations (ISOs) that apply for government grants. ISOs have increased significantly in importance as settlement spending has exploded under the Conservative government. What’s more, they have faced significant flux, as immigrant settlement authority has been devolved and then recentralized in British Columbia and Manitoba. A better understanding of their role is essential for understanding both the impact of recent changes in immigration policy, and immigration in Canada more broadly. This paper presents the results of the first national survey of ISOs. The survey investigates a variety of key factors. For instance, the survey investigates similarity or difference in services across jurisdictions. It also measures whether organizations feel they have a communicative relationship with government and a sense of efficacy in impacting policy decisions. This question is particularly interesting, given the above-mentioned decision to recentralize settlement authority. If ISOs feel that their concerns and interests are better heard by provincial governments, what does recentralization mean for the effectiveness of programs and the relationship with ISOs in these provinces? On the flip side, if we find organizations, given their arms-length relationship from government, have the flexibility to deliver the services that best address community needs, does the question of federal vs. provincial authority even matter?

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*The Impact of Qualitative Interviews in Fourth Year Seminars*

This paper investigates the impacts of a qualitative interview option for a presentation project in a fourth year seminar class in Canadian politics. The paper looks at the impacts on learning outcomes for students as interviewers as well as the knowledge outcomes of interview subjects. Students in my fourth year seminar on Canadian National Identity, Diversity, and Unity were asked to construct and give a presentation on a particular sub-group within our classes broad-stroke groups. Examples included the Acadians, the LGBTQ community, the FLQ, Afro-Canadians, and the Métis. Students were given the option of basing their presentation on either a significant amount of normal academic research, or a smaller amount of this and a single hour-long qualitative interview with a senior member of an organization that represents the group in question. Students who chose to undertake the interview option compared against those who did not to measure outcomes such as depth of understanding of their topic, feelings of excitement and engagement with the material, feelings of efficacy in engaging with public political organizations, knowledge of applied social science methods, and sense of course workload. Also, students will be able to respond to the utility of applying social science methods, including the completion of an ethics process, to help them determine their level of passion for applied social sciences. In addition, the paper will include follow-up data from the interviewees to see if their interactions with students changed their perception of how the public views their group or cause.

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*An Atlantic Canadian perspective on the NEP*

While the negative impacts of the National Energy Program (NEP) of the 1970s and 1980s on Western Canada have been documented by many sources, very little has been written about the NEP from an Atlantic Canadian perspective. This paper examines the impacts of this program, and its associated policy initiatives, on the East Coast Oil industry. This look back at the previous energy policy is timely in the context of the initiatives being taken by the Albertan government in relation to a new national energy strategy. In light of this renewed interest in developing new policy initiatives in relation to energy this paper will speculate as to what items should be included in such a strategy from an Atlantic Canadian perspective.

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### *The Supreme Court's Cost Awarding Discretion*

Many authors have suggested that the Supreme Court of Canada's (SCC) judicial activism is evidenced not only by its decision-making, but justices' control over the court's docket and their power to grant official intervener status. However, an understudied aspect of the SCC's power remains its cost awarding discretion. Under the Supreme Court Act, the SCC can order a party's legal costs covered irrespective of case outcome. The political nature of legal financing in Canada is further entrenched by the Court Challenges Program (CCP). Put in place in 1978 by the federal government, the CCP was created to offer financial support for minority language rights litigation and later equality rights litigation. To understand the extent to which the SCC's cost awarding powers have been used and whether patterns of use have changed over time, this paper will review SCC cases from 1974 to 2012 - particularly, the types of cases in which the payments of costs are ordered and the groups who are the recipients. Following an historical institutionalist approach, the paper hypothesizes that during periods when the CCP was unavailable (pre-1978, 1992-1993, and post-2006) and after the entrenchment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (post-1982), the SCC was more likely to offer financial compensation for minority language and equality rights litigants. This will lead the paper, as part of a larger project, to question how the Supreme Court's policy preferences are conditioned by Canadian state ideology.

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### *Sordid Aggression or Humanitarian Intervention? Why Scholars Disagreed about the Military Actions in Kosovo in 1999 and Libya in 2011*

This paper examines the scholarly debate over NATO's military actions in Kosovo in 1999 and Libya in 2011 with a view to better understanding why they generated intellectual polarization and disagreements among International Relations (IR) and International Law (IL) scholars. Employing a method of comparative literature review, I focus on constructivist, Marxist, liberal, and legal accounts of the Kosovo and Libya interventions. I find that both interventions proved divisive because they speak to substantive differences in the meta-views of scholars regarding the source and nature of legitimacy and sovereignty, and the values they ascribe to the international community. Many of the disagreements depend on whether a scholar prioritizes freedom and justice or equality and fairness, and whether they emphasize the natural and universal moral foundations of international law and legitimacy or base these foundations more procedurally on state consent and sovereign equality. Finally, scholarly disagreement about the Kosovo and Libya interventions stems from differing views on the existence and desirability of larger global trends, such as US hegemony, post-Cold War. As this paper aims to have policy and theoretical relevance, the implications for both elements are briefly considered in the conclusion. This paper is part of a project which examines how IR and IL scholars understand the relationship between international law and the use of force. The project ultimately explores what these views suggest about the nature of international authority in the world today, and what role military action can and should play in responding to human rights crises.

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### *Judicial Decision-making in Appeal Courts of Canada*

Since judges increasingly make important decisions that impact individuals and governments, the factors that shape their decisions has become of greater interest to social scientists. In Canada, the bulk of research into judicial decision making has been conducted on the Supreme Court of Canada. Although valuable, this research overlooks the judges who decide the vast majority of appeals in Canada—those who sit on provincial courts of appeal. To help address the paucity of research on the provincial court of appeal we propose studying appeal court decisions in select provinces from 2000-2010 to assess how political affiliation, gender, and professional background (of both individual judges and panels of judges) influence case outcomes. Empirically, we hope to shed light on whether correlations that have been found between such factors and decisions of the Canadian Supreme Court are similarly evident at the appeal court level. Comparisons will be made between provinces and also to research in other countries, primarily the US. Theoretically, the research aims to contribute to the discussion about why and how these factors (political affiliation, gender and professional background) influence decision making and how they should be conceptualized. Normatively, we will place our results within the larger context of judicial politics and governance by linking our findings back to issues concerning judicial selection.

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### *Canadian Foreign Policy and African State Formation: Responsibilities, Silences, Culpabilities*

Fresh analysis of Canada in Africa -- including peace operations in Suez and Congo, interventions in Somalia and Libya, and re-evaluations of NGOs, development and security assistance -- is a welcome trend. But there remains a dearth of theorizing and empirical research on the impact of Canada in African state-making. Between the poles of "punching above its weight" and an apprehension that Canada is less relevant than rhetoric suggests is a lack of attention to the impact of Canada on post-colonial African state formation. How has a middle power country such as Canada impacted African state formation, including its constitutional, economic, and military-security aspects? The study of Canadian foreign policy examines decision-making, causes, and policy outputs. The study of African politics and evolution of stateness includes aspects of direct foreign intervention and global structural forces but rarely captures the whole range of interventions by outside actors. That nexus between foreign policy analysis and state formation-evolution is a difficult analytical puzzle. Canada's initial relations with Ghana and Nigeria provide case studies of extensive engagement at a critical juncture of African state formation and the institutionalization of bilateral, multilateral, and non-governmental foreign policy tools and discourses. Incremental continuity, not radical change, emerged in Canadian relations with Africa influenced by a trajectory of optimism to crisis in both countries. Methodological pluralism and different levels of analysis are employed to assess the responsibilities, silences, and culpabilities of Canada in the production and maintenance of the post-colonial African extraverted or gate-keeper state.

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*Subordinated Bodies: Colonialism, Race, and Embodied Practice*

At the conceptual core of racism and colonialism we find a naturalized and normalized subjugation of bodies to minds. Coloniality and racism seize on the subjugated body as a living tool, material, expression, possession, and object of the colonizing mind. In this paper, I argue that contemporary post-colonial challenges, which target Enlightenment notions of reason, progress, and civilization, often leave intact a much deeper aspect of coloniality and racialization: the subordination of the body to description. Post-colonial literature, I suggest, as a tendency to redefine rather than disrupt the naturalized and hierarchical relationship between colonizing mind and colonized body. For even in work that explicitly takes up 'the body' as a point of departure in thinking about colonialism, the privileging of re-descriptions and narratives of difference effectively retains a theoretical subordination of the body to articulation, language, and ideas. I argue that coloniality does not require Enlightenment ideals of reason, cogito, progress or perfectibility; it only asks that we be attuned to how the body is spoken for while remaining unresponsive to the ways that the body speaks for itself in pain, grief, shame, happiness, need, as well as in convivial practices. I point to work that commits this error as well as work that offers a more promising route. I conclude by arguing that in turning to the meaning that inheres to embodied practices, we can avoid reproducing the body as a lacking, chaotic, inert, passive, silent, empty, and otherwise fungible material defined by intellectual play of ideas.

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*International Indigenous Rights? The Enduring Gap between Theory and Practice in Canada*

This paper highlights the inherent weakness in international law associated with the enforcement of indigenous peoples' rights, particularly to land and natural resources in Canada. Although the historic UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) suggests that indigenous rights norms have achieved prescriptive status in international law, the fact that Canada has demonstrated little interest in implementing it is discouraging. Starting with Risse and Sikkink's spiral model (1999)[1] this essay examines reasons that indigenous rights norms fail to spiral towards rule consistent behaviour. Historically indigenous people have tried to strengthen the normative value of their claims by tying them to others. This has been done through collaboration with both progressive leftist and environmental movements. Yet while some gains have been made, this has not been enough. The historical peculiarities of colonialism in Canada, and the need to achieve an otherwise impossible balance between indigenous rights and state interests demands greater intervention in state affairs than would otherwise be tolerated. Given these limitations, possible avenues of remedy will be considered.[1] [1] Thomas Risse & Kathryn Sikkink, *The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms into Domestic Practices: Introduction*, in *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* 5 (Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp & Kathryn Sikkink eds., 1999).

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*When does self-regulation matter? Biomedical self-regulation in comparative perspective*

This paper analyses the impact of self-regulation on public policies for assisted reproductive technologies in European and North-American countries. Self-regulation generally precedes public policies and can be conceived as intermediary variable having an impact on public policies. Our comparison analyses under what conditions self-regulation influences public policies. In some cases, the medical profession has succeeded in protecting its self-regulatory powers from state intervention, i.e. they remained both the main rule-makers and -takers. In other cases, they have been influential actors who through their expertise and self-regulatory practice considerably influenced public regulation of assisted reproduction. Again in other cases, their self-regulatory practice has been replaced through public policies that go beyond or against their profession's self-regulation. In this article, we analyse how the interaction of organizational factors with policy process specific variables explains why self-regulation matters for public policies in some cases, but not in others. The results of our analysis help us to better understand the variation in forms of private and public rule-making from a comparative perspective.

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*Learning From the Fast Rise and Denouement of Occupy Wall Street*

Occupy Wall Street (OWS) was a particularly impactful instance of continued tactical escalation among Left social movements (Occupation of the Wisconsin State Capitol to protest Governor Walker's ultimately successful curtailment of collective bargaining rights in February 2011, occupations of campuses in California to protest tuition hikes and generalized austerity from 2009 onward; and mass civil disobedience in Washington DC protesting the Keystone XL pipeline in the summer of 2011). The speed with which OWS changed the continental conversation from one focused on austerity to one centered on economic inequality is impressive. Midway through the occupation Elliot Spitzer remarked how "suddenly, the issues of equity, fairness, justice, income distribution&hellip;issues all but ignored for a generation-are front and center&hellip;until these protests, no political figure or movement had made Americans pay attention to these facts in a meaningful way." While OWS' discursive gains persist, the movement that exploded one year ago is now under the radar. The spectacular rise of OWS, but also its swift denouement, have sparked important debates about social movement strategy in the current conjuncture. In this paper we unpack the OWS event and the key Left debates it has accelerated. We locate five features that contributed to Occupy's swift success, but also its denouement (horizontalism, non-specificity, populism, physicality, and militant non-violence). Our argument is that contemporary movements for ecological and social justice have much to learn from the context-specific ways these features can both strengthen and weaken movement activity.

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*"Mediating the Link Between the Economy and the Vote: The Impact of the Electoral System and Abstention on Economic Voting"*

The assumption in economic voting is that citizens reward or punish their governments based on their management of the economy. However it has not been established what affect the electoral system has on this relationship. This paper argues that the electoral system strengthens or weakens the economic vote by way of determining the party supply and competition at the district level and thereby determining whether citizens have an opportunity to voice their discontent (for negative economic voting). And currently the economic voting model does not properly predict the strength of the relationship because it has not accounted for the possibility that lieu of an opposition party to vote for a citizen is likely to abstain. Using individual and district-level data for Spain and Great Britain, this paper shows that the relationship between the state of the economy and electoral choices is mediated by the effect of the electoral system: as the electoral system conditions the choices available to voters at the district-level, the economic vote will strengthen or weaken, depending on the number of viable parties.

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*Canadian Provincial Voting Behaviour: Birds of a Feather?*

This paper uses provincial election data drawn from seven provincial elections held between 2011 and 2012 to assess provincial vote choice. Drawing from vote choice explanations derived from Canadian federal elections (see Blais et al. 2002; Gidengil et al. 2012) this study offers a unique opportunity to explore how well federal level voting explanations hold at the provincial level. We also examine cross-provincial differences in individual level vote calculus. Specifically, we consider two models of vote choice: the “bloc-recursive” model and the valence model. Assessments are made to evaluate the ability of each approach to explain provincial vote choice and comparisons are drawn at the provincial level to examine whether a “one-model-fits-all” explanation of vote choice is applicable to the Canadian provinces. As one of the first empirical works to examine cross-provincial differences in vote behaviour, this study makes an important contribution in the field of Canadian voting behaviour and provincial politics.

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*Do politicians benefit from the distributional consequences of successful legislation? A natural experiment using the 1973-1976 Swedish Parliamentary lottery*

Successfully passed legislation has two consequences. First, it signals some minimum level of political or ideological support for a politician's positions. Second, passed legislation often results in a change in the distribution of government resources of either money or rights. While politicians may benefit politically and materially through either of these mechanisms, we cannot normally distinguish between the two effects. Using a unique feature of the Swedish parliament, we are able to isolate the distributional consequences of passing legislation. Following the 1973 election, the Swedish parliament was evenly split between government and opposition. This led to a relatively large number of bills which were tied and were passed or defeated according to a lottery. Since passage is random, the only average difference between these bills are their distributional consequences. Using later electoral data and individual-level personal income tax records, we compare the political and material personal consequences of passing legislation.

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*Rethinking a Canadian Cabinet Manual: What it IS and What it IS NOT*

Since the 2008 prorogation crisis there has been interest in Canada in emulating the two Westminster parliamentary democracies, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, that have developed publicly accessible cabinet manuals on important conventions of parliamentary and cabinet government. The author's close involvement in the Canadian discussion of cabinet manuals has led him to rethink what they can and cannot achieve. This paper will analyze the potential benefits as well as the limitations of such cabinet manuals, and the political problems of producing a Canadian cabinet manual. It will argue that while a cabinet manual cannot serve as a rule-book that will avoid constitutional crises, it can serve as an important instrument of public education on the principles of parliamentary democracy. It will assess the political possibilities in Canada of securing at the federal or provincial level the political consensus needed to make a cabinet manual possible. This paper aims to make a significant contribution to the theory and practice of the so-called “unwritten” part of Canada's constitution.

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*Revisiting Carrothers: Settler society and constitutional development in the Northwest Territories*

This paper examines the political legacy of the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories (Carrothers Commission) for settler society in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories (NWT). The late 1960s were a turning point for the non-Indigenous population of the Mackenzie as its population grew and economic prospects expanded. This paper argues that the political project of those settlers was the development of a new political order centred in the territory; the political integration of Indigenous peoples into that order; and the eventual creation of a province in Canada's northwest. This political project finds its voice in the Carrothers Commission. Using extensive archival research, this paper outlines the origins of the Carrothers Commission, its proceedings, and findings. It locates Carrothers in the political discourse of non-Indigenous peoples in the NWT and within the broader political economy. It concludes by arguing that Carrothers put settler society on a political trajectory in opposition to Indigenous struggles for self-determination and resulted in the acrimonious political climate of the NWT in the 1970s and 1980s.

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*Two steps forward, one step back: Faith Organizing and Party Politics in the Harper Era*

What is the current relationship between faith communities and party politics at the federal level in Canada? There has been much discussion in the media as to whether religious organizations and faith perspectives have significant influence with the Conservative government that began in 2006. This paper scrutinizes this claim, using extensive interviews with parliamentarians, journalists, and leaders of religious organizations to explore faith organizing around moral issues at the federal level. The paper first presents a snapshot of Conservative Christian organizations and their relationships with political parties, public institutions, and the media in Ottawa. We first map institutional linkages, funding arrangements, and activist/policy coordination among these organizations, their constituencies, and political parties. We then develop this analysis by examining the politics around the issue of abortion as demonstrated during the debate over the G8 Maternal and Child Health Initiative as well MP Stephen Woodworth's Motion 312 regarding when human life begins. We find that faith-based organizations have become more accepted as legitimate stakeholders within federal politics since the Conservative government took office, and have become more numerous and sophisticated through this period. However, such acceptance and sophistication does not equate to a guarantee of policy victories. Instead, the Conservative government has only adopted certain symbolic policies favoured by faith organizations, while rigidly resisting significant policy changes that would affect the majority of Canadians.

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*Interculturalism, Economic Development and Aboriginal Policy: the Quebec case, 2002-2012*

In recent years, the Quebec government has put forward its Plan Nord, a massive endeavor of economic development north of the 49th parallel, which covers nearly three quarters of Quebec's land mass. Most of that area is home to many Aboriginal communities, which the government likes to present as partners and key beneficiaries of Plan Nord, using the vocabulary of interculturalism and donning the cloak of reciprocity and collaboration between cultures. On the basis of an analysis of briefs presented to the Commission des Institutions of the National Assembly in 2003 (at the time a major land claims agreement was being negotiated with the Innus, one of the Aboriginal nations currently included today in Plan Nord) and of key government documents on Aboriginal policy developed since, this paper will argue that the intercultural intent of the government is largely a smokescreen, a nice sounding fiction that conceals the fundamental unwillingness of both Quebec society and the government to consider Aboriginal communities as true partners. In fact, existing documentary evidence points to a pervasive tendency among Quebec's white-settlers communities to perceive Aboriginal peoples both as economic competitors and as a threat to the full realization of Quebecois identity. The paper will explore the various threads of what is, at heart, a narrative of whiteness and socio-cultural hegemony. It will serve as well as a case study of the limits and contradictions of interculturalism as a model of liberal democratic management of ethnocultural diversity.

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*Deliberation in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Challenges and Opportunities*

Although Ukraine managed to avoid violent conflict in post-Soviet times, its society is still divided and composed of Ukrainian- and Russian-cultured groups, as well as a middle group of Russian-speaking Ukrainians. Besides language these groups are divided by the interpretations of the past and foreign policy orientations. Against this background this paper discusses the feasibility of deliberative democracy for fostering social cohesion in Ukraine as a case of a divided society in transition. The analysis draws on interviews (conducted as part of my doctoral dissertation fieldwork) with Russian and Ukrainian communities in several cities of Ukraine, and policy-makers and experts in inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine. These respondents shared their visions of the other, their readiness to talk about the divisive issues, and their views on whether such talk is possible and needed. The paper argues that while deliberative democracy is a promising mechanism for achieving a vibrant and stable polity, and although instances of deliberation helped Ukraine avoid ethnic violence in the past, there are significant barriers to the implementation of deliberative democracy in post-Soviet Ukraine. Among them, in particular, are the linguistic divide, that cannot be easily overcome, a drastic gap in "facts" "known" by the two sides, and a widely shared view that dialogue is useless and/or impossible. The paper discusses the challenges and opportunities for deliberation in Ukraine and suggests implications for broader contexts, if not universal - at least for other post-Soviet and/or transition societies undergoing multiple and simultaneous transformations in diverse social settings.

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*Finding the Oppressors and the Oppressed: Self-determination and Tyranny in Opposing Discourses of Ukrainian and Russian Cultures in Ukraine*

This paper questions the possibility of identifying the oppressed and the oppressors in inter-cultural relations by looking at Ukrainian and Russian groups in Ukraine. It explores their discourses in which both sides see themselves oppressed. As it is difficult to name the oppressor it asks whether historical truth or available political theory models can address the needs of groups that both feel oppressed. The analysis is based on interviews with both groups' representatives in 7 Ukrainian cities. I illuminate the temporal dimension of justice claims of both groups and their simultaneous legitimacy. I argue that emancipatory Western political theory (e.g. multiculturalism) is only partly in line with anti-imperial agenda of the formerly colonized (Ukrainians). Its normative goals diverge from the colonized in their need to restore their violated rights. Neither multiculturalism nor nation-building is accepted by wide enough groups of society. Then how can society pursue a common future? I discuss the possibility of engaging deliberative democracy, yet also emphasize the problems of its feasibility in the explored context. This analysis, first, challenges the area literature that focuses on finding historical truth. In contrast, I am less interested in who is right but rather ask whether reconciliation is possible, and if so - on what ground. Second, this work promotes a more nuanced perspective on deliberative democracy, multiculturalism and nation-building based on their interpretation in European yet post-colonial settings of post-Soviet Ukraine.

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*Representing Issue Based Publics: Mechanisms for Public Participation Processes*

Policy public participation mechanisms are designed to provide decision-makers with more robust information concerning public opinion on particular policy issues. Typically such participation processes are designed to achieve demographic representation of a given jurisdiction. In some cases, such as British Columbia's Citizen's Assembly on Electoral Reform, this is appropriate as the boundaries of representation lines up the geographic scope of the potential impacts of the decision. With other policy areas, such as environmental policy, the boundaries do not coincide as easily. In other words, policy decisions are made that have impact on people that may not necessarily have an opportunity to have a say in the decision. If the geographic boundaries of jurisdictions are arbitrary with regard to the impacts of particular policy areas, then an alternative mechanism is needed to better assess the interests of those who may be impacted. Such participation processes for transnational issue-based publics require an alternative method of representation. This paper will first develop a theoretical framework to compare the different methods of representation attending to issues of comprehensiveness of representation, feasibility, and the legitimacy of representation. This paper will then compare and evaluate several alternative representation methods which could potentially be employed for transnational issue-based public participation processes: all-affected, directly affected and discursive representation. The result will be a clear evaluation of the different strengths and weaknesses to allow public participation practitioners the ability to extend the representation of public participation processes to better align with the scope of impacts.

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*Cheese: Passport Photos*

The invention of the modern passport illustrates the capacity of objects to act in global politics, and, in particular, the categories and practices of bordering that are enabled by a set of material technologies. The passport assemblage had an equal impact on the practices of identification, rendering certain kinds of claim to identity and rights possible. Previous studies on the history of the passport have focused on the development of the state and its apparatus, and analyze the passport as a way for states to "embrace" its population, to control mobile populations, or to manage the circulation of people, resources, ideas, and threats (Torpey 2000, Lloyd 2003, Salter 2003). This article uses the insights of Latour, Law, and Bennett to argue that the material of the passport has political effects, and specifically to demonstrate how the assemblage of bureaucratic, technological and scientific practices functions to make certain kinds of politics possible (Latour 2005, Law 2004, Bennett 2010).

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*Media Coverage of the 2011-2012 Provincial Elections*

Many Canadians still rely on newspapers for information, particularly during elections. Moreover, newspapers either online or in print remain important agenda setters for politicians on the campaign trail. This paper compares the election coverage of newspapers located in the capital cities of PEI, Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan and Ontario during their provincial elections of 2011. I examine the level of coverage given to the "horse race" -- with a focus on winners, losers and campaign gaffes and compare it to coverage on the issues that evolved over the campaign period. Moreover, using polling information, I compare the issues identified by the electorate to the issues covered by the newspapers to see if there is a correlation between the two. Did the papers accurately reflect the concerns of their reading public? This is significant because in Canada there has been little analysis done comparing election coverage to voters' concerns and there have been few comparative projects of media coverage across provinces. This paper will therefore fill a significant gap in the literature.

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*Redistributing Habitus? Bourdieu, practical sense and democratic deliberation*

The deliberative turn in democratic theory has allowed political theorists to articulate a normative account of effective participation in democratic practices to improved democratic decision-making. Yet, advocates of deliberative approaches have had to grapple with objections raised by critical theorists, radical democrats, and other critics who have demonstrated that deliberative approaches often rely on an overly narrow conception of legitimate forms of expression, underestimate the extent to which social authority (based on race, class, gender, and so on) displaces rational justifications in deliberation, and fails to attend to the importance of confrontation rather than consensus in democratic practice. This paper intervenes in these debates by taking up one of Pierre Bourdieu's critiques of liberal democratic theory. Specifically, Bourdieu argued that liberalism conflates moral equality with practical equality and is therefore unable to develop sufficiently power-sensitive democratic models. The paper has two main sections. In the first I contrast Bourdieu's accumulative model of selfhood (habitus) as a site of unequal distributions of 'cultural capital' or practical know-how to the main deliberative conceptions of the deliberative subject. Following Bourdieu I argue that the uneven distribution of practical know-how in terms of the ability to formulate, consider, and articulate political perspectives presents important challenges to deliberative models. In the second section I move beyond Bourdieu by examining the specific challenges of applying egalitarian and redistributive principles to a social scene where the resources requiring equalization are the embodied dispositions and practical sense of the habitus.

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*Speciesism as the Ur-Modality of Herrenvolk Politics, or, Can Nonhuman Animals Be Slaves?*

While it is plain that human beings dominate the other sentient species, few theorists have considered this dominance as the expression of a political relation. In this paper, I make the case for interpreting the human-nonhuman animal relation in the first instance as a master-slave relation, i.e. as a relation in which nonhuman beings are viewed and treated as subordinates within a system of power and violent subordination. Speciesism, on this view, is not so much as a "prejudice" or ideology, but rather a form of what Charles W. Mills elsewhere

terms Herrenvolk politics, viz., a political order founded on the systematic domination, exploitation, and even killing of particular groups of subjects, the latter having been deemed biologically "inferior" by the hegemonic group. As others have observed, speciesism historically has served as the discursive and cultural preparation for both slavery as well as modern genocides. I argue that speciesism is in fact the primordial or Ur-modality of human mass violence, its originary and sustaining moment. I extend this line of critique by suggesting, furthermore, that speciesism itself is a form of Herrenvolk politics. Our most characteristic way of relating to nonhuman beings is as masters to slaves within a total system of power. Animals exploited in circuses, in zoos, in fields, and so on, are not being treated "like" slaves: they really are slaves.

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*Good girls, bad girls and 'caring' global policy: sex trafficking and feminist international ethics*

While global governance policies such as the United Nations Trafficking Protocol may be a 'good thing' in theory, in reality, it is a bad way to curb a terrible practice. Current attempts to stop sex trafficking impose a pre-existing moral template characterized by an anti-prostitution stance, with surprising cross-cultural consistency. This 'ideal' policy is a bargain at two for the price of one- putting an end to an immoral activity and stopping sex trafficking in the process. This paper shall argue that governance policy that is divorced from the context of real lives is a fallacy. With regard to sex trafficking, it accomplishes very little and hurts a lot. Drawing on a critical moral ethnography of sex trafficking in women from Nepal to India and within India itself based on empirical data gathered over the past 2 years, I shall use an ethic of care to demonstrate how the subjects of anti-sex trafficking governance policy ought to be the source for the latter's design. Rather than attempting to regulate sexuality, policy that is based on an ideal value of enabling autonomy can be an achievable international governance solution that does not cast moral judgment or distinguish among 'good' and 'bad' professions.

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*Metis Harvesting Rights in Canada: the Unfulfilled Promise of s. 35*

In September 2012, the Manitoba Métis Federation announced that it had partnered with the Manitoba government on a new harvesting agreement. Recognizing and affirming the rights of Manitoba Métis to hunt and fish for food - albeit only in designated areas of the province - the agreement follows years of negotiation and litigation sparked by the provincial court case of R. v. Goodon in 2004. While the Manitoba agreement was lauded by Métis leaders across the country, the acknowledgement and implementation of Métis harvesting rights in Canada remains sporadic and ad hoc at best. This is despite the fact that the 2003 Supreme Court ruling in R. v. Powley recognized and affirmed the Métis as a distinct Aboriginal people with existing rights protected by s. 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, including the right to harvest. In the intervening years since the landmark Powley decision, however, provincial governments have generally remained resistant to fully recognizing Métis harvesting rights, and to negotiating agreements respecting these rights in partnership with Métis Nation governments. What has thus emerged is a patchwork of approaches and policies that vary from province to province. This paper will examine the state of Métis harvesting rights in Canada today, and assess some of the reasons why, in the case of the Métis, the promise of their s. 35 constitutional rights remains unfulfilled to this day.

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*Cappuccino Conservatives: Choice and the role of Government*

Over the last thirty years, the conservative movement in Canada has mobilized a wide-ranging campaign to challenge the belief that government and collective action is a valuable and important element of Canadian society. While this effort has sometimes been coordinated, the specific discursive strategies have varied over time and across sites (e.g. think tank sphere, mediascape, formal political sphere). Moreover, in the contemporary current context it is best conceptualized as a diffuse set of rhetorical habits that are reproduced organically, across a variety of networked spheres, issues and actors, but without direction from any specific hub or organization. This paper seeks to analyze and outline these key rhetorical strategies of persuasion. Based in a rigorous mixed method approach that qualitatively analyzed and quantitatively coded over 2000 discrete texts written over the last 5 years by conservative media pundits, politicians, academics and think tanks, this paper will outline some of the key patterns (e.g. explicit arguments, values, and narratives, etc) of conservative discourse in regard its vision of the role of government. The paper will focus particularly on discourse regarding taxation and regulation, as these are two areas that are most-often jumping off points for larger discussions of the role of government. It will argue that while there are a number of variants of conservative discourse, the dominant trend is an amalgamation we might call 'cappuccino conservatism' due to its appeal to 'choice', and a constellation of arguments and narratives that compliment it, to justify its position.

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*Electoral choices in mature and consolidating European democracies*

In large-scale polities such as contemporary nation states, democracy can hardly be organised by way of direct participation of citizens in political decision making. For the most part, democracy means representative democracy here, and general elections provide the linkage mechanism between the citizenry at large and political elites. Using data from the first four rounds of the ESS (2002 - 2008), this paper tests how the material preconditions of representative democracy have evolved in mature electoral systems of Western Europe, and in the consolidating systems of post-communist Eastern Europe. The main findings of the paper suggest that two decades after the breakdown of communism, the party systems of Eastern Europe are still in a state of relative flux, and citizens' criteria for vote choice there are still very much of a circumstantial rather than a structural nature. Social-structural cleavages, stable party alignments, and ideological foundations of the vote are generally much weaker in post-communist Eastern Europe than they are in the West of the continent.

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*The Impact of Direct Democracy on State Spending Priorities*

This paper examines whether direct democracy mechanisms influence the ways state governments allocate resources across different policy areas. Existing research on this topic has produced mixed and contradictory results. In this study, we use data from 1992 through 2008 to test the impact of institutions like the ballot initiative and popular referendum on state spending priorities. The empirical results show that, in such direct democracy states, there is a stronger connection between the political orientations of the state electorate and governmental policy. Specifically, states with liberal populations devote larger proportions of their budgets to particularized benefits while conservative states focus their spending on collective goods. Based upon this evidence, we conclude that direct democracy institutions do, in fact, enhance governmental responsiveness to public opinion.

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*The case of the missing local climate change policy*

Are local governments bastions of progressive climate change policy? Despite the success stories of environmentally innovative cities across the globe, many large cities do not have impressive climate change mitigation or adaptation records. If we are to explain how and why some municipalities have successfully implemented climate policy initiatives, we must also explore the negative cases. Why have some cities been left behind? Through the lens of local decision-making processes, this paper examines one example of a city where climate policy is limited: Winnipeg, Manitoba. It explores the decisions made by Winnipeg politicians and staff in areas where the city did not follow the examples of municipal climate policy leaders. What factors led to the divergence in outcomes between Winnipeg and other large Canadian cities such as Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa? Is public opinion different in Winnipeg? Are politicians less concerned about climate change? Do city institutions prevent action? In answering these questions I use process tracing techniques to provide a detailed analysis of data gathered from a wide range of primary government sources as well as interviews with City politicians, staff, and NGOs. Understanding why the City of Winnipeg has failed to implement a stringent climate policy regime may allow us to shed light on the observed variation in climate policy among local governments, both within and outside Canada.

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*Explaining Regional Variation in Canadian Popular Support for Redistributive Public Policies*

Current trends in the macroeconomies of advanced industrial democracies and the results of the 2011 Canadian election raise important questions about Canadians' attitudes towards redistributive public policies. This paper investigates regional variations in Canadians' preferences for generalized income equalization and the provision of adequate living standards. Evidence indicates that Atlantic Canadians and Quebecers are much more likely to support redistribution than those from the Rest of Canada, while Albertans are the least likely. Surprisingly, these variations are only modestly attributable to differences in micro-level economic factors like income or employment status or to differences in micro-level beliefs in economic self-determination or the efficiency of the market. While these factors are an important source of divergence for Atlantic Canadians, a strong difference in the impact of moral traditionalism is also important. Nationalist sentiment is a key determinant that differentiates Quebecers' outlooks, while the impact of age is also critical. Young Quebecers are much more likely to support redistributive politics than their English-Canadian counterparts. For Albertans, a lag in the adoption of feminist values plays a central role distinguishing these from the Rest of Canadians' policy preferences. One economic factor, however, is significant. Consistent with institutionalist welfare-state regime theory, cross-provincial variations in income inequality is an important macro-level determinant of public support for redistribution.

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*Provincial Nominee Immigration Programs: The Return of the Pendulum?*

Under a 1991 agreement, Quebec obtained the power to select all economic immigrants to the province. In response to pressure from some other provinces, the federal government launched the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Although the federal government must approve nominees, the participating governments' selection role is quite similar to Quebec's. Since the initial (1996) agreements, all provinces and territories except Quebec and Nunavut have joined. By 2011, PNP admissions represented 25% of all economic immigrants. In the context of province building, this paper will illustrate that the PNPs had multiple objectives - i.e. provincial governments were not simply seeking greater 'power'. Key objectives were increasing the share of immigrants to the smaller provinces and attracting workers (e.g. lower skilled) who do not easily qualify under the federal points system. The varying objectives are reflected in the PNP agreements, all of which are bilateral & minus; an example of asymmetrical federalism in practice. The paper will draw on interviews with provincial government officials, particularly from smaller provinces. Data on the numbers and skill levels of entrants by province/territory are available from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, notably from the 2012 PNP evaluation. The paper will report the following main findings: 1) the PNP is now institutionalized, has perhaps exceeding initial expectations and is creating some tensions with the federal government; 2) it has helped alter the distribution of new immigrants among the other provinces; 3) for some provinces, e.g. Manitoba, it has reinforced broader objectives such as population growth.

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*Public Spaces as Sites for Radical Pedagogy*

In this paper, we suggest that the work of Banksy, a London-based graffiti artist, is a pedagogical tool that can be used to disrupt the notion of democratic and free spaces. In particular, we argue that Banksy's images are pedagogical tools that can help foster important discussions about these often taken for granted notions. Given that public spaces are becoming increasingly controlled and surveilled, the possibilities for creative political expression is being diminished. We suggest that Banksy's street art provides opportunities for political and cultural engagement among citizens and opportunities for educators interested in social justice issues in the classroom. For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on the depiction of children and the use of the wall as a creative canvas. Our discussion will draw on the concept Thirdspace by Soja. Our paper engages with the political notion of public spaces, and how this notion can be disrupted through graffiti art, as well as with the notion that reading the visual can be used as a critical pedagogical practice.

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*The Case of Air India: Borders, Nations, and Transnational Violence*

Drawing on newspapers and Air India Inquiry reports, and utilizing a Foucauldian discourse analysis, this paper examines what the 1985 Air India bombings reveal about borders, nations, citizenship, and violence. The research questions are: What does the case of Air India reveal about our understanding of borders, nations, and transnational violence? How does Air India embody the theoretical relationship among citizenship, nation, and race in Canada? The 1985 bombings were a Canadian catastrophe: the majority of victims were Canadians; the bombs originated from Canada; and a number of the suspects were Canadian. In the immediate aftermath, Canada's then Prime Minister responded by sending condolences to the Government of India, and victims' families reported that they were not perceived as Canadians. In the post-9/11 period, state officials have emphasized the terrorist element of Air India and victims and surviving families have been embraced as Canadian; however, suspected motivations behind the attacks continue to be attributed to Indian politics, suspects continue to be framed as non-Canadians, and the denial racism played a role in state responses prevails. This paper explores these contradictions. This research is part of a larger project that utilizes critical race and critical feminist race theorizations to examine the Air India story. Few academic studies interrogate what this case reveals about how we understand borders, nations, and citizenship (Failler 2012; Soni and Varadharajan 2012). This project aims to partially address this literature gap thereby contributing to cutting edge scholarship that examines borders and nations in a globalized world.

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*The Conflation of Migration with Colonialism in Contemporary Indigenous Politics*

This paper examines the deep antagonism toward migration and migrants evident in some (but certainly not all) indigenous studies scholarship where an acceptance - and valorization - of ideologies of nationalism and national sovereignties has served to conflate processes of migration with those of colonization. Thus, for instance, a growing number of scholars have termed enslaved persons from Africa, indentured servants from Asia, as well as contemporary migrants (ranging in status from "illegal" to "citizen"), including people with indigenous status living outside of their historic spaces, as "settler colonists." Hence, the mere presence of those construed as 'non-native' is seen as tantamount to the practice of colonialism. In contrast, those attributed indigenous status are seen as specially and exclusively rooted to lands in such a way as to deny any movement or mobility on their part. Such conceptualizations of indigeneity represent people's migrations as inherently destructive and, in the neo-racist discourse of 'Each People in Their Place' (or, perhaps more accurately, 'Each Nation in its State'), as deeply polluting. This works to legitimate a particular politics of decolonization that has anti-migration and the consequent search for 'national purity' as its base logic, ironically replicating precisely the colonialist logic that needs to be challenged. Though these cultural logics may now be dominant, I explore three epistemological shifts needed to understand and undo the contemporary divisions created between those constituted as either indigenous or as migrants. First, we require the two-fold deconstruction of the social practices that simultaneously create both homelands and homelessness and an ethical-political reconstruction of what has variously been called the "motley crew" or the "multitude." Second, and relatedly, I argue for the rejection of the statist promise of "self determination" that is tethered to bourgeois ideologies of nationhood and sovereignty. Lastly, I argue for the necessity of challenging states' claims to having sovereign rights over people.

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*Theory vs. Practice: Community Engaged Scholarship, Experiential Learning, & the Case of the JSGS Policy Shop*

Social science faculties across Canada are being pushed in two potentially antithetical directions; produce research which is more solution-orientated than the historical norm, and train graduates who are better equipped to participate in an economy where effectiveness and productivity are paramount. Addressing these challenges in a synthesized fashion, by combining the processes of Community Engaged Scholarship (CES) and Experiential Learning (EL), can help overcome the opposed push/pull imperatives of these forces. In brief, CES is focused on establishing partnerships with communities outside the academy in order to generate research which is focused on meeting collaboratively-defined community needs, while EL emphasizes the role of practical experience in developing the foundations of knowledge. From 2011, the JSGS has worked to deliver a combined CES/EL experience via the doctoral-student directed Policy Shop, a not-for-profit consultancy which provides research, analytic, and strategic services to community groups who lack the capacity to carry out these functions themselves. In the course of delivering services to various community partners, the directors of the Policy Shop have reflexively contrasted their practical experiences against the theoretical foundations of CES and EL, thus generating a thicker, observationally-based understanding of how such scholarship can meet community needs while simultaneously providing graduate students with a sharper picture of how political, social, and economic forces shape the working reality of the communities within those

spheres. The dual outcomes are social science research projects expressly designed to solve problems, and graduate students who are better prepared for careers in research-oriented fields.

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*A Dilemma of Abundance: Climate Change and Unconventional Gas in British Columbia*

The magnitude of the challenge of mitigating climate change is profound: both our physical and political infrastructure are structured around fossil fuels that still comprise over 80% of world energy use. Unconventional fossil fuel reserves are still being discovered and exploited, and production to date remains far from the possible ultimate recovery. Under these conditions, the decisions of jurisdictions with unconventional fossil fuel resources have significant implications for the trajectory of our global energy system towards - or away from - a sustainable energy future. We here explore what is at stake in this moment in British Columbia, a province with massive unconventional natural gas reserves and ambitious plans to develop a Liquefied Natural Gas export industry. Against the backdrop of a depressed continental gas market and competitive, fast-moving global LNG market, the Province has pushed to scale up production and secure investment quickly in the absence of an arena for public consultation or a regulatory structure to manage for cumulative environmental impacts. Instead, the Province seeks legitimacy for the industry by framing BC as a "clean energy powerhouse." Through the BC case, we explore how the momentum of the fossil fuel industry challenges the capacity of a neoliberal state to control development adequately to benefit its own population and achieve democratic legitimacy. This dilemma moves BC towards a crisis point in which the political and ecological futures of our energy system must be renegotiated.

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*Evolving norms of protection: China, Libya, and the problem of civilians in armed conflict*

China's response to the 2011 crisis in Libya informs critical questions on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. First, what norms are involved in remedying civilians in armed conflict. Second, how tensions between competing normative frameworks are addressed when this problem is at stake. While Libya is typically seen as a case of the Responsibility to Protect, for China, this norm lacks a foundation in international law necessary for it to permit interventionary action. Instead, in justifying its vote on international intervention in Libya, China invoked a broader framework within the United Nations, the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict. This framework, however, does not accommodate the evacuation of China's nationals from Libya. This Protection of Nationals Abroad mission appears to clash with China's invariable insistence on sovereignty and non-interference.

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*Effects of Municipal Mergers in Japan*

Japanese central government promoted several reforms of the local government system in the era of decentralization in the 2000s. As part of reforms, there was a large wave of municipal mergers, called "the great Heisei mergers" (Heisei no Daigappei) from 2003 to 2006, which led to the swift, nationwide reduction of municipalities. The ministry of internal affairs and communications of Japan (MIC) showed that municipal mergers become possible to implement more effective community development and upgrading of public services. However, do municipal mergers really affect democracy, efficiency, and public services? The purpose of this paper is to examine the effects of Municipal Mergers in Japan. In order to estimate the effects of Municipal Mergers, it is necessary to compare the results obtained from merged municipalities (experimental groups) against not-merged municipalities (control groups), which is practically identical to the merged municipalities. Therefore, I attempt to estimate the effects of municipal mergers as the difference of democracy, efficiency, and public service indexes between experimental groups and control groups, using propensity score analysis.

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*Legislative-Society Linkages: Barriers to Civic Engagement and Societal Integration and its Impact on MPPs and their Staff*

This paper will explore the accessibility of legislative processes and institutions in Ontario for MPPs and their staff. This is part of a broader concern about the political integration of nontraditional political actors into the important provincial political institutions. This paper will examine the representation of not only single categories of nontraditional political participants but also subgroups that have two or more characteristics not usually present in proportional numbers among legislators and their staff. This research will be supplemented by interviews with MPPs and staff with nontraditional characteristics. These interviews will provide information on experiences in dealing with informal barriers to civic engagement and political integration as well as evaluations and reflections on these experiences. This research is interested in how various background factors present challenges in developing society-legislative linkages. These factors include language spoken at home and the culture of recent arrivals to Canada, the role of civic education and postsecondary education, family involvement in political life, socioeconomic background, and making people with nontraditional backgrounds welcome in Ontario civic life. Hopefully the research reported in this paper will help increase, at a faster rate, minorities now underrepresented in civic affairs to overcome the barriers to civic engagement and political integration in Ontario.

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*Public Policy and Local Immigrant Organizations in the U.S. and Canada*

Canada is often looked-upon as a model by U.S. observers, when it comes to integration programs, and there is evidence of knowledge-transfer and modeling by U.S. nonprofits of Canadian programs. In both countries, there has been increased professionalization and self-awareness of belonging to an integration sector. In Canada, a consensus about the economic value of immigrants contrasts with a U.S. context focused on security and undocumented immigrants, and lack of consensus on the value of immigrants. While Canadian

organizations enjoy relatively consistent and high levels of federal funding and have developed capacity and expertise, they struggle to help immigrants who do not fit the government model of integration. Local organizations either accept these limitations on service provision, or design creative work-arounds that conform to their own understanding of their integration mission. Their reliance on federal funding means they are vulnerable in the current Canadian context of budget cuts because they lack the diversity of funding sources that U.S. organizations are forced to develop. U.S. organizations, on the other hand, piece together funding, often “adding” immigration issues to other organizational purposes. A fragmented organizational landscape has emerged, working either on legal services and advocacy or on bread-and-butter integration issues like education and jobs. U.S. organizations have facility in confronting, and raising awareness of racial and ethnic injustice in a way that Canadian organizations do not, despite the perception among many integration workers that racial/ethnic discrimination hinders integration. The paper draws on field research conducted in Ottawa and Newark with immigrant organizations.

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*Francis Bacon and the Democratic Teloi of Animals*

W. Kymlicka and S. Donaldson’s work *Zoopolis* raises deep questions concerning the relationship of subjects inhabiting liberal-democracies to sentient animals. The account in *Zoopolis* is fundamentally emotivist: animals are subjects we can emotively interact with as fellow citizens. In part (i) of my paper I shall explore the extent to which any emotivist grounding of citizenship is problematic. In part (ii) I shall turn to a philosopher typically associated with the scientific instrumentalization of nature, Francis Bacon, to retrieve a more substantial theory of humankind’s relationship to animal life. I shall investigate Bacon’s retelling and interpretation of the myths of Pan and Prometheus to explicate his view that in an un-Aristotelian purposeless (a-telic) world, the purposelessness of animals is shared by animals and humans alike. Yet man is composite, and with the gift of art we can track his difference with animals and delineate the demands of gratitude for this gift as they relate to man’s fellow animals. Bacon teaches us many lessons on respecting our differences and commonalities with animals, so that unlike Prometheus we do not disrespect the implications of the contingency of our gift and avoid the pride that can cause us to see that it is to our shame that we with “all of those arts cannot transfer to [ourselves] what nature has lavished on many other animals”.

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*La Régie de l'énergie du Québec après 15 ans : quel bilan de cette expérience de régulation?*

Dans de la plupart des pays occidentaux, le domaine de l'électricité a connu d'importantes réformes au cours des deux dernières décennies et différents dispositifs de régulation ont vu le jour. La communication propose de rendre compte des transformations de ce domaine au Québec, en Ontario et en Colombie-Britannique. La situation d'origine, les effets de transfert et le mimétisme, l'influence américaine, les contextes politiques provinciaux et les spécificités des acteurs et réseaux concernés sont dans un premier temps les dimensions explorées pour rendre compte des trajectoires observables. Dans un deuxième temps, la communication propose de qualifier ses instruments d'action publique (Lascoumes et Le Galès, 2004), notamment les instruments participatifs, afin de témoigner de la gouvernance énergétique qu'ils impliquent (Salamon, 2002, Theys, 2003). Quels choix d'instruments, d'outils et de techniques ont été faits? Quelles pratiques et quelles mutations des instruments dans la mise en œuvre et leur institutionnalisation depuis? Cette communication est en lien avec l'atelier 8, notamment en ce qui concerne les questions : - Quel est l'impact des réformes de la nouvelle gestion publique dans les provinces? - Quelles pratiques novatrices ont été introduites dans l'administration publique au niveau des provinces? - Comment et dans quelle mesure les provinces coopèrent-elles entre elles et apprennent-elles les unes des autres?

**Simpson, Audra** (as3575@columbia.edu)

*Sovereignty, Sympathy and Indigeneity*

This paper is concerned with the ongoing life of Indigenous internationalism, and the ways in which the strangulation of their political form (s) into encapsulated “first nations” has also strangulated the theory that can be mobilized to tell the story of their politics. As well, this strangulation of political form has made the manner in which we analyze Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood narrow, at best. In order to demonstrate this argument I highlight the impasse that this conceptual problem produces: “the problem” then of commensurating (Indigenous) sovereignty with (liberal) sympathy. How are Indigenous claims for rights and redress, claims made to those who dispossess them, made understandable and/or commensurated to the understandings and claims of those who would have the power to hear them? What is the role of the larger market for redress - the ‘proper’ international community in these scenarios? These questions find their impetus in the fulcrum of Indigenous-state politics in Canada in the 1990s. The period that this paper investigates begins in 1990 with a 78-day armed stand-off at Kanehsatake between Mohawk nationals, the Surete du Quebec and then the Canadian Armed Forces. Barely containing itself as a tidy decade of foment, this period of unrest, litigation, outright militarized resistance, commerce and trade rendered itself as claims upon the moral and fiduciary conscience of the state, a conscience that then forced these claims into a market of sympathy in order to be legible to the international and national public: as objects worth of sympathy.

**Simpson, Audra** (as3575@columbia.edu)

*Multicultural, Settler Sovereignty*

A slim literature addresses the contemporary moral and ontological status of “the settler.” Can we all be settlers? Are we equally culpable in this project of Indigenous elimination and territorial dispossession? In occupying itself with issues of culpability and identity this work does not address the structural conditions of settlement and its ongoing life and effects. The strategy instead is to reveal the specificities of experience that upset a presumed meta-narrative. “Can “the settler” be a settler if they are recent “immigrants”? Even more morally egregious, if they were brought to North America absent consent, and in bondage? Can we speak of the formerly enslaved a settler? My argument is that the question of culpability misreads “structure” (if it reads it at all), and operates as a morally inflected, identity-based and

ultimately exonerating claim - personalizing and misplacing historicity so that analysis comes to a grinding halt. This paper argues that this is a fundamental misread of existing literature and in fact, serves to distance analysis and politics away from a reading and analysis of the structural life of settlement and its demands upon all political and biological corporealities that are subjected to its force and instead moves toward a project of multicultural, settler sovereignty.

**Singh, Jakeet** (jsingh3@ilstu.edu)

*Author Meets Critics: Janet Conway's Edges of Global Justice: The World Social Forum and its 'Others'*

In her groundbreaking new book, *Edges of Global Justice: The World Social Forum and its 'Others'*, Janet Conway explores the conceptual and practical 'edges' of contemporary movements for global justice. Based on ten years of fieldwork on three continents, this book examines how the presence and participation of myriad subaltern actors in the WSF challenges both the WSF itself, as well as the broader leftist and progressive political traditions of Western capitalist modernity. Framed by the Latin American modernity-coloniality perspective, the book critically engages with discourses of global civil society, autonomism, and transnational feminism, and explores how they are unsettled by the subaltern voices and positionalities of the WSF. This roundtable brings together leading scholars from diverse fields to discuss the contributions and contentions of Conway's book, but also to debate the broader issues that this work presses us to consider. Participants: Chair: Jakeet Singh (Department of Politics & Government, Illinois State University) Roundtable: Makere Stewart-Harawira (Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta) Grace-Edward Galabuzi (Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University) Jo-Anne Lee (Department of Women's Studies, University of Victoria) Jakeet Singh (Department of Politics & Government, Illinois State University) Janet Conway (Department of Sociology, Brock University) \*\*Richard Day (Department of Sociology, Queen's University) \*\*Prof. Day has indicated an interest to participate, but cannot confirm his participation at present, and has asked to not yet be placed on the conference program

**Sium, Aman** (aman.sium@mail.utoronto.ca)

*Disrupting the Settler/Indigenous Binary: Implications for anti-colonial solidarity between racialized migrants and Indigenous Peoples*

In the 'modern era', where Indigenous sovereignty movements continue to face systemic violence at the hands of settler colonial states, we must better theorize the possibilities and limitations of anti-colonial solidarity between Indigenous and racialized peoples. In this paper, I consider the theoretical weaknesses inherent to understanding Canadian settler colonialism through the lens of a settler/Indigenous binary. I use an anti-colonial discursive framework to examine the topic, and speak from my dual positions as a Tigrinya man Indigenous to Africa and an uninvited occupant of Turtle Island. I am concerned with two points of inquiry. First, how can we complicate the simplicity of such a binary and its tendency to theoretically hide the white supremacist origin and function of the Canadian nation-state? The settler/Indigenous binary obscures the ways in which racialized migrants often arrive in Canada as a result of colonial processes operating in collusion with those occupying Turtle Island. The nature of colonialism simultaneously enforces borders for the purpose of white racial purity, while disrupting them to displace racialized and Indigenous bodies from their homelands. Those forced from their lands become embodied reminders of the ability of colonialism to construct and transgress borders without consequence, while subjecting racialized migrants to an eternal marginality upon their arrival to Canada. I examine the political limitations of the settler/Indigenous binary for solidarity and examine the possibilities of reimagining alternative anti-colonial models of alliance building that go beyond colonial thought patterns.

**Skogstad, Grace** (skogstad@chass.utoronto.ca)

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*The Politics of Regionalism and Transformative Policy Change to the Canadian Wheat Board*

This paper investigates the role of regionalism in the Harper Conservative Government's reforms to the Canadian Wheat Board, the most sweeping to the prairie grain marketing system in 70 years. The government invokes regionalism to justify the reforms, arguing the Conservative Party's overwhelming electoral support in prairie Canada has given it a mandate to implement reforms on which the Party had long campaigned. This depiction of the political unity of the prairie region is at odds with farmers' deep division on the desirability of the Conservative government's reforms. Indeed, evidence suggests a majority opposes the reforms and their elimination of the export monopoly of the Wheat Board. The paper examines how the Conservative government has constructed a discourse arguing the need for and legitimacy of institutional change in its effort to impose an idea of political and economic unity on the prairie region. The discourse is utilitarian-based, arguing that the Wheat Board's benefits no longer outweigh its costs to prairie farmers, and that the institution must progressively evolve to serve prairie farmers. The discourse is also functionalist, arguing the Wheat Board is no longer consistent with regional economic and political realities. From the point of view of many prairie farmers, however, neither the government's utilitarian evaluation nor its functionalist generalization of regional political realities reflects their assessments of the need for change. The Conservative strategy obscures and provokes persistent internal regional cleavages while emphasizing an idea of regional political cohesion expressed in terms of electoral support for the Conservative Party.

**Smith, Alison** (alison.maryann.smith@gmail.com)

*Social protection in an urbanized federal state: municipal-provincial relations and the fight against homelessness*

Vancouver and Montréal have recently implemented ambitious policies to tackle the challenging question of homelessness. Though addressing the same problem, these policies are very different. This paper seeks to understand why they are different, and hypothesizes that provincial influence in policy making at the municipal level is a key determinant of these differing outcomes. One difference between the two policies is the population they target. Vancouver's strategy is broad and is aimed at improving various types of housing in the city, ranging from home ownership to emergency shelters and transitional housing. Montréal's plan is specifically focused on those who are

homeless or are at risk of being homeless. A second difference is municipal-provincial relations at the implementation stage. The province of Quebec has an anti-homelessness policy, and is actively involved in the implementation of Montréal's strategy. BC does not have a provincial strategy, and the authors of the Vancouver report note that they will implement the plan with or without senior government support. Using a historical institutionalist framework, I will examine the public debates, budgets, and committee proceedings at provincial and municipal levels that led to the adoption of these policies. I will use the techniques of process tracing to determine the extent to which the provincial governments in BC and Quebec influenced the policy making process in Vancouver and Montréal. The role of cities in the provision of social services in Canada has been understudied in the literature. This paper is a contribution to filling these important gaps.

**Smith, Charles** (csmith@stmcollege.ca)

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*The Political Economy of Labour Rights as Human Rights*

Over the past number of years, the Canadian labour movement has been under increasing attack by governments of all political stripes. At the federal level, the Harper government has practically eliminated the rights of workers to bargain and strike. At the provincial level, similar restrictions have been introduced, most notably in Ontario, which has temporarily restricted the ability of teachers to bargain and strike, and in Saskatchewan where the government is openly musing about introducing right-to-work laws. Although the legislative attacks on labours' core rights are not new, union responses have taken an increasingly legalistic tone. In almost all cases, the unions have countered these attacks through an appeal to labour's "Charter rights." Labour's core argument suggests that human rights litigation can combat openly neoliberal assaults on workers' collective rights. Yet, these strategies are largely divorced from the larger political economy, which has witnessed economic forces steadily erode workers' standard of living, not to mention weaken the solidarity necessary to fight for more progressive labour legislation. To that end, this paper will explore the political economy of labour rights, examining the potential benefits and limitations that Charter challenges pose for rejuvenation of the labour movement. The paper will openly challenge the notion that the legal arm of the state can provide an effective tool to challenge the restructuring that has occurred in Canada over the past three decades.

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*Back to the tickle trunk: assessing theorization in Canadian Foreign Policy*

Twenty years ago, we took stock of the field of Canadian foreign policy, and found it to be marked by promising but nevertheless 'exceptional' and 'arrested' theoretical openings (Black and Smith 1993). We considered why these limitations have been prevalent, and examined promising directions for future research. This article allows us to revisit our analysis and conclusions. More particularly, it provides an opportunity to assess how the theoretical condition of the field of Canadian foreign policy has changed. We begin by examining how the 'referent object' of CFP - that is, the Canadian state and society - have changed, destabilizing old verities. We then examine some of the most important developments in the field. These include: the rise, and limitations, of the 'critical turn'; the rise of the 'new realists', and their methodological predisposition; and the influence of feminist scholarship within the field. We then examine the new politics of knowledge in the study of Canadian foreign policy, and the increasing preoccupation with 'policy relevance'. This, we argue, is having a profoundly limiting impact on theoretical discussion and debate. Finally, in a spirit of reflexivity, we examine what our twenty-year old analysis reveals about our own intellectual training and limits, and how our approach(es) to the field have changed.

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*Intersections, Boundaries and Highways: The Case of the Highway of Tears*

The proposed paper looks at the case of the Highway of Tear. The Highway of Tears is a name originally assigned by activists to a stretch of highway in Northern British Columbia. It is a space of death for 18-45, mostly indigenous, women - women often labelled 'missing or murdered'. Women whose bodies are often simply not found. Multiples forces of marginalization come together to render their lives less valuable, less grievable, less worthy of attention. It is these forces of marginalization that are the subject of investigation in the proposed paper. Drawing off of feminist, post colonial and indigenous theorizing the paper looks at the multiple sites of marginalization that range from the 'practical' to the 'theoretical'. Included in the analysis are not only questions related to the framing of the Highway of Tears, but also disciplinary tendencies of IR that also function as a source of marginalization. On too many levels and in too many spaces, the lives and deaths of the women lost on the Highway of Tears are devalued.

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*Faith, Global Justice and Forums of Resistance to Neo-Liberalism: The World Social Forum and Occupy! Compared*

Since 2001 the World Social Forum (WSF) has provided a space for activists in the Global Justice Movement to critique neo-liberalism and articulate alternatives under the theme "Another World is Possible". Among those actors involved in the WSF were a range of faith-based organizations, despite the WSF identifying itself as non-confessional, ie secular, space. Yet much of this activity has been ignored by social scientists. More recently the Occupy! movement has also emerged to challenge and resist global capitalism. Again some faith-based groups have actively supported the Occupy movement. This paper compares the role faith based organizations both in the Global South and North have played in the reaction to the financial crisis and the growing levels of internal and international inequality which the diffusion of capitalism has produced. It examines how faith groups have helped frame a moral critique of financial capitalism and played a role in diffusing values and norms which challenge the morality of growing inequality. Methodologically it uses interviews of religious

activists at Occupy Wall Street, participant observation at the WSF from 2005 to 2013, online web research, and case studies comparing a variety of social forums and Occupy movements.

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*What's the Beef with Food standards? Industrial Meat and the Politics of International Trade*

This paper examines the international politics of developing and diffusing food standards globally to harmonize regulations in the name of trade facilitation and globalization. It seeks to explain why despite such standards being championed by powerful actors or interests, some standards or practices do not get diffused easily and local resistance develops. The paper uses case studies of international standard setting at the Codex Alimentarius for livestock food production (meat and dairy) including the use of feed additives and various growth promoters including veterinary drugs often used in large scale industrial meat production. The paper identifies the key state and non-state actors seeking to influence these standards and other movements which resist and challenge these methods of production to explain why some standards have been the subject of much contention and conflict both at the Codex and at the World Trade Organization (WTO).

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*Twenty Year in Labour: Federalism, Self-Regulation, and Assisted Reproductive Technology Policy in Canada*

Following the Supreme Court's 2010 decision striking down parts of the Assisted Human Reproduction Act, many commentators urged the provinces to legislate. Yet two years later, Quebec is the only province that has responded to the decision. Drawing on primary documents and qualitative interviews, I argue that Canadian scholars have paid insufficient attention to the comparative literature on medical self-regulatory organizations (SROs). Paradoxically, the federal government's initial desire for centralization created a situation where policy was decentralized to such a degree that medical professionals have taken on the primary policymaking role in Canada. However, such policymaking authority in the realm of assisted conception has effectively been sub-delegated from provincial colleges of physicians and surgeons to national specialist organizations, particularly the Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Canada and the Canadian Fertility and Andrology Society. The Canadian case suggests a need to provide a new comparative framework for assisted reproductive technology policy in federal states. Such a framework must do three things: delineate the different subcomponents of assisted reproductive technology policy; pay greater attention to the role of medical SROs in the policymaking process; and clarify the distinction between the SROs' capacity to regulate and the content of those regulations.

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*The Responsibility to Prevent: From Identification to Implementation*

In its 2001 Report the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) identified three components of an international "responsibility to protect" (R2P). Specifically, in circumstances of genocide or large-scale killing where the state is either incapable or unwilling to address the violence, the international community was tasked with three inter-related responsibilities: the responsibility to prevent, the responsibility to react, and the responsibility to rebuild, and among these the Commission identified the responsibility to prevent as most important. In the decade the concept of R2P has influenced norms of international intervention, in spite of its importance, scholarly attention devoted to the responsibility to prevent has paled in comparison to that accorded the responsibility to react-i.e., international military intervention. In addressing this imbalance, the proposed paper examines two problems inherent in operationalizing the responsibility to prevent: first, problems of identifying cases needing prevention, and second, problems involved the application of effective tools of prevention. With respect to the former, discussed are problems of recognizing conditions likely to produce mass killing as well as when such events will occur. In the discussion of implementation reviewed are the effectiveness of two important long-term preventive measures: developmental aid and capacity-building. The short-term approaches of diplomatic initiatives and deployment of peace stabilization forces are reviewed and then evaluated in the context of the Obama administration's efforts to prevent violence associated with independence of South Sudan in July 2011.

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*Local Elites, Intergroup Networks and the De-escalation of Violence in Maluku, Indonesia*

Why have some episodes of violence escalated both temporally and geographically, while others did not? Focusing on four cases of violence in post-conflict Maluku, Indonesia, this paper looks at the factors of de-escalation in the outbreaks of violence. While acknowledging the importance of broad national and regional institutional factors, this paper argues that such explanations remain limited. Understanding variation in the duration and geographic spread of violence requires focusing on the response of local elites. Yet, the paper argues that local elites' reactive involvement in times of crisis is not enough. It is the prior existence of intergroup networks and informal conflict management institutions that matter most for de-escalation. This paper thus challenges the claim that the simple involvement of elites matter (Varshney 2004) and that variation in the escalation of violence is reducible to variation in the capacity of the security apparatus (Wilkinson 2006). This paper thus engages with the challenge posed by the most recent literature on violence-namely the understanding of the micro-politics and local dynamics of mass violence (Kalyvas 2006, King 2004), as well as the dynamics of restraint and intergroup stability (Straus 2012, Varshney 2004). In addition to its theoretical contribution, this work also makes an empirical contribution as it offers one of the first accounts of the most recent episodes of violence in Ambon.

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*Breast Feeding and Social Assistance: Explaining Variations in Canadian Provinces*

In the literature on social construction of target populations, individuals on social assistance are clearly disadvantaged resulting in policy instruments that aim to "correct" behaviour, which often reinforce stigma linked to poverty. Mothers on social assistance are even more subject to the state since policy instruments can also be used to control social behaviour. Our contribution aims to link economic and social objectives attached to social assistance programs by analysing the policy instruments utilised by Canadian provincial governments towards mothers who recently gave birth. Our findings show that most provinces have added financial incentives to breast feed while restrictive instruments, including a doctor's prescription, are in place for formula. We also seek to explain provincial differences behind this outcome. Canadian provinces represent very interesting cases because breast-feeding policy is driven primarily by educational campaigns led by the federal government. Studies have demonstrated that "successful" breast-feeders tend to be white, middle-class, and highly educated women. Thus, these represent another situation where a vulnerable population is socially constructed as deviant and subject to standards reflecting privileged citizens.

**Soroka, Stuart** (stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca) / **Wlezien, Christopher** (wlezien@temple.edu)

*Electoral Institutions and Opinion Representation*

Much research emphasizes the importance of electoral systems for the political representation of public opinion. Most of this work focuses on the differences between proportional and majoritarian systems, most notably, Powell (2000). He and others have found that proportional representation tends to produce greater congruence between the positions of the government and the public; specifically, the general ideological disposition of the government that emerges after an election and the ideological bent of the electorate tend to match up better in proportional systems. Although other scholars have not found such a relationship, we are agnostic about what happens in the wake of elections, as our interest is in the period between elections. We want to see how electoral systems influence the responsiveness of governments to changing public opinion during the tenure of governments. In contrast to what Powell predicts after elections, our conjecture is that policymakers in majoritarian systems are more responsive to public opinion shocks in between elections. We posit that these policymakers have both greater opportunity and willingness to respond. In the paper, we outline Powell's theory of the "indirect" representation of public opinion in electoral systems and introduce our theory of "direct" representation. We then spell out empirical implications and examine how electoral, legislative and government fractionalization impacts policy responsiveness, focusing specifically on government spending in 17 countries. The results of this analysis support our expectations but also highlight questions about the precise mechanism(s) at work.

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*Money Talks? Money and the Corruption of Political Speech*

In the U.S. Supreme Court decisions *Buckley v. Valeo* and *Citizens United v. FEC*, the court struck down limitations on campaign expenditures on the grounds that "virtually every means of communicating ideas in today's mass society requires the expenditure of money" and thus to limit spending on campaigns was to limit political speech. Naturally, there are a great many objections to this decision, many of which entail questions concerning free-speech absolutism and the goods protected by speech itself. But what I wish to consider here is the objection that treating money as speech corrupts democratic deliberation. Like all invocations of corruption, this objection is premised on a rarely explicit but nonetheless widespread intuition that there is a type of public discourse that is pure, or uncorrupted. What might uncorrupted deliberation entail? Few would posit a rational formalist ideal, but however much philosophers have been willing to incorporate rhetoric, interests and the passions into healthy democratic discourse, there are few who are comfortable with the fact that money talks. This paper will explore some philosophical underpinnings—stemming from Kant and Rousseau—of the argument that money corrupts political deliberation. I will argue that the very notion of uncorrupted democratic speech cannot serve as a regulative ideal because of contradictions at its core. There is no political speech that is not determined by material circumstances. Naturally, this is a position that has oligarchic implications in the current American context, but it is also a position pregnant with radical egalitarian possibilities.

**Speight, Jeremy** (speight.jeremy6@gmail.com)

*Comparing 'Com'zones': Rebellion, Authority Relations and Contentious State-Making in Post-Conflict Northern Côte d'Ivoire.*

Current research focusing on post-conflict reconstruction has increasingly privileged goal and construction of "softened authority"/"hybrid political orders" or "hybrid polities" after civil wars which work to preserve, rather than undercut, sources of authority outside the state. Similarly, the literature on "warlords" debates the roles these actors can play in maintaining, or undermining, political order in post-conflict periods. While recognition that post-conflict settlements often sustain rivals to state authority represents an important step, these literatures ignore the processes by which armed actors become interlocutors with the state. This tendency stems largely from the fact that scholars have generally focused solely on cases where rural strongmen have successfully drawn on their wartime authority as the basis for entry into 'post-conflict' political life. Yet these actors do not represent the only choice as political intermediaries between national level actors and rural/peripheral areas. Across Africa for instance, scholars have consistently observed a range of local level actors capable of wielding authority under the guise of 'the state' in rural areas. This paper aims to fill this gap through a comparison of diverse outcomes in two administrative zones (com'zones) previously under control of the Forces Nouvelles in Northern Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2011): Bouna and Korhogo. It builds on fieldwork conducted in 2010 and 2011.

**Spicer, Zachary** (zspicer@uwo.ca)

*Regional Organization and the Creation of Inter-Local Agreements: Exploring the Dynamics of Inter-Municipal Cooperation Between Separated Cities and Counties*

Linking urban and rural areas is one of the great challenges of municipal governance. The two areas have traditionally been seen as distinct. More recent structural responses to this divide have tended to view a city and its rural periphery as part of a common political unit. The more traditional solution to this urban-rural divide - and the one that has been dominant throughout most of our municipal history - was to politically separate urban and rural areas. In Ontario, 18 cities and towns are currently separated from their counties. Unlike regional governments, these areas exist without any type of institutional linkages and must rely on inter-local agreements to ensure service continuity. In this paper, I examine the use of inter-local agreements between Ontario's 18 separated cities and towns and their corresponding counties. 275 individual inter-local agreements were collected and analyzed. Additionally, 68 primary interviews were conducted in three counties with separated cities to examine the process of agreement formation and the use of informal agreements: London and Middlesex County, Guelph and Wellington County and Orillia, Barrie and Simcoe County. Overall, the results find that the use of voluntary agreements is very low within these areas, which can be attributed largely to the institutional design of city-county separation. This paper explores the factors that both hinder and help the formation of inter-local agreements and the continued use of city-county separation as an institutional practice.

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*Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance: Is Alberta Cursed?*

Accountability regimes such as access to information are recognized worldwide as crucial components of a democratic state because transparency helps to expose corruption, ensures due process in law, and encourages the citizen engagement that is central to citizen participation (Stefanick 2011). For newly emerging democracies, the dual concepts of "open and accountable" government challenge previously accepted notions that the interests of society as expressed through the power of the state take precedence over the interests of individual citizens. This paper is part of a collection of essays on the impact of oil on democracy in Alberta. It argues that the accountability regimes in Alberta are weak because of three mutually reinforcing dynamics: the merging of the interests of the government and the ruling political; the introduction of new public management practices in the public service; and the disconnection between citizens and the state as a result of an overdependence on resource rents for government revenue. Until market accountability is re-embedded into a larger regime of political accountability, industry interests will continue to be favoured over the public interest.

**Steinberg, Jesse** (jsteinbe829@gmail.com)

*Public Transit Infrastructure and a New 'Consensual' Urban Politics*

In recent years, the Ontario provincial government has made significant new commitments to public infrastructure spending. This paper focuses on one particular example, the development of a transit mega-project in Kitchener-Waterloo, as a window onto what a number of authors have called a new 'politics of infrastructure'. The politics of infrastructure draws attention to political struggles around the uneven deployment of the technological networks that underpin modern urban life. These conflicts are rarely centered in the wider urban politics literature, despite their fundamental importance to urban and regional development. Theoretically, the paper draws on two literatures. First it looks to debates on the role of ideas and 'frames' in shaping the policy process. At provincial and local scales, what frames are being used to rationalize new transit infrastructure projects, and how do these ideas reflect particular material interests? Second, it draws on recent work on the 'political-economy of scale' to ask how provincial policies structure local decision-making, but also how local actors scale-up their 'space of engagement' in order to influence provincial policy. In Kitchener-Waterloo, transit infrastructure politics are framed within a number of intersecting logics: the new light-rail project promises to revitalize Kitchener's downtown, promote economic and social upgrading, and also create a more sustainable and 'liveable' city. By drawing on policy and planning documents and local media reports I argue that this value-neutral development discourse masks very real differences in the distribution of resources and benefits. This paper is part of my ongoing dissertation work.

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*Different Settings, Different Effects? Electoral Systems, Party Systems, and Voter Strategies*

The effect of electoral systems on voter decision-making processes is a well-studied topic. Because electoral systems and party systems often develop in tandem, however, it can be difficult to tease out the different dynamics that influence voters. In this paper we make use of two quasi-experiments conducted in different party system contexts to investigate whether the competitive setting affects the way that electoral incentives are internalized by voters. In particular, we consider how voters used to first-past-the-post elections would alter their ballots if elections were conducted under AV or PR, and compare the results in a stable, three party system with those in a more complex and dynamic setting. We also analyze the extent of specific psychological and mechanical electoral system effects in both cases.

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*Indigenous Self-Determination and the Failures of Democracy*

Decades of pursuit of the recognition of Indigenous rights including the to self-determination and participation in the global structures of international order have cost dearly. Five years on from the ratification of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples many query the extent of the achievement gained, asking how far have we come and what has been the impact both within and without International Studies? In this regard the paper will explore two themes; firstly, the notion that the lack of recognition as a viable area of

studies within the discipline of International political economy mirrors to a large extent the ongoing diminishment of Indigenous rights by nation-states in favour of corporate rights, and secondly, that in response, Indigenous peoples are demonstrating alternative pathways to more meaningful self-determination. Towards this, the paper will explore the tensions and limitations of the pursuit of Indigenous rights through the international framework of human rights, and the turning away from state engagement by some Indigenous communities, drawing on comparisons between Aotearoa New Zealand and Canada.

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*Maple Spring Up Close*

In the spring of 2012 Quebec witnessed one of the most extended and ongoing strike and protest activities around the issue of tuition hikes. Thousands of Cegep and university students went to the streets, banged on pots or boycotted their courses in order to express their views on the government's proposed tuition increase. In this study, we examine a unique sample from all university students of Université de Montréal, UQAM, and McGill to answer several research questions. First, how do students who favour the tuition increase differ from those who are against it in terms of financial circumstances, family situation or social relations? Second, which factors led students to protest on the streets? Third, how do views on and actions with regard to the tuition increase shape young people's vote choice and conceptions of citizenship? This paper represents the first empirical analysis of student's views on and actions in the Maple Spring.

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*Gender and electoral communication: How differences in non-verbal and verbal behavior lead to different evaluations of male and female politicians*

This paper examines the impact of a candidate's communication style on people's evaluations of the candidate's personality traits and suitability for elected office and assesses how this impact is conditioned by the candidate's gender. We are utilizing data from an experiment where participants viewed a video of a speech delivered by what they believed to be a candidate running for the Liberal party nomination in an Ontario riding. The part of the candidate was played either by a female or by a male actor. After viewing the video, participants rated the candidate on a variety of traits (e.g. leadership ability, competence, trustworthiness, empathy, etc.) and they also indicated the likelihood that they would vote for the candidate. The experiment used a 2(Gender: Male vs female candidate) x 2 (Nonverbal attitude: Confident vs. Non-confident) x 2 (Quality of verbal argumentation: high vs low quality) between-subjects design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight possible treatment groups. This research helps us to understand whether differences in non-verbal and verbal behavior lead to different evaluations depending on the gender of the politician.

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*Where is the Electoral Sweet Spot?*

Carey & Hix (2011) propose that a proportional electoral system at a low number of seats per district, between 3 and 8, gives the best compromise between (1) a more accurate representation of political views in society, and (2) a system where elected officials can be held accountable of their decisions. The strategic decisions of the voters is the main micro-level mechanism producing these effects. We explore this proposition using an original experimental design where the district magnitude (DM) varies between 1 and 21. Our design allows multiple groups of 21 participants to choose between 4 parties. We test DM of 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 21 in Brussels and Montréal. We focus mainly on the micro-level mechanisms behind the phenomenon: strategic desertion of the first choice. More precisely, we test if the higher the DM, (1) the higher the proportionality of the system and (2) the lower the effective number of parties in Parliament. There would be a precise DM where the trade-off between disproportionality and the fragmentation of parties is optimal. This DM is the Sweet Spot.

**Sullivan, Michael** (msullivan6@stmarytx.edu)

*A Dependency-Based Framework for Reforming Family Immigration Benefits*

In this paper, I will redefine the priority of family relationships as a basis for determining who is allowed to enter and remain in their country of residence. I frame family immigration as a type of social membership claim to inclusion. I will argue that citizens are required to consider social membership claims to inclusion out of a political obligation to their fellow citizens who depend upon non-citizens in relationships of guardianship and interdependency. Citizens have a social membership-based moral claim on their fellow citizens to consider allowing family members that they depend on to enter or remain in their country of residence for their benefit. The citizen's claim is proportionate to her degree of dependency on a non-citizen. A vulnerable citizen who is completely dependent on a non-citizen caregiver stands to lose the most if her parent, guardian or caregiver is deported. Translating the social membership-based claims to inclusion that I defend here into policy would expand the rights of some citizens to sponsor their family members to come to the United States; and restrict the rights of others. It would redefine the foundations of family-based immigration claims to include considerations of dependency rather than just privileging blood and marriage ties alone. In so doing, I argue that it would make family-based immigration more defensible from a moral standpoint.

**Sutcliffe, John** (sutclif@uwindsor.ca)

*Big Business and Local Government: Matty Moroun and the Reform of the Detroit River Border Crossing*

This paper examines the role and influence of one powerful business owner in local government decision-making. The paper examines Manuel Moroun's efforts to influence local government decision-making in Windsor, Ontario and in Michigan (including the City of Detroit). Moroun is the owner of the Ambassador Bridge. This bridge connects the cities of Windsor and Detroit and is the most significant North American border crossing in terms of the volume and value of trade. Moroun is currently engaged in an effort to build a replacement bridge and prevent the construction of a publicly-controlled bridge that will break the monopoly that his bridge currently enjoys. One element of Moroun's campaign has been his efforts to influence local governments. These efforts include lawsuits brought against Windsor City Council and its councillors, the purchase of extensive property holdings in Windsor and Detroit, public relations campaigns, and political campaign contributions. This paper examines these efforts and the degree of their success in influencing the decisions taken by city councils in both countries with respect to the border crossing. The paper examines the relevance of neoliberalism as an explanation of Moroun's influence in local politics. The conclusions reached are that Moroun is a major player in local politics in both settings, and has been particularly influential in the United States. At the same time, however, he has not dominated local decision-making in either setting. Councils and communities have been prepared to oppose his policy goals and have been at least partially successful in these efforts.

**Takamatsu, Junya** (tkmtsu@meijo-u.ac.jp)

*Delivering Public Services in the Era of Decentralisation and Deregulation: A Case Study of Urban Transport Policy in Japan*

The aim of this paper is to examine the issues related to delivering public transport services in the 2000s. In recent decades, local authorities have faced various changes to both administrative institutions and transport policy framework. In the first, Japanese central government has carried out decentralisation since the 1990s. Central government transferred both powers and financial resources for delivering public services to local authorities. In the second, in around 2000, as part of the New Right policy, the Japanese government introduced a market-based regulatory and subsidiary framework into the public transport policy area, which had had strict regulations both entering to and withdrawing from transport market. These changes have resulted in increasing difficulty for delivering public transportation. After deregulation and cutting subsidy, from a rational perspective, a loss-incurring railway line should be closed and converted into bus services. In fact, according to the MLIT, 33 lines totalling 634.6 km of railway were abolished after the deregulation. However, we can also find that some railway lines have survived, even after a former operator abandoned its loss-incurring line. The purpose of this paper is to investigate factors that can rescue these railway lines from abolition. As such, this paper focuses on the process of negotiation among local governments, private companies, residents and prefectural governments to keep public transport in place.

**Talbot, Robert** (robert\_james\_talbot@hotmail.com)

*Rebranding Canada in the Conservative Image*

Since the 1960s, Canadians' notion of a shared citizenship has rested on the values of pluralism, individual rights, social justice, and equal access to a system of national social programs - in short, liberalism. After coming to power in 2006, the government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper began to move incrementally toward rebranding Canada in a more conservative image. As might have been expected, the end-objective has been to condition the electorate to support or at least tolerate a wide range of policy shifts. What has been less obvious behind this "rebranding" has been the establishment of 1) public acceptance of the restructuring of Canadian federalism, and 2) the Conservative Party as the "natural governing party" of Canada. Prime Minister Harper understands that the removal of four decades of liberalism necessarily creates an emotional void - social cohesion and political support require an emotional attachment to a set of shared historical values. Given that Harper's fiscal conservatism and asymmetrical federalism do not elicit a strong emotional connection to party and state, the prime minister has turned to another brand of conservatism: British-Canadian conservatism. An understanding of the historical origins of this brand of conservatism is crucial in identifying both its viability and its modern manifestations. While attempting to avoid elements of British-Canadian conservatism that are no longer socially acceptable (e.g. British ethno-centrism), Harper has nonetheless attempted to restore a wide range of historical British-Canadian values, such as militarism, loyalty to "traditional" allies, an assertion of national virility through sport, Christian "values" and the monarchy. Harper's approach to resurrecting British-Canadian identity has been methodical and at times subtle. The implications for national unity are uncertain at best. Whereas the liberal traditions of both English- and French-speaking Canada bear much similarity, their respective conservative traditions do not. For Harper, whose electoral base lies firmly outside of Quebec, any such concerns appear to be secondary.

**Tan, Netina** (netina@mcmaster.ca)

*Constitutional Engineering and Ethnic Politics in Multi-Ethnic Singapore*

Singapore is one of the most cultural diverse and ethnically fractionalized countries in Asia. Given the ethno-cultural diversity, Singapore's party system ought to be fragmented and polarized. Yet, ethnic based politics are disallowed and ethnic conflicts have been eliminated since 1970s. This paper examines how the People's Action Party (PAP) government imposes a wide range of socio-legal initiatives such as the ethnic minority quota based on party block vote system, the ethnic quota in public housing and gerrymandering strategies to eliminate ethnic enclaves and maintain ethnic integration in Singapore. Specifically, it provides new evidence to show how constitutional engineering not only prevents the rise of ethnic based politics but also have an effect of entrenching the PAP's hegemonic rule.

**Tan, Netina** (netina@mcmaster.ca)

*Why Electoral Quotas? Selective Politicization of Racial and Gender Politics in Singapore*

This paper examines the politics and effects of electoral quotas for minorities and not for women in Singapore. Traditionally, women have been more underrepresented than ethnic minorities in Singapore's Parliament. While women constituted less than 5 percent of total number of legislators in the House for over two decades, ethnic minorities have enjoyed an average of 23 percent legislative representation and contested regularly in all General Elections since the country's independence in 1965. Despite this, the People's Action Party (PAP) government introduced an electoral quota or multi-member district, party block vote plurality system to guarantee the legislative representation of ethnic minorities, but not for women. By comparing the candidate selection rules of women and minorities in four key political parties, this study offers new evidence to show how party gatekeepers and candidate selection rules can have significant impact in increasing the substantive representation of women, which reached 20 per cent in the last election. This paper argues that the minority quota scheme, coupled with gerrymandering and malapportionment have severely tilted the level playing field and undermined the spatial basis of representation in Singapore. It concludes with three propositions to improve the electoral formula and political representation of women in Singapore.

**Tarasuk, Lauren** (lauren.tarasuk@gmail.com)

*The Effects of Minority Government on Members from Northern Constituencies*

Legislators who represent northern constituencies typically face unique challenges not faced by most members. These challenges normally produce feelings of estrangement and political powerlessness that is only exceeded by their northern constituents. Adding to these feelings is the difficulties in traveling between their remote constituencies and the legislature itself and major economic differences between the north and the more densely populated and southerly constituencies. In Ontario, the passing of the Fewer Politicians Act of 1996 was a major political blow to Northern Ontario, reducing its representation from 15 to 11 seats. Now for the first time since the passing of the Act, the legislature confronts a minority government. In such a situation, the individual is believed to have more opportunity to influence government policy. This paper will carefully examine that generalization. This paper will examine the legislative record of the McGuinty minority government for evidence of sensitivity to northern concerns. Also important will be an examination of private members' bills proposed by northern members. Did they have more weight in the McGuinty minority? Finally this paper will present the results of interviews with the Northern members. Do they think their role increased with minority government?

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*Party, Ideology, and Deficits: Provincial Fiscal Policy and the Cameron Thesis*

In 1985 David Cameron argued that Leftist parties are less likely to have deficits than Rightist parties, but no research has validated his thesis at the subnational level of government. I do so, by studying the ten Canadian provinces over 1965-2009 (N=450), a time period when a variety of parties held power: Liberals, Progressive-Conservatives, NDP, Social Credit Party, and the National Union or Parti Quebecois (in Quebec Province). First, since 33% of those 450 budgets showed surpluses, descriptives will show which parties presided over budgetary surpluses. Second, regression analysis will determine which parties presided over budget deficits (standardized as percentage of total expenditures in deficit). Third, unlike Cameron, I will impose "controls" for economic conditions that affect budgetary growth. If party remains a significant variable after the imposition of those controls, that finding is more conclusive validation for the Cameron thesis.

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*The political ecology of turnout in the City of Toronto, 2000-2010*

National election studies based on surveys of likely voters have shown that turnout is related to a number of variables: age, education, income, religion, and so on. We know comparatively little about turnout in local elections, and how the dynamics of turnout may be changing in large municipalities that provide a diverse array of services to differently situated residents and which are the home to diverse populations. To what extent is turnout related to the consumption of services and the incidence of the property tax -- in other words, to home ownership and access to amenities? To what extent is it related to "urban" and "suburban" lifestyles, the former emphasizing the collective consumption, the later, privatism? In the absence of individual survey data, the next best analytic approach is ecological analysis - analysis of the aggregate characteristics and voting behaviour of territorially defined groups. This paper considers the 2000, 2003, 2006, and 2010 elections in the amalgamated City of Toronto for which voting behaviour data is known for polling stations. These small, territorially compact spatial units lend themselves to aggregation to census tracts. The result is a data set in which demographic and voting behaviour are known at a fine spatial grain for multiple elections. On this basis of these data I will statistically analyze the strength of the relationship between turnout and housing tenure, income, density, housing type, urban/suburban location, immigration status, and turnout in the most recent provincial and federal elections.

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*Canada's New Financial Watchdog: Assessing the Influence of the Canadian Parliamentary Budget Officer in the Parliamentary Budget-Making process*

Kevin Page will be stepping down as Canada's first Parliamentary Budget Officer (PBO) in March 2013. After a 5 year mandate, it now seems relevant to look more closely at the contribution of the PBO to the Canadian Parliamentary System. At the time the establishment of this office was discussed and later adopted, many believed its main contribution would be to bring more fiscal discipline into the budget-making process: after years of inaccurate forecasting (the federal government been either overtly optimistic or pessimistic), Canada would now be able to assess more accurately future economic and budgetary trends. There is however another important benefit associated with the presence of the PBO that is often overlooked by Canadian observers. Such an agency can help parliamentarians to gain more understanding about their own responsibilities over budgetary matters. Although the legislative branch is not authorized to present

spending requests, it has the mandate to examine and approve them. As we will show, the PBO has been actively involved in providing support to parliamentarians to help them monitoring budgetary policy. This is probably the most valued contribution of the PBO to date.

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*Representing Victims of International Crimes: Who? Why? How?*

There are good reasons to want institutions of global governance to be more responsive and accountable to the people they affect. Scholars have argued that greater responsiveness and accountability might improve the efficacy of global governance, shore up its legitimacy, and limit opportunities for abuse of power. Recent normative and empirical scholarship has therefore explored the possibility for global governance to be “democratized”. A particularly vexing issue is that of representation. Who has the power, legitimacy, and knowledge to represent transnational constituencies at institutions of global governance? This paper addresses these issues by turning to recent work in political theory on the democratic roles of non-elected representatives. I use these conceptual tools to examine the representative roles and practices of actors who claim to speak on behalf of victims of international crimes-lawyers, diplomats, and members of local and international civil society organizations. I draw on interviews conducted in The Hague, New York, Kenya, and Uganda, as well as focus group discussions with victims of conflict in Kenya and Uganda. I conclude by sketching some of the challenges and opportunities in bringing the interests and perspectives of transnational constituencies into global governance decision-making.

**Terry, Jillian** (j.a.terry@lse.ac.uk)

*Rethinking the Ethics of Drone Warfare: Feminist Understandings of Relationality and Experience*

This paper examines the use of drone warfare in post-9/11 conflicts through a lens of feminist ethics and unpacks the particular moral complexities surrounding their use within a feminist ethical framework premised on relationality and experience. Given the increasing frequency of drone strikes by the United States and its allies as a military strategy to combat terrorism, this paper argues that feminist ethics can provide IR scholars with new and useful conceptual tools for making complex ethical judgments about drone warfare, particularly with respect to our understandings of experience and empathy as well as the complicated - and gendered - relationships between drone operators, their targets, and innocent civilians. Moreover, a framework rooted in feminist ethics that foregrounds experiential and relational understandings of war provides us with a deeper awareness of how ethical dilemmas of asymmetrical warfare ask us to consider new moral questions about the nature of conflict in the post-9/11 era. This paper points particularly to the usefulness of feminist ethics in understanding the ethical implications of technological aspects of contemporary warfare such as the use of drones, and more generally highlights the important relationship between war, gender, and technology as seen through a framework of feminist ethics.

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*Religious Salience and Electoral Behaviour at the Voter Level: A Systematic Review of the Literature*

This paper presents a systematic review of the literature on religious salience and electoral behaviour at the voter level. We seek to answer two research questions: 1) which factors significantly affect the probability that a study in our sample includes a measure of religious salience? 2) Which factors significantly affect the kind of effect (of religious salience on electoral behaviour) that is reported? Our goals are then to 1) identify the distinguishing features of those studies that are very likely to resort to religious salience when explaining electoral behaviour, and 2) to give a summary and an explanation of the variation in the kind of effect that is reported. For this purpose, we have assembled a sample of 244 academic articles published between 1956 and 2012; in French or English; comprising at least one measure of religion, and focusing either on partisan choice or electoral participation at the voter level. We find that authors’ discipline, being an Americanist, the target population, and the number of religious dimensions significantly affect the probability that a study contains a measure of religious salience. Next, we find that the type of electoral behaviour, the kind of religious salience measure, the autonomy of the measure, and its theoretical role all contribute to account for the type of effect (of religious salience on electoral behaviour) that is reported. We identify avenues for future research, e.g. in linking individual religiosity to electoral context, and conclude on how to make the best use of measures of religious salience.

**Thobani, Sunera** (sunera.thobani@ubc.ca)

*Race, Coloniality and Rights: The Nationalizing State in the Age of Terror*

While Canada is celebrated for its peacekeeping role in international politics, its successful adoption of official multiculturalism and its compassionate approach to the restructuring of social programs, socio-economic inequalities in the country are increasing, violence against Indigenous women remains endemic, and the securitization of the state through the ‘War on Terror’ is deepening Islamophobia. In this context, what are the major challenges to theorizing the changing nature of sovereignty, citizenship and processes of racialization, and their reliance on violence? This presentation discusses some lessons learned from two decades of anti-racist feminist activism for citizenship rights, building solidarity with Indigenous women, and opposing the new security regime of the ‘War on Terror’. Bio of Presenter: Sunera Thobani is Associate Professor at the Institute for Gender, Race, Sexuality and Social Justice at the University of British Columbia. She has served as the Director of the RAGA Centre at UBC, and was the first woman of colour President of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Canada's then largest feminist organization. Her book, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*, was published by the University of Toronto Press (2007), and her current research projects focus on Gender, Race, Globalization and Media Representations of the War on Terror.

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*General empirical laws in political science: Different perspectives from different subfields*

A general empirical law is a systematic generalization built on empirical regularities. It is not sufficient to build a theory or even a model of politics but it provides a 'filter' to eliminate theories that do not match with reality. While other sciences have made extensive use of empirical laws, political science seems to be reluctant to utilize such a powerful tool, a recent article in budgetary politics by Jones et al. (2009) being a spectacular exception. This roundtable brings together researchers from comparative politics, international relations and political communication to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of general empirical laws in political science. Participants will offer illustrations of successes or failures in their respective subfields. The product of this discussion will be regrouped in an article to be published afterward. The objective is to provide an informed piece on the use of general empirical laws for students and researchers in political science.

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*Assessing the impact of candidate sex on vote choice: To 'affinity' and beyond!*

In this paper, we employ data gathered from a unique, online voting experiment to address three questions. Our primary research question considers whether male and female candidates with identical backgrounds and platforms differ with respect to the vote support they receive. Here, we not only examine the overall support candidates receive, but also whether the decision calculus used by voters to arrive at their vote decision varies by candidate and voter sex. Second, we consider whether vote support varies according to stereotypical policy positions assigned to female candidates (e.g. support public health care spending). Finally, we examine whether "gender affinity effects"- where women are more likely than men to vote for women candidates - can be found in a laboratory setting. Our results offer an updated assessment of the extent in which a gender bias is present within the electorate, and the effects of this bias on both electoral success and individual decision-making processes.

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*Private Mom vs. Political Dad? Communications of Parental Status in the 41st Parliament*

Conventional wisdom suggests that fatherhood is compatible with politics, but that motherhood is not. This suggests that women in politics downplay their parental status, while politicians who are men publicly celebrate their family lives. However, experimental evidence shows that voters rate women politicians with children more favourably than women without, and that this relationship is reversed for politicians who are men (Stalsburg 2010). Other research suggests, paradoxically, that socially conservative parties elect more mothers with small children than do parties on the left (Kürschner 2011). We contend that displays of parental status are deliberate, strategic decisions designed to simultaneously cue a candidate's party's brand and to shape their own image. Results show that Members of Parliament fall broadly into three categories: those who display that they are parents, those who are not parents, and those whose parental status cannot be determined in their political marketing. Gender and political party condition how parental status is communicated to constituents.

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*Climbing the ladder of dissent: Backbench influence in the Canadian House of Commons*

Can backbench government Members of Parliament (MPs) shape legislative and policy outcomes? In recent years many scholars and activists have raised alarm over the "democratic deficit" in Canadian politics, which they see as the growing trend for the Prime Minister and a select few officials to govern without input from MPs or the public. These observers are particularly concerned that government decisions are then pushed through Parliament using party discipline, preventing government backbenchers from effectively representing their constituents. Past research suggests that these concerns are misplaced since the influence of backbenchers does not lie in parliamentary voting, but rather in closed government caucus meetings where they can express their views to the party leader. However, given that the last substantive study of government caucus dynamics (Thomas, 1991) is over 20 years old, it is unclear whether caucus still plays this deliberative role. To answer this question, we draw on Samara's recent MP exit interviews as well as Rayside, Sabin and Thomas' (unpublished) interviews with sitting Parliamentarians, finding that groups of backbench MPs who invest time in developing new proposals can succeed in influencing policy decisions. However, such influence is limited by norms within each party regarding acceptable topics of discussion and appropriate levels of dissent. MPs who persistently mobilize around unacceptable issues jeopardize their prospects for promotion and ultimately their party membership. We therefore examine backbench influence as a continuum that varies by party, and consider the options available to those pursuing actions outside of accepted norms.

**Thompson, Debra** (thompsd3@ohio.edu)

*Mobilizing Counts: Census Activism in Comparative Perspective*

Many countries, including the United States, Canada and Great Britain, now collect census data on race and justify doing so because the statistics support legislated commitments to rectifying circumstances of racial inequality. Numerous studies of the race question on the American census suggest that civil rights legislation of the 1960s and 1970s created incentives for racial minorities to be counted and as a

result census policy outcomes have been shaped by a push-and-pull politics of negotiation and accommodation between state and societal interests. However, Canada and Great Britain effectively aligned their census practices with the United States in the 1990s, decades after passing civil rights legislation and without social mobilization devoted to the cause. In fact, minority and majority factions in these countries have at times been highly suspicious of the state's intentions in its proposal to count by race. This paper compares the role of contentious census in these three cases and distinguishes between three types of census activism: minority mobilization for racial counting; minority mobilization to avoid racial counting; and majority mobilization against the idea of counting by race.

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*Race and the Canadian Census*

Though it may appear to be a mundane exercise of state administration, the census is invariably a political enterprise. This is especially true of the development, design and implementation of the "race question" in national censuses. By institutional accounts, racial classifications in the census should be rather "sticky": in order to get comparable data over time, comparable categories and classification standards should be employed. However, an analysis of the political development of race in the Canadian census reveals puzzling trends. A question on race existed in the pre-Confederation censuses and was included on virtually every census through 1941. In 1951 the terminology of race was abandoned, eventually replaced by the less ominous phrase "ethnicity". A redesigned question on "population group" was included in addition to the ethnic question in 1996. What explains the evolution of racial categories and classification standards on the Canadian census? This paper will demonstrate that changing global ideas about the nature of race and racial difference have been instrumental in informing the decision of whether or not to count by race. I contend that though the transmission of this transnational norm can be traced through individual decision-makers engaged in global conversations with their counterparts around the world, normative perceptions about democratic legitimacy were far more salient. However, the transnational does not affect the domestic realm without some modifications; I argue that these global ideas are filtered through and mediated by national-level institutions, racial projects of the state, and discourses of national identity.

**Thorlakson, Lori** (thorlaks@ualberta.ca)

*Second Order Elections and Canadian Exceptionalism*

Why does Canada stand out from other federations in the world by not conforming to the expectations of the second order election model? This model predicts that voters will use provincial elections instrumentally to signal their preferences in federal politics and predicts lower voter in provincial elections compared to federal elections. While the truncation of provincial party systems explains part of the story of Canadian exceptionalism, this chapter turns to the micro-level picture of voter attitudes at the provincial level to provide a more complete account. It examines how attitudes such as trust, satisfaction with democracy and interest in politics compare across levels of government, and how these are related to aggregate indicators of 'second order behaviour', such as voter turnout. This paper will use data from seven Canadian provincial elections to test the impact of attitudes such as trust and satisfaction with democracy. This chapter fits with the themes of voting and party systems. While it draws on evidence from recent elections, it contributes to a broader understanding of Canadian electoral behaviour in a multi-level context and makes a contribution to the growing cross-national literature on multi-level voting behaviour.

**Tiessen, Rebecca** (Rebecca.tiessen@rmc.ca)

*Canadian Foreign Policy Commitments to Gender Inequality in Fragile Countries*

In this paper, I examine how gender equality is (or is not) incorporated into Canada's engagement with fragile countries and conflict-affected communities. The broader context of this research is to explore Canada's engagement in fragile countries beyond maternal health initiatives. As such, this paper draws on theoretical, practical and policy-oriented realities of the integration of gender equality in Canada's development assistance programs in fragile countries and conflict-affected communities around the world. For many years, Canadians took great pride in being one of the pioneers of gender equality policy, both domestically and in international forums. Many development aid recipients indeed continue to think of Canada as one of the 'gender-friendly' donor nations. However, much has changed in recent years in Canada when it comes to promoting gender equality, not the least of which is the shift in language from gender equality to "equality between men and women" in Canadian government documents, minister's speeches, and official government materials. This paper builds on broader critiques and analyses of Canadian foreign policy including the decline in Canada's humane internationalism.

**Timpson, Annis** (a.m.timpson@ed.ac.uk)

*Expanding and Contesting the Canadian Citizenship Regime?: Language Politics, Indigenous-Settler Relations and the Territorial State*

This paper demonstrates how language politics and language policy development in Canada's youngest territory of Nunavut are simultaneously expanding and contesting established approaches to official language recognition in Canada. The paper argues that while the politics of language policy development in Nunavut have challenged binary understandings of majority and minority language rights in Canada they have also highlighted the potential for policy innovation at the sub-state level. The paper examines the politics of Indigenous and Settler engagement in new language policy development in Nunavut, a process initiated in the context of the Government of Nunavut redesigning official language legislation inherited from the Government of the Northwest Territories, at division. It draws on documentary analysis, interviews, and observations of public debates and consultations on language policy development in Nunavut, highlighting the distinct citizenship claims that were articulated by representatives of the territory's Inuit language, francophone, and anglophone communities. The paper then assesses the extent to which these distinct citizenship claims were recognised in the development of new public policies designed, on the one hand, to promote official recognition of Indigenous and Settler languages in Nunavut and, on the other, to protect the territory's indigenous Inuit languages from erosion. The paper concludes by highlighting how sub-state language politics

and policy development in Nunavut is not only contributing to complex language policy debates in Canada but also impacting on international debates about designing policies to improve Indigenous-Settler language relations in multinational federations.

**Tolley, Erin** (emtolley@gmail.com)

*Add Colour and Stir? Media Portrayals of Visible Minority Women in Canadian Politics*

In 1993, Jean Augustine and Hedy Fry became the first visible minority women elected to Canada's Parliament. Since then, 21 women of colour have followed in their footsteps reminding us of Parliament's capacity to represent Canadian diversity. Possessing a so-called "double outsider" status, visible minority women offer the potential to bridge racial, cultural and gender divides. Unfortunately, this heterogeneity is often absent from scholarly accounts of women in politics, with the literature tending to present a homogenized portrait of women's experiences. This is particularly true in the literature on gendered mediation which, with few exceptions, typically focuses on White women elites. From this research we learn that the media portray female politicians as women first and politicians second. Their coverage suggests that they are most interested in "soft" policy issues and often draws attention to their femininity, appearance and personal lives, portraying them as novelties or atypical outsiders. Focusing on English-language print media coverage, this paper picks up on that analysis, as well as the author's own work on racial mediation to examine the discourses that characterize the media's coverage of visible minority women in politics. It argues that we cannot simply transfer findings from the literature on gendered mediation and expect to fully understand the media's coverage of visible minority women. Rather, intersecting race and gender identities provide multiple angles from which stories about female politicians are presented and positioned. The paper suggests that research must offer a theoretical and empirical foundation for understanding and explaining this diversity.

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*Challenging the Neoliberal Settler City: The Urban Aboriginal Strategy, the Politics of Displacement, and Indigenous Resistance*

The majority of Indigenous people in what is now Canada live in urban areas; yet an active state politics of erasure and disconnection continues to marginalize them. This paper examines the neoliberal settler city as an ongoing project of displacement through a number of legal, administrative, political, and discursive strategies, including the construction of urban Indigenous subjects as confounding the spatialities of the settler state. Based on key informant interviews, I explore the transformations in urban Indigenous governance in Ottawa and Winnipeg in the 2000s, with a particular focus on the horizontally and vertically networked partnerships created under the federal Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS). I argue that the new collaborative paradigm under the UAS perpetuates the displacement of Indigenous nationhood, rights, title, and jurisdiction and operates as a neoliberal strategy of political containment. As I will show, Indigenous decision-making, community-building, and nation-building are severely constrained through technologies of government at a distance. Despite these structural barriers, however, Indigenous leaders and community workers have appropriated political space for self-determined community development through coalition-building and by using intergovernmental partnership mechanisms to press for rights-based agendas. In effect, these arrangements are re-worked based on Indigenous agendas that actively contest the logic of the UAS and challenge the neoliberal settler city.

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*Truth is a Stubborn Beast – How Will You Handle It? Truth Seeking and Credibility Assessment During Refugee Hearings*

Canada's refugee determination system is under extensive transformation since the Conservatives came to power in 2008 as a minority government. Despite following a conciliatory process with three opposition parties in order to pass Balanced Refugee Reform Act C-11; after becoming a majority government in 2011, Conservatives replaced it with Bill C-31 which is seen as draconian in refugee protection circles. During the discussions in the parliament and in the media conservative MPs continuously employed "bogus refugee" discourse to differentiate between deserving resettlement refugees and undeserving self-selected, inland claimants. Bogus refugee discourse is not new and the hysteria towards bogus refugees and criminals emerge when international ships arrive to Canadian borders and disappear afterwards, I argue that currently Canada is experiencing a shift in governance paradigm. This is done through the construction of inland refugees as unjust claimants of social services not even available to real Canadians. In this paper governance paradigm will be defined as "the intellectual framework and institutional relations that structure public policy making in a particular field" following Bradford (2003, 1006) and I will trace the process that led to the adoption of Bill C-31 through the analysis of parliamentary proceedings and written media.

**Tomm, Jonathan** (jonathantomm@yahoo.ca)

*Deliberation in Anarchy: Communicative Trust-building outside the State*

Rational choice theories have long confronted two difficult and seemingly unrelated challenges. First, they have struggled to account for their "micro-foundations": how equilibria relate to the actual processes of human decision-making. Second, strategic modelling works better in some situations than in others. Laboratory and field studies consistently show that in many situations people choose to follow norms, even at a cost to themselves. I argue that the solution to both these problems lies in an unlikely place: in a Kantian conception of practical reason. Practical reason consists in acting upon a maxim or principle that the actor endorses as right or good, and therefore normatively binding. Strategic reasoning is no exception: if a player sees that action x is the best way to achieve his goal y given the likely actions of others, then he ought to take action x, barring reasons to the contrary. This conception of practical reason does two things for rational choice theory. First, it provides the needed "micro-foundations." Rather than directly maximizing utility, rational actors in strategic situations follow maxims or, simply, norms that tell them what sort of action is best, given their considered goals. Second, it explains why, and when, strategic models don't explain behaviour very well. If the norms actors follow are primarily private-i.e. obligations to themselves or their own constituencies-their choices will be relatively amenable to game-theoretical modelling. But if those norms are public-principles shared between the players-their actions may diverge considerably from strategic equilibrium.

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*North-South Research and Social Justice: A New Paradigm for research ethics*

We demonstrate the biomedical paradigm dominating research ethics discussion and practice is inadequate for N-S population health research. A North-South research team with a grant to investigate sources of ethical challenges in Canada's Global Health Research Initiatives Teasdale-Corti Team Grant Program, we support our conclusion with empirical data collected using surveys and in-depth interviews. Teasdale-Corti N-S research partnerships investigate relationships between human health and well-being and the social and environmental conditions in S-countries. Capacity building is a grant requirement, so projects integrate research findings into policy and practice. Researchers collaborate with research users (policy makers, practitioners, societal organizations and community leaders) to ensure N-S research matters for N-S health and S-development. Key findings: i. ethical challenges arose because research teams operate in a complex network of relationships and equally complex network of rules and requirements; ii. the dominant biomedical paradigm for research ethics is characterized by individualism and a narrow notion of justice. Since we show individuals are loci of relationships and that the notion of social justice provides the moral foundation for N-S research, the moral values upheld by the dominant paradigm are inadequate for understanding N-S ethical research practice.

**Tozzo, Brandon** (arthiusx@hotmail.com)

*How the West Won: The Economics Forces Behind the Political Ascent of the Conservative Party*

The Great Recession has accelerated an ongoing economic and political shift in Canada towards western provinces. This has been driven in the past ten years by demands for resources from China and India. Although by far Canada's largest trading partner remains the United States, trade is growing with Asia. In the 20th century Ontario and Quebec were the hub of Canada's economic growth; it is now being replaced by Alberta and British Columbia. This paper will examine the influence changes in global economy are having on the Canadian economy and the domestic political landscape. Thus far, western Canada's economic prosperity has empowered the federal Conservative Party. The enlargement of the Canadian Parliament provides more seats to Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia and will favor the Conservatives. In the long-term, this may represent a shift away from a centralized public policy approach to Canadian political and economic problems in favor of more market friendly strategies, such as personal tax incentives and downloading programs on provincial governments. As well, parliamentary opposition remains fragmented: the long-governing Liberals have been reduced to third-party status, and the NDP face significant difficulties in forming a governing coalition. This paper will conclude that, in part, pressure from the global economy will lead the Conservatives to become Canada's new "natural governing party." A prolonged tenure of the Conservative government could substantially alter Canadian politics, moving the government to the right on economic and social issues.

**Tremblay, Arjun** (arjun.tremblay@gmail.com)

*Different Charters and the Divergence in Multicultural Policy Outcomes in Ontario and Quebec*

Canadian politics has been relatively inured to the virulent backlash against immigrant minorities that has taken hold in some parts of Western Europe. However, at the sub-state level, the provinces of Ontario and Quebec have held public inquiries on the limits of religious accommodation. While scholars have examined the causes and normative foundations of the 'Sharia debate' in Ontario and the 'Reasonable Accommodation debate' in Quebec, they have yet to address their impact on public policy from a comparative perspective. In Ontario, policy makers have opted to abandon a previously accepted form of religious accommodation whereas in Quebec, the reasonable accommodation of religious minorities has persisted albeit in modified form. This divergence is puzzling given Quebec's commitment to 'interculturalism' and to the promulgation of a common public identity and, on the flipside, Ontario's role as the paragon of sub-state multiculturalism. How do we explain this divergence in policy outcomes? In this paper, I contend that policy makers framed questions surrounding the limits of accommodation in relation to different Charters and, in turn, were subjected to different institutional constraints. Whereas the Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982 offered decision-makers in Ontario the opportunity to abandon a form of accommodation, Quebecois decision-makers' reliance on the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms 1975 limited the scope of potential reform. In brief, I contend that institutional factors, rather than ideological and normative commitments to multiculturalism play a determining role in accommodationist policy outcomes.

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*Explaining Multicultural Persistence from a Comparative Perspective: Institutional Design and Elite Preferences*

What explains the cross-polity persistence of multiculturalism as policy option and as policy outcome? Multiculturalism is a nebulous and contested concept and we can discern, from current scholarship, a variety of different understandings of what it constitutes. Here, I employ a public policy definition of multiculturalism and, more specifically, its immigrant-centered variant. When seen through this aperture, many immigrant-centered multicultural public policies have survived, albeit sometimes in modified form, despite a societal 'backlash' against non-Western immigrants, the return of 'integrationism', the rise of an anti-immigrant public discourse, the revelation of majority assimilationist attitudes, and/or an ideological shift towards the protection of dominant cultures and individual rights. Although this pattern has been highlighted in descriptive rejoinders to a developing narrative that points to the 'wholesale retreat' from multiculturalism, the study of multicultural persistence as a cross-polity phenomena is in its infancy. In this paper, I provide a brief survey of current approaches to this phenomenon and highlight their explanatory limitations. This sets the stage for bringing elite preferences and, more importantly, the institutional features of multiculturalism into the explanatory picture of multicultural persistence. In brief, I

contend that the clarity of multicultural mandates, whether multicultural policies are embedded in other rules, and the degree to which multicultural policies generate diffuse and cross-partisan payoffs determines whether they are inured to the 'backlash' against immigrant minorities.

**Triadafilopoulos, Phil** ([t.triadafilopoulos@utoronto.ca](mailto:t.triadafilopoulos@utoronto.ca))

*Roundtable: The Canadian Conservative Party and the Politics of Immigration, Citizenship and Multiculturalism*

(cross-listed with Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics) This roundtable will address the record of the Conservative Party between 2006 and 2012 with a specific focus on policies relating to immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism. Areas under of consideration will include the expansion of Temporary Foreign Workers programs and the Canadian experience class (which encourages those with Canadian experience, among them foreign university students to remain in Canada); changes to Canadian citizenship policy (including placing limits on the passing on of Canadian citizenship to children of Canadian citizens born outside of Canada); the securitization of refugee admissions; attempts to clamp down on human smuggling, and the degree to which trends at the federal level have been matched in Quebec. Presenters will also consider the degree to which the Conservative Party has adapted its ideology and tactics to succeed in a political context transformed by immigration - has the party reconciled conservatism and multiculturalism or has its emphasis on military values and attachments to the British Empire marked a dramatic shift away from a multicultural ethos? Panelists will connect their discussions of policy to the larger question of membership in Canada: how have the Conservatives' initiatives in the areas of immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism influenced prevailing conceptions of membership in Canada (and Quebec)? Have boundaries of inclusion been extended or retracted? The roundtable will also consider the likely trajectory of policy in the areas of immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism in the wake of the Conservatives 2012 electoral triumph and securing of a majority government. Roundtable Participants: Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta) Matt James (University of Victoria) Patti Lenard (University of Ottawa) Daniel Salee (Concordia University) Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

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**Rahmann, Joachim**

*Making Room for Islam in Germany's Public Schools: The Role of the L ander*

Immigration has altered Germany's religious landscape. While Catholics and Protestants are still dominant, Islam has emerged as the Federal Republic's third largest religion, with some 4 four million believers. The German state has belatedly responded to this change by seeking to "integrate" Islam into its elaborate system of regulating church-state relations. This process has been hampered by difficulties in crafting a peak association for Muslims, in line with those that represent Catholics, Protestants and Jews. This paper will examine the work of several German states in succeeding where the federal government has so far failed. I will consider the means by which North Rheine Westphalia and Hamburg have recognized Islam as a religious "community" and proceeded to develop policies for providing Islamic education to Muslim students through public schools. Progress in this regard in other German states will also be considered. The paper will relate the German case to the literature on immigrant integration to point out the deficiencies of theoretical positions that rest on assumptions concerning unified national models. It will also speak to the literature stressing federalism's role as an incubator of policy innovation.

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*Politicizing the Personal: Gendered News Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Candidates*

Female politicians from around the world have complained about the 'lipstick watch' - - media attention to their hair, make-up, wardrobe choices and even their weight. Their family lives and relationships come under press scrutiny as well. Women who seek or hold political careers worry that this sort of reportage draws undue attention to their intimate and personal lives, locates them in the private sphere of the home and family, and highlights their sexed bodies. Is media coverage more likely to 'make it personal' for female politicians than for male politicians? If so, what sort of gender work is performed by such discourses? Our paper answers these questions by performing a longitudinal analysis of the Globe and Mail newspaper's coverage of competitive female and male candidates for the leadership of Canadian national political parties from 1975 to 2012. The paper is theoretically situated in the gendered mediation literature, which posits that media representations tend to situate the male as the norm and the female as unnatural in the political realm. Our analysis develops the concept of gendered mediation by examining the ways in which both women and men candidates are gendered by media discourses, as well as by considering the possibility that while 'up close and personal' reporting may reinforce essentialist masculine/feminine binaries, it also has the potential to disrupt them.

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**Soroka, Stuart** ([stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca](mailto:stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca))

*Consumer choice in online media*

This paper examines the role that consumer choice plays in creating divergent media environments. With the entrenchment of the Internet as the predominant media source for the majority of Canadians, studying the choices individuals make is increasingly important, as these choices have real consequences to the functioning of democracy. Leaving choice to individuals increases the possibility of "transmission failure"; that is, individuals not getting the "full information" assumed in many political theories. Furthermore, different choices can affect

the "picture of the world" individuals create for themselves - for example, over-selection of negative news may result in the perception that politicians do not keep their promises. We have developed, and tested in two experiments, an innovative method for examining how individuals make different choices between articles on news websites. The experiment uses deception in order to make participants feel as if their selections are not being tracked - an important improvement on previous studies. This design also has the benefit of allowing comparisons between the attitudes individuals have regarding news selection, and their actual behaviour when selecting news.

**Turenne Sjolander, Claire** (cturenne@uottawa.ca)

*The state of the discipline: Presence and Absence in Canadian Foreign Policy*

This paper will reflect on the evolution of the study of Canadian Foreign Policy as an academic discipline, asking how and where the boundaries of the discipline have been drawn. What counts as Canadian Foreign Policy, and what is defined as being outside the discipline's borders? Using existing reviews of the field of CFP to begin to map the key questions and approaches, the paper asks what happens to our construction of the discipline if we identify a series of themes (such as security, development, conflict, dis/order) rather than a specific actor (the Canadian state) as the "starting point" or foundation for the field. Which voices get "written into" CFP, and which voices (if any) lose their prominence? Conceived of as a mapping exercise designed to identify the presence and absence of themes and voices in the construction of CFP, this paper argues that, despite the multiplication of "critical" voices, CFP continues to represent itself as a deeply statist (and masculinist) field of study.

**Turgeon, Luc** (lturgeon@uottawa.ca)

*The Study of Canadian Politics: An Inventory and Assessment, 1980-2010*

Students of Canadian politics have in the past often lamented the state of their discipline, criticizing its obsession with the country's constitutional crisis and its lack of engagement with comparative theories (for a good example, see Simeon, 1989). More recently, though, scholars have touted the growing engagement of students of Canadian and Quebec politics with comparative politics (Fourot et al., 2011; White et al., 2008). Those exercises have often taken the form of literature review of specific aspects of Canadian politics (judiciary, parliament, Quebec nationalism, etc). In this paper, we adopt an alternative approach to evaluate the "state of Canadian politics", inspired by Sigelman and Gadbois' (1983) study of the field of Comparative Politics in the United States (see also the replication by Hull, 1999). We analyze all the articles published on Canadian domestic politics between 1980 and 2010 in the two most important journals of our discipline: the Canadian Journal of Political Science and Politique et Sociétés. This data bank of over 500 journal articles allows us to provide a quantitative picture of the evolution of the study of Canadian politics over the last thirty years. Amongst the numerous issues analyzed are: the most important research themes in Canadian politics, the use of quantitative methods, the theoretical approaches used by students of Canadian politics and the comparison of Canada with other countries.

**Turgeon, Mathieu** (turjeon@unb.br)

*Affirmative Action Policies and the List-Experiment: the Case of University Admissions in Brazil*

In this paper, we adopt an indirect questioning methodology to measure attitudes toward the use of race as a criterion for admission in Brazilian higher education institutions. In recent years, Brazilian universities have increasingly adopted a quota system by which a fixed number of places are reserved for Afro and indigenous students. We hypothesize that attitudes toward such affirmative action policies cannot be measured by conventional survey questions because non-eligible students-mostly white and Asian students-may fear to appear prejudiced by showing opposition to them. This survey effect is well-known as the social desirability effect. Thus we adopt a list experiment to measure students' attitudes toward the race-based quota admission system. This methodology provides respondents with a certain degree of privacy and thus allows to better measure sincere attitudes toward that object. As expected, the results show that non-eligible students tend to under-report their opposition to racial quotas in university admission, but the proportion of those who under-report is small. More interestingly, the findings show that quota eligible students, Afro and indigenous Brazilians, tend, for their part, to overwhelmingly under-report their approval of the use of race in university admission. Specifically, eligible students strongly approve of the racial quota system when provided some privacy in their responses, but publicly voice only timid approval of it.

**Turmel, Patrick** (patrick.turmel@fp.ulaval.ca)

*How To Think About The Just City?*

The question of the just city is inseparable from the history of political philosophy, but it was eclipsed in modern times by the question of the just society, thanks to the rise of the nation-state. As a consequence, political philosophers abandoned the city as a subject of investigation and turned their attention on the normative implications of having our political life organized around the state. But now that an ever-increasing proportion of the world's population lives in cities, it is urgent for political philosophers to address the question of justice as it presents itself in the urban context. Political philosophy, both old and new, is not well equipped to deal with the contemporary city, which raises specific demands of justice. In order to do so, we need to extricate what we could call the normative ontology of the city, or what makes it normatively different from other political entities. In this paper, I will shed light on three structural specificities of the contemporary city which, I will argue, can account for its peculiarities from the point of view of justice. The first is its spatiality, or the fact that any normative thinking on the city has to take into account its physical dimension and built environment. Second, its polycentricity, or the fact that the city is the product of a plurality of heterogeneous places. Third, its territoriality, which refers to the territory or political space of the city, and its control.

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*Complex Policy Subsystems and Horizontal Management: The Case of the Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador*

In recent decades, horizontal management has become an increasingly common vehicle for policy-making, as complex policy issues have demanded innovative approaches to address them. Despite its benefits, horizontality has been subject to critical examination. From a theoretical perspective, there is a paradox regarding horizontal policy-making in a context of marked vertical accountability. This is especially true in a federal system like Canada, given the coexistence of various orders of government embedded in a highly pluralist society. This paper adds to the debate about the horizontal management of complex policy issues by examining it from a policy subsystems perspective. Using the case of the Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador (NSP) of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, it draws on government document reviews and interviews to show how the horizontal and participatory planning stages of the NSP were followed by a highly departmentalized execution. The adoption of a policy subsystems perspective sheds light on the implications and potential different subsystem configurations have on horizontal policy-making. The paper argues that the theoretical contradictions found in the NSP case can be understood as a subsystem management effort undertaken by the provincial government in order to minimize some of the negative effects of horizontality. Finally, the study critically analyzes how this working structure has facilitated or obstructed policy development and implementation, and provides theoretical ground to look at the effects on accountability and evaluation. The subject seems particularly relevant in a context of debate concerning the ability of governments to successfully undertake horizontal initiatives.

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*The tale of the dog that did not bark; Explaining Canada's non-acquisition of an independent nuclear arsenal*

Canada's non-acquisition of nuclear weapons in the immediate postwar period (1945-1957) represents an important and heretofore overlooked puzzle for international relations scholarship. Acquisition of an independent nuclear arsenal presented Canada with an unprecedented opportunity to ameliorate the massive objective insecurity generated by US power. Realist theories would suggest that when combined with Canada's postwar economic capabilities, its technological know-how, its resource endowment, and apparent US acquiescence, this insecurity ought to have pushed Canada toward acquisition. However, no such acquisition occurred. In this paper I argue that Canada's non-acquisition of nuclear weapons can only be accounted for by an explanation that recognizes the importance of trust in the Canada-USA relationship. In order to make such an argument, I develop a new conceptual framework for understanding trust, how it is generated, and how it influences agents' decision-making in international politics. Engaging with the recent flowering of scholarship on trust in international relations, and drawing on research from social and cognitive psychology, behavioral economics, and even neurology, I develop a model which shows how narratives like liberalism can render trusting behavior reasonable for agents, and how five mechanisms (interactivity, homogeneity, common interests, shared experiences, and altercasting), which I operationalize both quantitatively and qualitatively, can generate the positive affect and collective identification required for trust to obtain. By rigorously applying this model to the Canada-USA relationship I provide an explanation for Canada's non-acquisition that is both superior to existing accounts and highlight an important new conceptual tool for the study of international politics.

**van Gorp, Johannes A.A.M.** (vangorpj@bu.edu)

*Contested Citizenship and Its Political Consequences in the Netherlands*

The Dutch had come to see their country as one of emigration by the late nineteenth century. Following 1961 this changed when the Netherlands became a net immigrant country again. The integration of immigrants that had come in the post-war era and their offspring was politicized in the early 1990s and resulted in the first real breakthrough of a populist radical right party in 2002. Not only did the increased politicization of "allochtonen" result in more restrictive citizenship laws and integration policy, it also created a challenge for Dutch citizenship. A new division between citizens had been introduced into the national discourse: a differentiation drawn between autochthons and allochtonen. If citizenship at its most basic level truly is about membership to a national political community, this creates problems for that notion. This article examines how Dutch political parties have responded to this new division. It is found that there is more internal agreement amongst politicians within parties of the "new" left and right with regard to this division than there is within the traditionally dominant political parties. Not coincidentally, it is these very same parties that have performed increasingly well at the polls.

**van Haute, Emilie** (evhaute@ulb.ac.be)

*A Simple Tool to Understand Patterns of Electoral Volatility?*

This paper shows how decentralized election results can be used to understand patterns of electoral volatility. Comparing two elections, the model provides a lower bound of the share of voters lost by a party, and of the number of new voters that it managed to convince. The paper proposes a typology of electoral results based on the estimated parameters of the model. We argue that the model can be used to better understand the local specificities linked to the personalization of politics, to avoid errors linked to omitting the role of abstention, and that it also provides a simple tool for better *during the fact* prediction of electoral results.

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*The comparative politics of courts and climate change*

Disappointment with international efforts to find legal solutions to climate change has led to the emergence of a new generation of climate policy. This includes the emergence of courts as new "battlefields in climate fights". By undertaking a cross-national comparative analysis across the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, this article supplements research that has found that litigation plays an important governance gap-filling role in jurisdictions without comprehensive national-level climate change policies. The inductive research design identifies patterns in climate change litigation. The three countries constitute a textbook illustration of the varieties of climate policies, and thus serve as a useful entry point for thinking more generally about the interplay between climate politics and legal mobilization. To

improve theoretical understandings of the role of courts in climate change politics it paints a picture of the range of litigants and the enormous variety of cases brought to courts under the umbrella of the term “climate change litigation”.

**Verli, Dorina** (dorina.verli@utoronto.ca)

*The politics of distinction or oppression? Rousseau against Montesquieu on the role of honour*

This essay examines a neglected but crucial aspect of Rousseau’s republicanism: his conception of honour. It does so through a comparison of Montesquieu’s discussion of the same theme in the *Spirit of the Laws*. Contrary to Montesquieu who argues that honour is the principle which animates monarchical regimes, Rousseau argues that honour is found only in republican ones. In their attempts to resurrect the features of a distinctly republican tradition, contemporary republican theorists have singled out a concern with honour as one of the attributes that makes this tradition superior to liberalism. Yet, most consider Montesquieu and Rousseau to be part of this tradition without acknowledging the striking way in which they disagree with respect to the role of honour in political life. Moreover, while most scholars emphasize Rousseau’s intellectual debt to Montesquieu, his critique of the latter remains largely unexamined. In this essay I argue that this critique is best appreciated through an investigation of the way in which Rousseau overturned Montesquieu’s concept of honour, restricting it exclusively to republican regimes. Thus he showed it to be antithetical to hierarchical relations of domination, acting instead as an animating force for constitutionally sanctioned equality and civil liberty. In this way Rousseau did not simply challenge Montesquieu’s understanding of the political function of honour. More importantly, he launched a substantial critique of Montesquieu’s analysis of both republican and monarchical regimes.

**Vicki, Hsueh** (vicki.hsueh@wwu.edu)

*Cultivating 'Sober' Judgments: The Political of Excess and Emotions*

**Visser, Sara** (sara.vissers@mcgill.ca)

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*How do I change politics? Evaluating the effectiveness of political participation modes*

While we do have some understanding of how citizens engage in politics, much less is known about their evaluations of which political act they see as the most effective. Of course, such evaluations are likely changing depending on the issue at hand. In this paper we use data from the McGill Student Internet Survey as well as the Canadian Election Survey in 2011 in order to explore the patterns of effectiveness of political acts. Including general online actions, or forms of participation on social networking sites, or offline political acts. Our main research question is how the evaluation of the effectiveness of different political acts and modes is related to past patterns of political participation. In a second step we explore how the variations in this relationship can be explained by various factors ranging from personality traits, party identification and positive or negative support for an issue position. Our data set allows a unique analysis of a case study displayed in a small experimental survey scenario, in which the policy issue to be influenced (long-gun registry) is held constant depending on the respondent’s political attitudes, while respondents choose the most effective form of political influence. Our paper will draw important conclusions about how satisfactory and effective different participation modes are for democratic citizens and why.

**Voth, Daniel** (daniel\_voth@shaw.ca)

*Breaking Bad: Lessons from the breakup of the Indian and Métis Conference*

The complex position Métis people occupy within colonialism is not given close consideration when studying contemporary Métis politics. While current research on Métis politics and history has rightly focused on the important kinship ties linking Indigenous peoples, the bodies of relations within a colonial context which underscore tensions between Indigenous peoples also need study. Specifically there is a need to engage with the awkwardness being created by a process of exploitation-colonialism creates for Métis people vis-à-vis other Indigenous peoples. As the Métis assert themselves politically they do so on land home to other Indigenous peoples. The result has been an attempt to promote Métis aims while suppressing goals of non-Métis Indigenous peoples. However this does not preclude experiences like Métis land, language and way of life coming under attack by processes of colonialism. This paper outlines a theory of Métis positionality which appreciates the Métis are simultaneously the products and perpetrators of colonialism while also being colonized subjects. This theory is illustrated using the breakup of the Indian and Métis Conference. In 1967 this organization was racked by the exit of Métis delegates. The delegates declared that they could not pursue their aims in an organization dominated by the logic of First Nations peoples, motivating them to create the Manitoba Métis Federation. This positionality provides a lens to understand Indigenous politics and, counter intuitively, potentially fosters stronger Indigenous solidarity.

**Wadiwel, Dinesh** (dinesh.wadiwel@sydney.edu.au)

*'The Universal Cannibalism of the Sea': Comparing Locke and Derrida's accounts on Dominion, Property and Sovereignty over Animals*

Focusing on the First Treatise in the Two Treatises of Government, this paper will explore the arguments that found the property right in Locke, drawing attention to the drive for “self preservation” and the role of ownership of nonhuman animals in conceptualizing this right. This paper will then compare Locke’s approach to that of Derrida in the *The Beast & the Sovereign* Vol.2. Drawing on Martin Heidegger, Derrida observes that the distinction between human and animal is marked by the human claim to an intelligible, controlled violence, that grasps and takes hold of the violence inherent in all life and utilizes it as a form of domination. Derrida explicitly notes that “all of this does not depend on a Vermögen, on a power, on a faculty that man has at his disposal.” This paper will argue that effectively both Locke and Derrida posit a foundation for human sovereignty over animals as not based upon a factual claim to superior capability (intelligence, speech, reason etc), but rather upon a superiority won as a result of violent contest.

**Wagner, Angelia** (angelia@ualberta.ca)

*Managing the message: The political communication strategies of municipal candidates*

Social media provide candidates with an opportunity to sidestep journalists and directly shape the messages voters receive about their campaigns, giving candidates greater control over their public image. Yet research shows that, for the most part, national politicians have been cautious about incorporating new information technologies into their communication strategies, limiting the democratic potential of this interactive tool. How have municipal candidates used social media to reach out to voters during an election? And how sophisticated are these efforts? My paper answers these questions by statistically analyzing the results of a large-scale survey of women and men municipal candidates in select provinces and territories across the country. I compare how candidates in different geographic and social locations use websites, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, and other information technologies in their bid for public office. I also examine how financial resources constrain or enable candidates to make use of social media.

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*Unraveling Interprovincial Coordination*

Intergovernmental relations have occupied a prominent place in the work of federal scholars. These efforts have reaped considerable rewards allowing us to understand and unpack many of the advantages and disadvantages - the opportunities and challenges - that accompany the division of powers between two or more orders of government. This work, however, has tended to follow along two empirical and theoretical tracks. Empirically, scholars have tended to focus on the vertical interactions between the central and sub-state governments assessing the influence of "national" governments in the affairs of the constituent jurisdictions or the interventions of substate governments in "national" initiatives as they work to create various policy systems or resolve common problems. Theoretically, much of this research has either explicitly adopted or implicitly been informed by the principles of rational choice where the interactions of governments are examined through the lens of the logic of consequences. This paper will tackle intergovernmental relations from different empirical and theoretical angles. Here the horizontal interactions of the substates will take centre stage accompanied by a retrenchment from the logic of consequences in favour of an increasingly sociological or constructivist approach. Using provincial activities in K-12 curriculum as an empirical anchor, this paper will unravel the factors and conditions that contribute to substate collaborations. By following these alternative tracks, this paper will expand our empirical knowledge of the IG world while enriching our theoretical understanding of intergovernmental activities in federations.

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*Gendered Impacts of Globalization on Chinese Economy-Discovering Young Rural Migrant Women in China*

My paper explores how young rural migrant women in China are disempowered and disadvantaged within the broad context of China's rapid economic growth and involvement in the global economy. It addresses concepts of inclusive development, social exclusion, women empowerment and the research question: how to understand gendered impacts of globalization on Chinese economy, and how to situate the population of young rural migrant women within agenda of China's economic development. It helps promote a better understanding of China's development model with the perspective of a critical and gender-sensitive position, and sheds light on an often invisible sector of the Chinese economy-i.e., young rural migrant women, who are generally ignored by mainstream development scholars. There are three parts of the paper. The first part examines the gendered impacts of globalization on the Chinese economy, and proposes a gendered and normative approach to understand China's development and rapid involvement in the global economy. The second part explores how the young rural migrant women in China become marginalized and silenced within China's traditional development agenda and policy debates, and how do they become even more vulnerable than male migrant workers in the broad context of China's integration into the global economy. Thirdly, it explores multi-dimensional aspects that are essential to the life of this population, and in particular the relevance of the dimension of employment in determining and constructing the young rural migrant women's life and freedom to be and do what they value.

**Ward, Ann** (ann.ward@uregina.ca)

*Pride and the Ethics of Aristotle*

In book 4 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle claims that the whole of virtue is exemplified in "greatness of soul" or more traditionally in Latin called "magnanimity." The great souled person, "deems himself worthy of great things and is worthy of them." Thus, Aristotle's great souled person is the proud person. This paper will explore pride, or greatness of soul, as part of my continuing research into Aristotle's ethical theory. It will also explore the division in the soul upon which greatness of soul appears to rest; the great souled person seems torn between their desire for nobility and the desire to be honored for their nobility. Scholars typically argue that this division in the soul actually points to two different types of great of souled persons: the politically active and the philosophic. Nonetheless, I will argue that this division can exist within the soul of a single person, and moreover, it appears that this conflict within the soul of the proud person allows the other moral virtues to come into being. I will conclude with a consideration Aristotle's claim that shame is not virtue, and with a brief analysis of the virtues of gentleness and magnificence to illustrate that greatness of soul is foundational to Aristotle's understanding of moral virtue.

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*Natural Rights and Civil Religion in Thomas Jefferson*

Thomas Jefferson is well known as the author of the Declaration of Independence, arguably the most seminal statement on natural rights in the American political tradition. Jefferson also, of course, played an important role in redefining the role of religion in modern democratic society. Famously, he defended the principle of religious toleration in the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom. Less familiar today,

however, is Jefferson's forays into the subject of scriptural exegesis and biblical hermeneutic in *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*. This paper will argue that this work represents Jefferson's efforts to establish a new theological basis for American religion; in effect to create the foundation of a civil religion that would be compatible with natural rights and democratic governments. This paper will argue moreover that Jefferson's efforts to rewrite the Gospels is a central part of his larger project to establish a moral philosophy that is adapted to what Jefferson takes to be the political, social and economic requirements of a democratic age. In particular I will try to show how Jefferson sought to lend his substantial personal prestige to an interpretation of scripture that he hoped would reduce theological controversy and sectarian division. In Jefferson's reworking of the Gospels Jesus appears as a champion of democratic tolerance and individualism; that is to say, Jefferson's Jesus is what he takes to be a model American.

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*The Separation of Powers and Democratic Renewal of Westminster Systems*

Would introducing elements of the separation of powers into Westminster systems make them more democratic? Among democratic theorists, the common wisdom has been "no": based their judgments on the American case, they conclude that separated powers enable powerful minorities to veto legislation or frustrate policies not in their interests, diffuses accountability, and often leads to gridlock. For these reasons, American democrats have often viewed Westminster systems with envy: because they unify powers and enable a majority to translate its will into legislation and policy, these systems seem more democratic. In this paper we take another look at the effects of the separation of powers on democracy. We ask: In comparison to systems that unify powers, what do systems that separate powers add to or subtract from democracy? We argue the separation of powers is likely to increase the democratic responsiveness and competence of government, all other things being equal. Our method is to compare, theoretically, Westminster systems with those that separate powers in six dimensions of democracy: rule of law, inclusion, political decision-making capacity, policy-making capacity, prospective accountability, and retrospective accountability. In comparison to systems that separate powers, we argue, Westminster systems are inferior in four of these dimensions (rule of law, inclusion, policy-making capacity, and prospective accountability), produce mixed results in one dimension (political decision-making capacity), and are clearly superior only in retrospective accountability. We conclude that we should supplement Westminster systems in ways that introduce the democracy-supporting effects of separated power systems.

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*How Government Policy Reflects Public Opinion: The Evidence from Annual Government Speeches*

The principle that government policy should reflect public opinion lies at the very heart of common understandings of democracy. While this could mean simply that changes in government policy should respond to changes in public opinion, the expectation often is that policy should actually match public opinion. The matching or congruence criterion is typically assessed by comparing government positions with the median public opinion on the same left-right scale. The problem here is that it is difficult to measure the left-right positions that governments actually implement, as opposed to the positions that they, or their member parties, say they would like to implement. Recently, however, it has been shown that credible estimates of the implemented left-right policy positions of British governments can be derived from computerized content analyses of their annual budget speeches. This paper extends this measurement strategy to several other European democracies using annual throne or prime minister's speeches as the source material. The relationship between government policy, so measured, and median left-right opinion in these countries over a period of several decades is then assessed.

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*Assessing the Accountability of Non-governmental actors in Provincial Health Care*

In the tradition of democratic theory, elections are recognized as important mechanisms of accountability. However, the migration of public regulatory responsibility outside the boundaries of elected governments necessitates a fuller 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. In this paper the migration of decision-making authority in provincial health care policy is used to examine the accountability relationships between non-governmental actors and both government and society. Using cases from Alberta, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and Ontario, the existence and relative strength of accountability relationships are evaluated using the rules stipulated in the legislation and responses from political, public servant, and interest group interviewees. Accountability relationships are evaluated based on the existence of requirements for non-governmental actors to justify their 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 within the legislature, and their perceived effectiveness. The findings will contribute to our understanding of the democratic implications of the creation of such bodies in Canadian politics.

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*Dromos or Drive: Competing Theories of the City*

In critical urban studies, the city is widely understood as a site of change, movement, flux, and the new. Based in Paul Virilio's theory of dromology (the "science of speed"), I call this conception the "dromological" city. The dromological nature of the city is both a normative and ontological position, but far from being "critical", I argue that it serves to legitimize one of the most pernicious social processes peculiar to the city: gentrification (or accumulation by dispossession). In this paper I attempt to theorize an opposing understanding of the city, one that challenges the fetishization of speed and change. I base my theory of the city on Slavoj Žižek's (Lacanian) theory of

“drive.” In this respect, the city is understood primarily as a site of routine and tradition, exposing the dromological city as an ideological construction that serves largely the interests of capital (specifically those of real estate investors, speculators, and the elites that enable them). My contention is that the city of drive provides a firm and progressive foundation for conceptualizing resistance to the deterritorializing and disempowering logic of capital investment in urban communities.

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*Law and Faith: Žižek's Flawed Categorization of Judaism and Christianity*

In several places, across his large body of work, Slavoj Žižek conflates Jewish philosophy with postmodern political theory, and the Christian philosophical tradition with what he considers to be genuinely revolutionary political theory (or as pointing towards “Evental” politics). In this construction, Žižek argues, secularized Jewish political theory is defined by a suspension of political action because it is not yet fully sublated, i.e., it remains suspended at the level of abstract negation. Christian political thought, on the other hand, reflects a full willingness to negate the pre-Judaic Symbolic Order, upon which a political project (the Church) can be built. From this, Žižek concludes that Judaism is the religion of Law, while Christianity is the religion of Faith, and that contemporary Left politics requires a certain type of secularized Christian faith, or courage to believe, in order to overcome the postmodern deadlock he calls “liberal Communism.” I argue that Žižek misreads the Christian tradition by overdetermining its relationship to Faith and that, in fact, based on his own use of the Lacanian category of “drive”, both secularized Jewish and Christian thought are religions of Law (cum drive). With this argument in mind, I conclude by speculating on the potential that a political theory, grounded in a fidelity to the Law (vs. the “Event”), may contain for thinking about contemporary politics.

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*DIFFUSION IN CANADIAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES: DRIVEN BY IDEAS OR INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS?Y*

Although policy diffusion across US state governments has been heavily studied since the 1960s, it has received little attention for the provincial level in Canada. This is puzzling, given the substantial powers of Canadian provincial governments, particularly in environmental policy, where they have far more autonomy than US states and EU members. Canada’s federal government plays a circumscribed role in environmental policy, although it alone signs and ratifies international treaties. This unusual situation offers an opportunity for theory testing. Ordinarily, examining national policies it may be difficult to disentangle the influence of international agreements or institutions from policy diffusion or learning, operating through ideas not institutions. Because the federal government cannot compel provinces to adopt environmental policy changes due to treaties, there are two possible conduits for policy diffusion to the provinces. First, provincial governments can emulate policies implemented elsewhere, simply through the diffusion of ideas. Second, provincial governments can adjust their policies in accordance with international agreements signed by Canada. The paper seeks to measure and explain diffusion of environmental policies across Canadian provinces. It will test the fit of Walker’s classic model of S-shaped diffusion of policy innovations observed across US states. (Jack L. Walker’s seminal 1969 article has been cited over 1,500 times.) This will yield broader insights about policy diffusion as a spontaneous process of parallel responses to similar problems, or diffusion as a process significantly mediated by institutional, rather than ideational, factors.

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*Policy Responsiveness at the Subnational Level*

This study examines policy responsiveness at the subnational level in federal countries. Previous research on policy responsiveness has focused overwhelmingly on the national level, and in recent years, scholars have developed a better understanding of the extent to which governments are responsive to citizen preferences and the mechanisms that promote responsiveness. As we shift the focus to the subnational level in federal countries, however, there is good reason to believe that responsiveness functions differently. On the one hand, responsiveness may be greater because the electorate tends to be more homogenous and have greater direct experience with typical subnational policy domains, such as education and health care. On the other, at the subnational level, elections, the key mechanism for ensuring responsiveness, are second order elections. Turnout tends to be lower in such elections and citizens are less attentive. This leads to the expectation that governments are less responsive to citizen preferences. We test these competing hypotheses in several federal countries, including Canada, Australia, the United States, and Germany. The study has important implications for our understanding of responsiveness and representation in federal countries and democracies more generally.

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*Explaining Comparative Voter Turnout in the Canadian Provinces since 1965: The Importance of Context*

Decades of survey research have confirmed the strength of individual-level attitudinal and socio-demographic determinants of voter turnout. Missing from many accounts is the sense that “context matters” in determining rates of political participation. Following in the ecological analysis tradition, the results of the present study confirm two additional, core determinants of voter turnout in the Canadian provinces: (1) the competitiveness of their elections and, related to this, (2) the “progressiveness” of their electorates. Provinces with more closely contested campaigns (i.e., with tighter, two-party contests) tend to feature higher rates of voter turnout. So, too, do provinces with more powerful left-wing parties and higher rates of unionization. These findings are related: the competitiveness of the election matters on the surface, yet its positive relationship with turnout appears to be the product of the fact that more competitive provincial elections tend to feature stronger left-wing parties and higher rates of unionization. These findings are consistent with theories

based in rational choice and “power resources” traditions, and serve as a useful foundation for further comparative research on voter turnout in Canada.

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*Securitization of Uncertainty and Bottom-up Intelligence*

Efforts to create more comprehensive intelligence on terrorist threats post-9/11 have involved the creation of intelligence networks that span not only a variety of government departments, but also involve the participation of local police, the private sector and citizens. By analyzing this decentralization of intelligence gathering, this paper argues that it reflects a new model of bottom-up security that propounds a mantra of resilience in response to the securitization of uncertainty. A critical assessment of the effectiveness of this model through the lens of multilevel governance and the socio-political components of security suggests that bottom-up security networks reverse the relationship between the state and its citizens such that citizenship entails contributing to the security of the state.

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*On Empathy and Rights: Priorities and Distinctions*

Traditionally, while modern political thinkers have hardly ignored humanity's capacity for empathy, they have hardly made it central to political theory either. Yet amongst political theorists today, the sense that humanity's empathetic side might play some important role in our political lives seems at an all-time high. Case in point: the question of rights. For much of modern political theory, the main interest in empathy (to the degree we find one) has been a concern for the way empathetic feelings might compel us to act against a person's rights, by inducing feelings of partiality towards particular individuals or groups over others. By contrast, a number of important contemporary authors - including Richard Rorty, Martha Nussbaum, Michael Ignatieff, Sharon Krause, historian Lynn Hunt and a host of ethics of care thinkers - have focused on the complementarity of empathy and rights, and even the necessity of empathy for rights: with empathy presented as providing either the prerequisite psychological motivation for accepting the rights of others or the primary moral impetus from which the very notion of rights springs. In this paper I attempt to conceptualize the relationship between empathy and rights, finding possible overlaps but agreeing with the traditional view that the two concepts ought to stay decoupled and can remain in obvious tension. Yet I argue against traditional views and suggest that rights claims should not always be prioritized over the demands of empathy, with reference to the case of Northern Ireland and the Danish cartoon crises of 2006.

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*Does Multiculturalism Isolate People? Diversity, social capital, and attitudes towards government in Canada*

Does diversity weaken support for the state? Scholars including Brian Barry and Alesina and Glaeser argue that citizens in diverse societies form weaker connections with each other. Similar to Robert Putnam, they argue that the weaker connections between individuals in ethnically diverse states lead individuals to be less supportive of welfare state programs and state-level collective action. Multiculturalism programs exacerbate these divisions by isolating ethnic minorities, limiting the development of cross-cultural social capital. In my paper I test this theory's application to Canada using regression analysis on data from the Equality, Security, and Community Survey. Examining this isolation theory within the Canadian context is important because of Canada's strong multiculturalism policy. One would expect that if multiculturalism does limit support for state institutions, that this would be particularly the case in Canada. If the theory holds, Canadians who are most tied to their ethnic community, should be most isolated from the rest of the state. Contrary to Barry's theory, I find that no evidence of a negative relationship between the strength of one's connection to one's ethnic community and one's support for government institutions or trust of other individuals in Canada. This holds for both individuals that identify primarily as ethnically Canadian and those that do not. I argue that my findings suggest significant problems for the thesis that multiculturalism isolates ethnic communities from each other and limits support for state institutions.

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*Post-Materialist Values in the Supreme Court of Canada: An Empirical Examination of Environmental Cases, 1973-2010*

Post-industrial societies like Canada have undergone a pervasive shift in political attitudes and values since the close of World War II (see Inglehart 1997, Inglehart and Welzel 2005). As the public has turned increasing attention to quality of life concerns and individual participation in politics, so-called “post-materialist values” have become more prominent while economic security and safety concerns have faded in importance. This shift in value priorities has occurred across generational lines, and endorsement of environmental protections is one of the hallmarks of this theory of value change. We examine this theory in the venue of the Canadian Supreme Court, seeking to answer three key questions. First, have modern justices on the Court exhibited a greater tendency to support environmental causes than their predecessors? Second, has there been a rise in environmental interest group litigation that might buttress the argument for post-materialist value change? Finally, do claims for post-materialist change in environmental cases stand up to the scrutiny of rigorous tests of logistic regression when examining other plausible rival variables? Our paper uses data from cases decided between 1973 and 2010 to answer these questions. We find qualified support for Inglehart's theory of value change in environmental cases. As one indication, controlling for a host of rival explanatory variables, McLachlin Court justices are 40 percent more likely to cast a pro-environment vote than justices of the 1970s era. The paper provides intriguing evidence of value change moving beyond the Canadian public to encompass elite, unelected politicians.

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*An Empirical Assessment of the Views of Constitution Scholars on 2008 Prorogation*

Prorogation is a routine part of a Parliamentary system and can be a mechanism for ensuring effective governance. Since 2008, however, prorogation has become increasingly politicized. This paper reports the views of 25 Constitutional scholars on the 2008 prorogation based on a survey completed between August and October 2012. Using a mixed methods approach, the paper presents areas of consensus and concern and focuses on the 1) existence and nature of the Governor General's discretion to prorogue; 2) the impact of prorogation on principles of responsible government; and 3) possible options to guide future action. While pronouncements by pundits and the media continue, this paper seeks to provide an empirical contribution to existing debates and serve as the starting point for a larger and longer-term project exploring the views of Canadians on prorogation and power.

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*Impact of Minority Governments in the Canadian House of Commons on Democratic Responsiveness*

Half of the sessions of the Canadian Parliaments from 1955 to 2010 have had minority governments. This paper tests two hypotheses regarding the impact of minority government on the democratic responsiveness of the Canadian federal government. First, we test the hypothesis that the government is more responsive to the median voter, relative to its own party base, when it is a minority government than when it is a majority government. Second, we test that this effect is mitigated by the popularity of the government, such that a minority government will be less responsive as it rises in the polls but due to a need to remain popular will still be more responsive than a majority government. We proceed by combining survey policy preference data from the Canadian election studies and 85 commercial polls to estimate the policy preferences of the Liberal and (Progressive) Conservative party bases, and the median voter. This is done for the 1955 to 2010 period. This data is contrasted with the legislative output and program expenditures of the federal government during the same period. By examining the degree to which federal legislation and expenditures has responded to the preferences of the median voter relative to those of the government party's base, we are able to test the two hypotheses. In doing so, we demonstrate that the relatively frequent minority governments in the Canadian House of Commons has had a positive impact on the democratic responsiveness of the Canadian federal government.

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*Identity and Belonging among Recent Immigrants in Canada: Do Ties to the Country of Origin Hinder Integration?*

Identification with, and positive orientations toward, the host political community are seen as crucial indicators of the successful political integration of immigrants. Previous research has demonstrated that the Canadian case is good example of success: immigrants have a strong sense of belonging in Canada, even relative to their domestically-born counterparts. But we know relatively little about the sources of that sense of belonging, especially among those who have just settled in Canada. This paper use survey data of immigrants who have been living in Canada for less than a decade to explore the factors that lie behind Canada's success. The empirical analysis centres on the impact of immigrants' affective ties to their countries of origin on their orientations toward Canada: do those ties hinder or help integration in the new host country? One strand of research in the international literature suggests that newcomers are more open to successful political integration in their new host country when they hold weak affective ties to the country of origin; another strand suggests that strong ties to the country of origin are not a barrier, and may actually facilitate successful integration in the new host country. This paper contributes to that debate with an examination of the Canadian case.

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*Public-private partnerships: re-conceptualizing the 'public interest'*

Public-private partnerships (P3s) have been present in jurisdictions across Canada since the 1990s but it is only within the past decade (or less) that systematic attempts have been made on the part of government to protect the public interest when developing P3s. This raises three interrelated questions: how is the 'public interest' now conceptualized, what types of protections are being offered, and what have been the implications of these reforms? In addressing these issues, this paper argues that the P3 phenomenon relies on a fundamental reorientation and marketization of the public interest. Key components of this process include the methods now used to make infrastructure planning decisions (including how value for money is gauged and risk is assessed) and the empowering of new public sector agencies geared strictly toward privatization. Attempts to protect the public interest are therefore more attuned to facilitating P3s and streamlining privatization processes than they are to improving social outcomes, broadly conceived.

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*'Decolonizing Political Theory': Exploring the Implications of Advocacy for Political Science*

In June 2012, the Political Theory section of the Canadian Political Science Association conference held presentations with two mutually contradictory sentiments. On the one hand, it organized a workshop on "Decolonizing Political Theory", which was "seeking to critically examine the colonial impulses and decolonizing potential of political theory". On the other hand, it showcased a presentation by Andrew Rehfeld entitled "Offensive Political Theory". This presentation asserted that advocacy did not constitute political theory, as envisioned in political science, because it was not seeking knowledge about the political world. These opposing notions of political theory raise important questions about the role of the field in the discipline of political science, and how it should respond to contradictions between evidence based conceptions of politics and government and the "discourses" of groups who claim to be oppressed. This paper will explore this tension in the context of theorizing aboriginal-settler relations in political science. Using a historical and materialist analysis, it will be shown that advocacy obstructs our capacity to theorize colonialist developments in Canada.

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*Caught in Canada's Constitutional Cracks: 'Policy Space' and On-Reserve Contamination in Aamjiwnaang*

Aboriginal reserves in Canada are paradoxical spaces. According to our Constitutional division of powers, reserves fall under fiduciary 'Crown' authority. At once, reserves are over-determined geographical spaces, demarcated, partitioned and distinct from the conscious reality of most Canadians; simultaneously, they are forgotten spaces, lost in a legal and policy vacuum. This paradox comes to the fore when considering the policy domain and situated impacts of on-reserve contamination, where environment twins health policy. In contrast to scholarship that tries to 'solve' questions of Aboriginal governance, this paper examines the impact of overlapping jurisdiction for environmental health on Canadian reserves and interrogates how multi-level and multi-jurisdictional governance produces a 'policy space'. What are the consequences of Canada's jurisdictional configurations for on-reserve environmental health policy? How can we re-think the reserve's location in Canadian politics? I respond as follows: First, this paper develops a socio-spatial approach to the contested political space of the reserve. Second, I examine the legal underpinnings of the reserve and impacts of competing jurisdictional interactions for on-reserve environmental health policy. Third, drawing from interview data and ethnographic methods, I anchor this analysis with the Aamjiwnaang First Nation's lived-experience in a region known as 'Canada's Chemical Valley'. This paper contends that reserves are not spaces void of political agency; rather, by examining the reserve through a socio-spatial analysis, the reserve can be understood as a political space imbued with meaning. To conclude, this paper offers some suggestions for re-thinking the reserve's spatialization and gestures toward future policy directions.

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*Reserved to the Apolitical? Exploring the geo-politics of sanctuary and reserves in Canada*

At the intersection of political science and geography, this paper comparatively explores how 'the sanctuary' and 'the reserve' function as powerful political technologies regulating Indigenous peoples and migrants in Canada today. Through discursive analysis (including a review of relevant political geography literature, media accounts, public statements and document analysis) this paper demonstrates how both the sanctuary and the reserve are conceptually framed through a narrow, scalar understanding of the civic, local or domestic. In this dominant portrait 'scales' are positioned as below, or outside the realm of politics. We critically illuminate how this scalar logic misleadingly shapes geo-political problems of 'sanctuary' and the 'reserve' as apolitical. Our analysis illustrates how this domesticating framing produces the sanctuary and the reserve as passive sites within which Indigenous peoples and migrants are rendered passively confined. We suggest this is a dangerously depoliticizing mode of framing, and argue that these spaces are deeply political; we thus seek to develop a relational way of conceptualizing these political spaces in Canada. As such, our analysis asks: what 'politics' are at stake in constructing sites of sanctuary and reserve in Canada, theoretically and in practice? Our method draws upon academic literature in the field of political geography and our own ethnographic 'field research'. We take Canadian scholar, Warren Magnusson as a starting point to analyse the specificity of Canadian political space, whilst retaining a relational understanding of how these sites exceed a statist frame, which are also challenged through complex, relational networks beyond the Canadian context.

**Williams, Russell** (russellw@mun.ca)

*"Australian and Canadian Financial Regulation in the Era of Globalization: How 'History Matters' in National Reform"*

As many have noted, neo-institutionalism's "microfoundations", how exactly it is that "history" in the form of institutions "matters" to such an extent in policy-making, vary a great deal. Whether rational choice institutionalism (Ostrom 1999), actor-centered institutionalism (Scharpf, 1997), path dependency/positive returns (Pierson, 2000) or more recently, discourse institutionalism (Schmidt, 2007) the major theoretical approaches all emphasize different causal explanations for the role institutions play in shaping contemporary policy options. This paper revisits the relative merits of these approaches through a comparative examination of financial sector policymaking in Australia and Canada. Australia and Canada have a great deal in common; both have broadly similar financial industry, institutional and policy-making environments, both responded to financial sector globalization with early programs of deregulation and significant reorganization of regulatory institutions, and both have also had significant policy debate around levels of industry conglomeration. Most importantly, both have recognized (or agreed with international prompting) that some form of the "twin peaks" model of financial supervision (which suggests two separate national regulators - one prudential and one for market conduct and industry practices) is desirable given the increasing complexity and risks of modern finance. Despite this, the two countries have developed different regulatory approaches, in large part due to the legacy of pre-globalization institutional developments which have made it harder for Canada to develop an effective national market conduct regulator. This paper argues that this difference has been driven by dynamics reflective of discursive institutionalism rather than more traditional "rational" approaches in neo-institutionalism.

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*Pipelines or Pipedreams? A Comparative Study of Municipal Reactions to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline in British Columbia and Alberta*

Over the last several years, there has been considerable debate over the environmental and economic consequences of the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline. The pipeline will transport bitumen from the Athabasca Oil Sands in northern Alberta to a terminal in Kitimat on British Columbia's Pacific coast. The bitumen will then be exported by tanker to markets in Asia. To date, the most vocal opposition to the pipeline has been from environmental organizations and First Nations in northern British Columbia. However, some municipal governments in northern British Columbia have also entered the debate, passing symbolic resolutions against the development of the pipeline. Others, including many municipalities along the pipeline route in Alberta, have been more supportive. This paper will

examine municipal reactions to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline in British Columbia and Alberta. It will ask the question: what factors explain the differences between municipalities in both provinces on this issue? Drawing on interview data and an extensive media study this paper will explore three possible explanations of variation at the municipal level: differences in the political culture of the two provinces, especially with regards to resource development and the environment; differences in the institutional frameworks and incentive structures around resource development that govern municipal affairs in both provinces; and differences in the political economy of each province and the role that hydro-carbons have played in economic development at the provincial and local levels.

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*The Socialist Imprint on Saskatchewan Politics*

The Saskatchewan CCF-NDP, holding office in all but 16 of the 63 years following its initial victory in 1944, qualified as the province's "natural governing party." To account for social democracy's rise, triumph, and persistence in Saskatchewan, this paper disentangles the socialist threads woven into Saskatchewan's political culture and points to the logic of the province's electoral system as contributing to the CCF-NDP's success. The thesis is that urban Old World Britons and their labour-socialist thinking exerted a pivotal political influence in the province's first four decades. Unlike Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia, where socialist parties also had some purchase, the presence of British labour-socialists proved particularly potent in Saskatchewan because of its geography, unique ethno-cultural mix, the CCF's relative openness to minority cultural groups, and the dynamics of the single-member plurality electoral system. Despite the steadily diminished farmers' and cooperative movements which had animated the early CCF, steady urbanization, and Saskatchewan's economic transformation, social democracy implanted itself in the provincial political culture so that even its opponents have been compelled to accept much of its legacy. Using Lipset's Agrarian Socialism as a starting point and deploying a qualitative historical orientation, this paper utilizes census, economic, electoral, and public opinion data to argue that, notwithstanding the recent electoral reversals of the NDP and its becalmed state, social democratic values continue to resonate with Saskatchewanians. This study is located within the author's wider research interests in provincial politics and the NDP.

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*Collective Memory Studies in Comparative Perspective*

My conference paper will be based upon research I conducted during my first sabbatical (2011-2012) during which I read extensively about Spain, Yugoslavia, Japan, as well as East and West Germany. The goal of the conference paper will be to look for similarities and differences in how each of these societies has dealt with their violent pasts (civil wars, World War II, genocide). The cases allow for an investigation of the following central question: How do democratic (West Germany and Japan) and authoritarian (East Germany, Spain, Yugoslavia) societies differ in their ability to deal with their violent histories? The research will be based upon an extensive reading of the existing secondary literature related to these cases. Collective memory scholarship is an interdisciplinary field of research that looks at how interpretations of the past help to shape current political debates. For example, my first book length publication in this field is a comparison of how East and West German societies dealt with the history of the Holocaust and World War II through debates in the political sphere amongst elites, as represented in the media, along with representations of that past in the popular culture of television and film ("Getting History Right": East and West Germany Collective Memories of the Holocaust and War: Bucknell University Press 2011). Most collective memory research is based on a single case study approach. What is lacking in collective memory research, although not absent, are broader comparative studies.

**Wood, Donna** (woodd@uvic.ca)

*Activating the Unemployed in Canadian Provinces*

Over the past fifteen years the Government of Canada has substantially vacated the employment services and welfare policy domains. In 1996 federal funding for social assistance was reduced, and the national framework eliminated when the Canada Assistance Plan was replaced with the Canada Health and Social Transfer. That year provinces also started to take on responsibility for active employment measures under devolved Labour Market Development Agreements (LMDAs). To-day each province and territory runs its own public employment service, many through 'one-stop shops' that align social assistance and employment integration programs. Social assistance eligibility, benefits, and conditions are now an exclusive provincial government responsibility. Some provinces have also implemented income supplementation schemes using the tax system. These changes - coupled with the current federal government's 'hands-off' approach to intergovernmental relations - have led to significant decentralization or "provincialization" of Canada's employment services and welfare programs. Drawing on interviews with key informants, this paper surveys and compares the governance regimes that Alberta and British Columbia have put in place since 1996, focusing on the service provision models that have emerged and the institutional configurations used to oversee and influence how labour market policy is planned, designed and delivered within each province. It uses international trends related to activation - service integration, decentralization, marketization of service delivery and interagency cooperation - as a frame to assess key similarities and differences, and the concept of political culture to explain differences in the arrangements chosen.

**Wood, Donna** (woodd@uvic.ca)

Both Canada and the European Union (EU) are complex multilevel systems where authority is dispersed between orders of government - local, regional, provincial, national and supranational - as well as across markets, communities and citizens. As each has sought unity of the whole while respecting the diversity of their constituent parts, different modes of governance have evolved. This roundtable uses the EU as a mirror to reflect on Canada's traditional way of governing social policy (through executive federalism and the federal spending power) by comparing it with EU approaches through the Open Method of Coordination. Might there be lessons for Canada from this EU experience?

At the roundtable up to eight Canadian scholars (Amy Verdun and Donna E. Wood, University of Victoria; Thomas Hueglin, Wilfrid Laurier University; Erika Arban, University of Ottawa; Rachel Laforest, Queen's University; Heather Millar, University of Toronto; Julie Simmons, University of Guelph, and Patrik Marier, Concordia University) will share insights from their research comparing Canadian and EU governance approaches in employment, health, child benefits, pensions, and international development. Engagement of the courts and civil society, as well as the value of comparing Canada and the EU will also be highlighted. Their contributions and others on this topic will be consolidated into a special issue of the journal *Canadian Public Administration*, to be released in June 2013.

**Woons, Marc** (marc.woons@hiw.kuleuven.be)

*Multinational Social Justice in Europe and Canada: Political Community Building With or Without Shared Identity*

What can be done to promote social justice in multinational political communities where citizens almost exclusively identify with their national community? Two challenges to the traditional Westphalian idea of territorially aligning each nation with a (sub-)state lead to such circumstances. In Europe, supranationalism involves states (and nations) sharing sovereignty over matters traditionally reserved for the nation (and its state). In Canada, the legitimate national claims of Indigenous peoples have introduced a complexity that has proven difficult to manage. In both cases, national communities do not share a strong overarching multinational identity that compliments their unique national identities. This presents a strong barrier to multinational social justice. Yet, traditional political community building ('nation building') practices are universally seen as impractical and unjust for promoting intolerance and war between and within nation-states. The proposed research investigates whether multinational social justice requires a shared identity comparable to their national identity. If so, what political community building strategies might build a shared identity? If no such practical options exist, are other strategies possible? And are the two approaches incompatible? In answering these questions, it is argued that any approach must fundamentally respect the existing national identities people hold without demanding that they acquire new ones. This means that political institutions should remain neutral on which identities its citizens hold, while allowing them the maximum freedom to positively identify with national and multinational levels as they wish.

**Wright, Joanne** (jwright@unb.ca)

*The politics of choice feminism: making sense of the PIP breast implant scandal*

In this paper, I consider the rise of choice feminism and its impact on feminist thinking on the politics of consent. While the proliferation of lifestyle and career choices for women is generally regarded as a marker of feminism's success, the contemporary enthusiasm for choice as a good in and of itself tends to individualize feminist politics while also failing to take account of the social construction of choice. My purpose is to situate this variant of feminist politics on the spectrum of feminist political theorizing on the issues of choice and consent while also considering a case study in which we can see these issues take shape. Drawing upon the medical and public representations of elective breast augmentation surgery as one benign choice for women among many, this paper centers attention on the recent British public health scandal concerning faulty PIP implants manufactured in France. The conversation about the health concerns that have arisen as a result of PIP implants present a unique opportunity to engage the public in a discussion about the risks associated with breast implants. Yet, media portrayals of this implant scare have tended to emphasize PIP as the bad apple, and to normalize and depoliticize the choice to undergo elective breast augmentation. For its part, choice feminism provides the necessary backdrop for the dramatic rise in surgical alteration as the social construction of choice along with the context of coercive body politics underwriting this choice are neatly hidden from view.

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*Elite Rhetoric and Public Opinion on National Identity in Developed Democracies*

Recent scholarship has sought to pinpoint the sources of national identity by focusing on apolitical explanations that privilege macro-economics trends as well as individual-level attributes. What is missing from these accounts is the role of politics; political elites espouse distinctive messages about what their country is, and there are many reasons to believe that the public will respond to them. With the rise of parties at the right across Europe, the question is immanent whether their continuous denouncing immigration, and highlighting the national in-group, has influenced public opinion regarding national self-identification, or rather the contrary, namely that elite rhetoric responds to more pronounced self-identification among the citizenry. We leverage the International Social Survey Program's "National Identity" modules (1995 and 2003) and data from the Comparative Manifestos Project. In a first wave, we will apply multi-level to detect whether elite rhetoric and individual identity are related with each other. In a second phase, by using cross-lagged models, we are able to respond to the question whether public opinion drives elite rhetoric, or whether political messages influence individual attitudes.

**Wylie, Lana** (wyliel@mcmaster.ca)

*The Prestige Calculation in International Relations: A Brazilian Case Study*

This paper addresses the role of prestige in Brazil's international relations. Brazil has made a number of foreign policy decisions that cannot be explained by traditional political science or IR paradigms. This paper argues that prestige can both be used as a means to obtain greater power and more significantly for IR theory, that prestige can also be an end of state behavior. This paper examines the use of prestige as a means and an end of Brazilian foreign policy, for example, Brazil's aggressive quest to gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Interestingly, Brazil has been willing to make significant trade-offs in order to achieve this goal. The paper demonstrates that prestige can play an important independent role in foreign policy calculations and have a major impact on the conduct of relations between states.

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*Les portes-tournantes en politique : mesures et mises en perspective*

Le phénomène des portes tournantes (ou revolving doors) réfère au passage des titulaires de charges publiques (TCP) dans l'un des secteurs privés pour lequel ils étaient jusque-là les régulateurs. Il concerne également les mouvements professionnels d'individus qui choisissent de quitter un domaine d'activités donné pour exercer un rôle de TCP en lien direct avec ce domaine. Ce phénomène suscite généralement la suspicion, étant associé à la mise en place d'un réseau d'influence qui peut procurer certains bénéfices à ses membres. Notre communication présentera une première caractérisation de ce phénomène dans le contexte canadien, au moyen d'une étude empirique portant sur la provenance et la destination professionnelle des principaux TCP du Québec (ministres, chefs de cabinet, sous-ministres et principaux dirigeants d'organismes), depuis le milieu des années 1990 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Cette démarche nous permettra de questionner la définition du lobbying tel que généralement conçu légalement, ainsi que la pertinence des règles d'encadrement de cette activité, particulièrement celles liées à l'après-mandat. Non seulement cette réflexion nous apparaît-elle utile afin de mieux saisir la nature de l'influence exercée en lien avec des décisions publiques, mais elle nous semble cruciale dans un contexte où la suspicion généralisée à l'endroit du monde politique (Bernier Arcand, 2009; Rosanvallon, 2006) a incité les gouvernants à tenter de mieux encadrer les agents d'influence, comme en témoignent plusieurs législations récentes. Autres panélistes :1) Maxime Boucher2) Stéphane Pageau

**Yeatman, Anna** ([a.yeatman@uws.edu.au](mailto:a.yeatman@uws.edu.au))

*The politics of human rights: the agonistic relationship between social democracy and neo-liberalism*

This paper proposes that modern citizenship centres on the idea of the individual as the subject of right, as someone entitled to the standing of an individual person. This idea presupposes the de-legitimation of non-individualised forms of social life and opens up the terrain for contestation for how an individualised society is to be conceived and to operate. The discourse of subjective right is structured by an unresolvable and agonistic tension between two competing ideas of subjective right: personal security and property right. This struggle is exemplified in the political agonism of twentieth century human rights discourse. The human rights agenda is entirely different depending on whether the starting point is personal security or property right. The paper explains the difference between these two agendas as they are articulated to become two distinct and mutually exclusive ideas for publicly authorised institutional design. It explains how the relationship between emancipatory rights claims and governmental response to these claims operates differently depending on whether the human rights framework for the state (and the interstate order) is oriented primarily to subjective right or property right. The relationship between the particular state and the international interstate order also operates differently depending on which of these prevails. We have seen the displacement of a relatively successful struggle for personal security as expressed in the establishment of the postwar 'Keynesian Welfare State' by a ruthless reassertion of property right as the core of the official late 20th and 21st century agenda for human rights.

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*Multilevel Governance and Public Policy in Canadian Municipalities*

This paper reports some of the principal findings from a research project undertaken by a large group of scholars over the past seven years. The focus is on how intergovernmental negotiations produce policy in Canadian municipalities, and on the role of 'social forces' - more or less organized interests of all kinds - in the policy making process. We have been particularly interested in municipal governments, both as participants in intergovernmental relations and as hubs of networks of local social forces. Our results, overall, paint a thorough picture of multilevel governance in Canada. In this paper, the findings are organized around the themes of effectiveness and accountability. After a brief introduction, and an account of the research, these themes are taken up in turn. I conclude with general findings about multilevel governance in Canada and about the position of municipal governments in the Canadian system.

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*The Sources of Valence Judgements: Role of Policy Distance and Structure of the Left-Right Spectrum*

The concept of valence has been given several distinct meanings, but nowadays it usually refers to traits of parties or their leaders that give them an electoral advantage, independent of their policy positions. In this paper, we introduce policy positions into the analysis of valence by exploring the extent to which valence judgments are related to perceived distance to parties on the left-right spectrum. We also consider whether the spatial position of a party to the left or right of center influences perceptions of its valence such that, controlling for distance, voters perceive parties on their ideological side as having higher valence compared to parties on the other side. The data source for this analysis is the CSES surveys, which include questions on both party positions and valence judgments. Unlike most previous work, our estimates of party positions correct for differential item functioning, i.e. the possibility that perceptions of the left-right scale differ across individuals.

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*Why Outsiders Join: Transnational Advocacy Networks and the Responses to Human Rights Abusing States*

Recent scholarship on transnational human rights activism has inquired about why some human rights issues become the targets of global campaigns while many other equally deserving issues do not (Bob 2005, Carpenter 2011). This paper contributes to this literature by asking two questions. First, how do human rights activists select which issues to dedicate their time and energy to? Second, why do some issues attract more activist attention than others? To shed light on these two questions, this paper presents preliminary findings from interview

data conducted with activists involved in the transnational advocacy networks (TANs) that have formed around Darfur, Palestine, Tibet, the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Kurds in Turkey. All five TANs consist of local movements within the target state, powerful NGOs, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as politically active diaspora groups. However, the TANs on Darfur, Palestine and Tibet are comprised of much higher levels of involvement from “outsider” human rights activists than the TANs on the Tamils or the Kurds. Outsider activists are individuals who have no ethnic ties to those in the target state and whose activism takes place outside of the formal auspices of the powerful NGOs. This paper will seek to explain why these outsider activists are more likely to get involved in some issues as opposed to others.